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NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

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NEW SERIES, NO. XXXIII.

JANUARY, 1828.

ART. I.—*A History of the Colonies planted by the English on the Continent of North America, from their Settlement to the Commencement of that War which terminated in their Independence.* By JOHN MARSHALL. Philadelphia. Abraham Small. pp. 486.

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TWENTY-THREE years have elapsed, since the work standing at the head of this article was given to the public by its distinguished author. It was originally prefixed to his Life of General Washington, as an Introduction necessary to the full understanding of the events of the revolution. It is now detached from that highly valuable work, the merits of which we hope, at some future period, to bring in an ample manner before our readers, if indeed there be any to whom they are unknown, and it is again presented to the public in the form of a distinct history of the colonies, adapted for an independent circulation. We entirely approve of the plan of originally annexing it to the Life of Washington; and we equally approve of its present separation in the manner adopted by the author, and for the reasons, which he assigns. A general knowledge of the antecedent history of the colonies is indispensable, for a correct understanding of the history of the revolution, whether it be read for edification, or for the mere amusement of idle hours.

The character of the colonists themselves, their origin, progress, and governments, their local disputes and controversies, their constant struggles against the claims of the crown and its agents, the early assertion of their rights and privileges, the structure of their institutions, the boldness and freedom of their opinions upon political subjects, their manners, habits, and pursuits, their exertions and services in the wars, in which the mother country was involved, their sacrifices in defence of their settlements, their splendid, though often unrequited labors for the advancement of English glory and English power, must all be thoroughly studied before any stranger can comprehend the nature or the causes of the revolution. It will otherwise remain a profound mystery, how a little tax upon tea should have kindled a general indignation; or how the assertion of a right by the British Parliament to tax us without representation, urged almost as an abstract theory, with scarcely any practical oppression, should have brought on a contest with thirteen colonies, having separate interests and objects, and united them at once in a common warfare for life, liberty, and independence. The author himself has, however, so well explained his motives for the undertaking in a preface, written with so much clearness and simplicity, that we willingly transcribe it into our pages, as a far more satisfactory vindication, than any, which we could presume to offer.

'So large a portion of the life of General Washington was devoted to the public, so elevated and important were the stations which he filled, that the history of his life is, at the same time, the history of his nation.

'The part he took, while commander in chief, in the civil as well as military affairs of the United States, was so considerable, that few events of general interest occurred, which were not, in some degree, influenced by him. A detail of the transactions in which he was either immediately or remotely concerned, would comprehend so great a part of those, which belong to general history, that the entire exclusion of the few, in which he bore no part, while it would scarcely give to the work more of the peculiar character of biography, would expose it to the charge of being an incomplete history of the times.

'His administration of the government, while president of the United States, cannot be well understood without a full knowledge of the political measures of the day, and of the motives by which his own conduct was regulated.

'These considerations appeared to require, that his biography

should present a general historical view of the transactions of the time, as well as a particular narrative of the part performed by himself.

'Our ideas of America, of the character of our revolution, of those who engaged in it, and of the struggles by which it was accomplished, would be imperfect without some knowledge of our colonial history. No work had been published, when this was undertaken, from which that knowledge could be collected. To have taken up the history of the United States, when the command of the army was conferred on General Washington, would have been to introduce the reader abruptly into the midst of scenes and transactions, with the causes of which, and with the actors in them, he would naturally wish to be intimately acquainted. This was the apology of the author for the introductory volume to the Life General Washington. Had the essays since written towards a general history of the English colonies been then in possession of the public, this volume would not have appeared. But, although they might have prevented its appearance, they ought not to prevent its being corrected and offered to the public in a form less exceptionable, than that which it originally bore. From the extreme, I may add unpardonable, precipitation with which it was hurried to the press, many errors were overlooked, which, on a perusal of the book, were as apparent to the author as to others. He was desirous of correcting these errors, and of making the work more worthy of the public, to which it was offered, as well as more satisfactory to himself. For this purpose he has given it, since the impressions, under which it was compiled, have worn off, more than one attentive reading; has made several alterations in the language; and has expunged much of the less essential matter, with which the narrative was burthened. He dares not flatter himself, that he has succeeded completely in his attempt to entitle this work to the approbation of the literary public of America; but hopes that its claims to that approbation are stronger than in its original form.

'Believing that motives no longer exist for connecting the History of the English Colonies in North America with the Life of Washington, the author has obtained permission of the proprietor of the copyright to separate the Introduction from the other volumes, and to publish it as a distinct work.'

The task of revision, thus modestly announced, has been performed with scrupulous care, and with some severity of judgment on the part of the learned author. He has obviously gone over the work with a keen and searching eye, and has given it the benefit of the corrections furnished by his most mature review. He has submitted it to a compression rare

among authors, and instead of increasing its size, he has exercised a praiseworthy diligence in condensing the contents into the smallest space. The introduction to the Life of Washington extended over a space of seven hundred and twentytwo pages, occupying a volume and a half. In its revised form it is now moulded into a single volume, of four hundred and fiftyseven pages of the same size.

Before entering farther upon any consideration of the nature, importance, or execution of the work, we must be allowed to indulge ouselves in withdrawing for a short time the attention of our readers from the book to the man. In short, we wish to present them with a sketch of his life and public services, and refresh ourselves and them with the contemplation of a character, in which there is nothing of inconsistency to regret, and much, very much, to incite to laudable ambition. In so doing we trust, that we shall gratify many of our readers. The young cannot be presumed to have an intimate knowledge of the labors and services of their fathers; and the aged may revive some scenes of departed time, and retrace with pleasure some faded reminiscences, by gathering up the fragments of the interesting life of a contemporary. The period has not yet arrived, in which we may venture to draw aside the veil, which conceals from the public gaze those personal traits and anecdotes, those warm touches of taste and character, those instances of familiar kindness, of elegant simplicity, and of attractive virtue, which belong to the biography of the great and good, when the grave has quietly closed over them. We hope, that the period is distant, is far distant, which shall demand from some kindred mind the performance of such solemn and affecting obsequies. The exclamation of the poet will now find a corresponding response, *serus in cœlum redeas*, undebased by the slightest admixture of flattery.

But though we may not invade the privacy of domestic and social life, we deem ourselves at liberty to deal with the public acts and character of such a man, for they belong to the records and fame of his country. They have already become a part of our history, and are interwoven with some of the proudest events in our annals. The venerable age, too, of Mr Marshall, while it equally removes from us and him every other wish, than to close his life in the performance of the duties of his present office, imparts to every thought somewhat of the sobriety and softened charm, which belong to the memory of

those, whose career is already finished. We view him as almost on the confines of a past age, and as the connecting link, which binds us to our revolutionary statesmen and heroes. If therefore our sketch be, as it must necessarily be, imperfect, we trust it will not be unacceptable to those, who contemplate the struggles of the past with lofty sensibility, or look to our future glory with honest pride, as settled on the immoveable and broad foundations of the union.

Mr Chief Justice Marshall is the son of the late Colonel Thomas Marshall, and was born on the 24th of September, 1755, in Fauquier, then one of the frontier counties of the state of Virginia. He is the eldest of fifteen children, of whom seven are now living; and we have often heard it repeated by those, who were well acquainted with the family, that all the children, the females as well as the males, possessed superior intellectual endowments. His father was a planter of a very small fortune, and had received a limited education. Nature, however, had been very bountiful to him. His talents were of a high order, and he assiduously cultivated and improved them, so that he maintained through life the reputation of being an extraordinary man. No father ever possessed more unboundedly the admiration and reverence of his children. We have often listened with delight to the tribute of praise bestowed on him by filial affection, and heard the declaration from the lips of one of his most gifted sons, that his father was an abler man than any of his children.

In the local position of the family, almost upon the frontier settlements, it was of course, that the early education of his children should devolve upon its head. Colonel Marshall superintended the studies of his son, and gave him an early and decided taste for history and poetry. At the age of twelve, John had transcribed Pope's Essay on Man, and also some of his moral essays. The love for poetry, thus awakened in his warm and vigorous mind, has never ceased to exert over it a commanding influence. Unless we are greatly misinformed, the enthusiasm of his youth often engaged him in the gay imaginings and fond indulgences of the muse; and throughout every period of his life, he has read with intense interest the lighter as well as the loftier productions of the divine art. The contrast, indeed, is somewhat singular between that close reasoning, which almost rejects the aid of ornament in his juridical labors, and that generous taste, which devotes itself with delight to the works of fiction and song.

There being at that time no grammar school in the part of the country, where Colonel Marshall resided, his son was sent, at the age of fourteen, about a hundred miles from home, and placed under the tuition of a Mr Campbell, a clergyman of great respectability. He remained with him a year, and then returned home, and was put under the care of a Scotch gentleman, who was just introduced into the parish, as pastor, and resided in his father's family. He pursued his classical studies under this gentleman's direction, while he remained in the family, which was about a year, and at the termination of it he had commenced reading Horace and Livy. His subsequent mastery of the classics was the result of his own efforts, without any other aid than his grammar and dictionary. He never had the benefit of an education at any college, and his attainments in learning have been nursed by the solitary vigils of his own genius. His father, however, continued to superintend his English education, to cherish his love of knowledge, to give a solid cast to his acquirements, and to store his mind with the most valuable materials. He was not merely a watchful parent, but an instructive and affectionate friend, and soon became the most constant, as he was almost the only intelligent companion of his son. The time not devoted to his society was passed in hardy athletic exercises, and probably to this circumstance is owing that robust constitution, which yet seems fresh and firm in a green old age.

About the time when young Marshall entered his eighteenth year, the controversy between Great Britain and her American colonies began to assume a portentous aspect, and engaged, and indeed absorbed, the attention of all the colonists, whether they were young, or old, in private and secluded life, or in political and public bodies. He entered into it with all the zeal and enthusiasm of a youth, full of love for his country and liberty, and deeply sensible of its rights and its wrongs. He devoted much time to acquiring the first rudiments of military exercise in a voluntary independent company, composed of gentlemen of the county, to training a militia company in the neighborhood, and to reading the political essays of the day. For these animating pursuits, the preludes of public resistance, he was quite content to relinquish the classics, and the less inviting, but with reference to his future destiny, the more profitable Commentaries of Sir William Blackstone.

In the summer of 1775, he received an appointment as first

lieutenant, in a company of minute-men enrolled for actual service, who were assembled in battalion on the first of the ensuing September. In a few days they were ordered to march into the lower country, for the purpose of defending it against a small regular and predatory force commanded by lord Dunmore. They constituted part of the troops destined for the relief of Norfolk; and Lieutenant Marshall was engaged in the battle of the Great Bridge, where the British troops, under Lord Dunmore, were repulsed with great gallantry and firmness. The way being thus opened by the retreat of the British, he marched with the provincials to Norfolk, and was present when that city was set on fire by a detachment from the British ships, then lying in the river, and afterwards when the remaining houses were burnt by orders from the committee of safety, and the place evacuated.

In July, 1776, he was appointed first lieutenant in the eleventh Virginia regiment on the continental establishment; and in the course of the succeeding winter, he marched to the north, where, in May, 1777, he was promoted to the rank of captain. He was subsequently engaged in the skirmish at Iron Hill with the light infantry, and fought in the memorable battles of Brandywine, Germantown, and Monmouth.

That part of the Virginia line, which was not ordered to Charleston (S. C.), being in effect dissolved by the expiration of the term of enlistment of the soldiers, the officers (among whom was Captain Marshall) were, in the winter of 1779–80, directed to return home, in order to take charge of such men as the state legislature should raise for them. It was during this season of inaction, that he availed himself of the opportunity of attending a course of law lectures given by Mr Wythe, afterwards chancellor of the state, and a course of lectures on natural philosophy, given by Mr Madison, President of William and Mary College in Virginia. He left this College in the summer vacation of 1780, and obtained a license to practise law. In October he returned to the army, and continued in service until the termination of Arnold's invasion. After this period, and before the invasion of Phillips, in February, 1781, there being a redundancy of officers in the Virginia line, he resigned his commission.

This redundancy of officers was the leading motive for his resignation, since it left him at liberty, consistently with the most scrupulous devotion to his country, to consult his own

future prospects in life, and to favor the advancement of his companions in arms. In fact, however, he may be said to have been in service during the whole war, and to have had an ample share in the brunt of battle, and in the difficulties, discouragements, and sufferings, with which the American army was surrounded in the most gloomy of its campaigns. That he served with great distinction, and was equally remarkable for courage, intelligence, and activity, is attested by many of his fellow officers, with whom he was then, and has ever since continued to be, a favorite. We cannot refrain from inserting a paragraph on this subject, copied from a recent publication, as the testimony of an eye-witness.—'When the writer of this article first saw him,' says the sketch, 'he held the commission of captain in that regiment' (meaning the regiment on the continental establishment, commanded by his father, Colonel Marshall). 'It was in the trying, severe winter of 1777–8, a few months after the disastrous battles of Brandywine and Germantown had tested his firmness, hardihood, and heroism. The spot, where we acquired our earliest information of him, was the famous hutted encampment at Valley Forge, about thirty miles from Philadelphia. By his appearance then, we supposed him about twentytwo or twentythree years of age. Even so early in life, we recollect, that he appeared to us *primus inter pares*, for amidst the many commissioned officers he was discriminated for superior intelligence. Our informant, Colonel Ball, of another regiment in the same line, represented him as a young man, not only brave, but signally intelligent. Indeed, all those, who intimately knew him, affirmed, that his capacity was held in such estimation by many of his brother officers, that in many disputes of a certain description he was constantly chosen arbiter; and that officers, irritated by differences or animated by debate, often submitted the contested points to his judgment, which being given in writing, and accompanied, as it commonly was, by sound reasons in support of his decision, obtained general acquiescence.' Such is the testimony of a contemporary, and we have no doubt of its entire correctness.

During the invasion of Virginia, the courts of law were suspended, and were not reöpened until after the capitulation of Lord Cornwallis. Immediately after that event Mr Marshall commenced the practice of law, and soon rose into distinction at the bar. We believe, that he has been accustomed to attribute

his early advancement, and lucrative practice to his extensive acquaintance among the officers of the army, the termination of hostilities having returned them to their families, and scattered them widely over his native state. We have no doubt that the Virginia officers took a deep interest in his favor; and the fact is honorable to their discernment, and a strong proof of his excellent qualities. And it is not improbable, that his success may have been somewhat aided by their commendation and support. But in our judgment his success was mainly owing to his own great talents and exertions. He was strictly the founder of his own fortune, in the sense of Cicero *ipse conditor totius negotii;* and the solid superstructure of his fame then rested, and now rests on the deep foundations of his own mind.

In the spring of 1782, he was elected a member of the state legislature, and in the autumn of the same year he was elected a member of the executive council. In January 1783, he married Miss Ambler, the daughter of a gentleman, who was then treasurer of the state, and to whom he had become attached before he left the army. This lady is still living to partake and to enjoy the distinguished honors of her husband. In 1784, he resigned his seat at the council board, in order to return to the bar; and he was immediately afterwards again elected a member of the legislature for the county of Fauquier, of which he was then only nominally an inhabitant, his actual residence being, as a member of the council, at Richmond. In 1787, he was elected a member from the county of Henrico, of which Richmond is the shire town; and though at that time earnestly engaged in the duties of his profession, he embarked largely in the political questions, which then agitated the state, and indeed the whole confederacy.

Every person at all read in our domestic history must recollect the dangers and difficulties of those days. The termination of the revolutionary war left the country drained of money, and impoverished and exhausted by its expenditures, and the national finances at a low state of depression. The powers of Congress under the confederation, which, even during the war, were often prostrated by the neglect of a single state to enforce them, became in the ensuing peace utterly relaxed and inefficient. Indeed, it was easy to foresee, if daily experience did not render all prophecy unnecessary, that since Congress could, under the confederation, act only by requisitions on the

states, these requisitions could be no more than recommendations, and these recommendations could be perpetually disregarded by the states from self-interest, local jealousy, or popular prejudice. Even the wretched expedient of clothing Congress with the power of laying an impost of five per cent., to provide for the discharge of the public debts and engagements, was defeated by the obstinate refusal of a single state. So that, in fact, there was a virtual dissolution of the confederation, and Congress was left at once powerless and moneyless, without influence and without support. 'Requisitions,' says General Washington, in a letter written to Mr Jay in 1786, 'are a perfect nullity, where thirteen independent, disunited states are in the habit of discussing and refusing, or complying with them at their option. Requisitions are actually little better than a jest, and a by-word throughout the land. If you tell the legislatures they have violated the treaty of peace, and invaded the prerogatives of the confederacy, they will laugh in your face. What then is to be done? Things cannot go on in the same train for ever. It is much to be feared, as you observe, that the better kind of people, being disgusted with these circumstances, will have their minds prepared for any revolution whatever. We are apt to run from one extreme into another. To anticipate and prevent disastrous contingencies would be the part of wisdom and patriotism.' Wise and just as these reflections are, the father of his country felt, that they could have even from him very little influence. In the same letter he adds, 'nor could it be expected, that my sentiments and opinions would have much weight on the minds of my countrymen. They have been neglected, though given as a last legacy in the most solemn manner, [alluding to his circular to the governors of the states, when he was about resigning the command of the army.] I had then perhaps some claims to public attention. I consider myself as having none at present.'

Such was the melancholy foreboding of the late commander-in-chief, in respect to the country, which he had saved by his valor. In the mean time the universal poverty and distress spread dismay and dissatisfaction throughout the Union. Credit, private as well as public, was destroyed. Agriculture and commerce were crippled. The delicate relation of debtor and creditor became daily more and more embarrassed and embarrassing; and, as is usual upon such occasions, every sort of expedient was resorted to by popular leaders, as well as by men of desperate

fortunes, to inflame the public mind, and to bring into odium those, who labored to preserve the public faith, and establish a more energetic government. The whole country was soon divided into two great parties, the one of which endeavored to put an end to the public evils by the establishment of a government over the Union, which should be adequate to all its exigencies, and act directly on the people; the other was devoted to state authority, jealous of all federal influence, and determined at every hazard to resist its constitutional increase. And notwithstanding the elaborate discussions in the general and state conventions, the powerful appeals of our wisest patriots and statesmen through the press and in private circles, and the general consciousness of our perilous situation, it is, after all, a problem more than doubtful, whether the national constitution would ever have been adopted, if Shays's rebellion in Massachusetts had not, by its sudden and alarming terrors, taught us, that we were already, not on the brink, but in the midst of a civil war,—a war, waged by licentious or distressed men against property and government of every sort,—a war, whose object it was to overthrow the administration of public justice, and to annul those laws, which guard the sacredness of private contracts.

It is almost unnecessary to say, that Mr Marshall could not remain an idle or indifferent spectator of such scenes. As little doubt could there be of the part he would take in such a contest. He was at once arrayed on the side of Washington and Madison. In Virginia, as everywhere else, the principal topics of the day were paper money, the collection of taxes, the preservation of public faith, and the administration of civil justice. The parties were nearly equally divided upon all these topics; and the contest concerning them was continually renewed. In such a state of things, every victory was but a temporary and questionable triumph, and every defeat still left enough of hope to excite to new and strenuous exertions. The affairs, too, of the confederacy were then at a crisis. The question of the continuance of the Union, or a separation of the states, was freely discussed; and, what is almost startling now to repeat, either side of it was maintained without reproach. Mr Madison was at this time, and had been for two or three years, a member of the House of Delegates, and was in fact the author of the resolution for the general convention at Philadelphia to revise the confederation. He was at all times the

enlightened advocate of union, and of an efficient federal government, and he received on all occasions the steady support of Mr Marshall. We have often witnessed, with no ordinary emotions, the pleasure, with which both of these gentlemen look back upon their coöperation at that period, and the sentiments of profound respect, with which they habitually regard each other.

Both of them were members of the convention, subsequently called in Virginia, for the ratification of the federal constitution. This instrument, having come forth under the auspices of General Washington and other distinguished patriots of the Revolution, was at first favorably received in Virginia. But it soon encountered the decided hostility of Mr Patrick Henry, Mr George Mason, and several other gentlemen of great influence, who, with a zeal and ability worthy of a better cause, labored to disparage it, and succeeded to a high degree in exciting the prejudices of the people against it. In the legislature of Virginia it soon gave rise to very animated debates, and before the close of the session, preceding the convention, the enemies of the constitution had, by their unceasing efforts, spread disaffection and hostility to it in every direction. Its defence was uniformly and most powerfully maintained there by Mr Marshall.

The debates of the Virginia convention are in print. But we have been assured by the highest authority, that the printed volume affords but a very feeble and faint sketch of the actual debates on that occasion, or of the vigor, with which every attack was urged, and every onset repelled against the constitution. The best talents of the state were engaged in the controversy. Against the constitution were arrayed the captivating and popular eloquence of Henry, the grave sense of Mason, and the energetic zeal of Grayson. In its support were enlisted the venerable wisdom of Pendleton, the accomplished elegance of Randolph, the steady perseverance of Nicholas, the close and comprehensive logic of Marshall, and the unwearied diligence and inexhaustible knowledge of Madison. The principal debates were conducted by Henry and Madison, as leaders. But on three great occasions, namely, the debates on the power of taxation, the power over the militia, and the power of the judiciary, Mr Marshall gave free scope to his genius, and argued with a most commanding ability. We can trace, even through the dim lights reflected in the printed speeches, many of those sa-

gacious and statesmenlike views, which have characterized his subsequent life. We see there the germs of those great constitutional principles, which he has since so largely contributed to establish, and which, if any thing can, will give immortality to this great instrument of our national liberties. Take, for instance, the following extract from his speech on the power of taxation.

'Let me pay attention to the observation of the gentleman, who was last up, that the power of taxation ought not to be given to congress. This subject requires the undivided attention of this house. This power I think essentially necessary, for without it there will be no efficiency in the government. We have had a sufficient demonstration of the vanity of depending on requisitions. How then can the general government exist without this power? The possibility of its being abused is urged, as an argument against its expediency. To very little purpose did Virginia discover the defects in the old system—to little purpose indeed did she propose improvements—and to no purpose is this plan constructed for the promotion of our happiness, if we refuse it now, because it is possible, that it may be abused. The confederation has nominal powers, but no means to carry them into effect. If a system of government were devised by more than human intelligence, it would not be effectual, if the means were not adequate to the power. All delegated powers are liable to be abused. Arguments drawn from this source go in direct opposition to every government, and in recommendation of anarchy. The friends of the constitution are as tenacious of liberty, as its enemies. They wish to to give no power, that will endanger it. They wish to give the government powers to secure and protect it. Our inquiry here must be, whether the power of taxation be necessary to perform the objects of the constitution, and whether it be safe and as well guarded as human wisdom can do it. What are the objects of the national government? To protect the United States, and to promote the general walfare. Protection in time of war is one of its principal objects. Until mankind shall cease to have ambition and avarice, wars will arise. The prosperity and happiness of the people depend on the performance of these great and important duties of the general government. Can these duties be performed by one state? Can one state protect us, and promote our happiness? The honorable gentlemen, who has gone before me (Governor *Randolph*), has shown, that Virginia cannot do these things. How then can they be done? By the national government only. Shall we refuse to give it power to do them? We are answered, that the powers may be abused; that though the

congress may promote our happiness, yet they may prostitute their powers to destroy our liberties. This goes to the destruction of all confidence in agents. Would you believe that men, who had merited your highest confidence, would deceive you? Would you trust them again after one deception? Why then hesitate to trust the general government? The object of our inquiry is—*Is the power necessary—and is it guarded?* There must be men and money to protect us. How are armies to be raised? Must we not have money for that purpose? But the honorable gentleman says, that we need not be afraid of war. Look at history, which has been so often quoted. Look at the great volume of human nature. They will foretell you, that a defenceless country cannot be secure. The nature of man forbids us to conclude, that we are in no danger from war. The passions of men stimulate them to avail themselves of the weakness of others. The powers of Europe are jealous of us. It is our interest to watch their conduct, and guard against them. They must be pleased with our disunion. If we invite them by our weakness to attack us, will they not do it? If we add debility to our present situation, a partition of America may take place. It is then necessary to give the government that power in time of peace, which the necessities of war will render indispensable, or else we shall be attacked unprepared. The experience of the world, a knowledge of human nature, and our own particular experience, will confirm this truth. When danger will come upon us, may we not do what we were on the point of doing once already, that is, appoint a dictator? Were those, who are now friends of this constitution, less active in the defence of liberty on that trying occasion, than those, who oppose it? When foreign dangers come, may not the fear of immediate destruction by foreign enemies impel us to take a most dangerous step? Where then will be our safety? We may now regulate and frame a plan, that will enable us to repel attacks, and render a recurrence to dangerous expedients unnecessary. If we be prepared to defend ourselves, there will be little inducement to attack us. But if we defer giving the necessary power to the general government, till the moment of danger arrives, we shall give it then, and with an *unsparing hand.* America, like other nations, may be exposed to war. The propriety of giving this power will be proved by the history of the world, and particularly of modern republics. I defy you to produce a single instance, where requisitions on the several individual states, composing the confederacy, have been honestly complied with. Did gentlemen expect to see such punctually complied with in America. If they did, our own experience shows the contrary.' pp. 166, 167.

And again, from his speech on the militia.

'Mr *John Marshall* asked if gentlemen were serious, when they asserted, that if the state governments had power to interfere with the militia, it was by implication? If they were, he asked the committee, whether the least attention would not show, that they were mistaken? The state governments did not derive their powers from the general government. But each government derived its powers from the people; and each was to act according to the powers given it. Would any gentleman deny this? He demanded if powers, not given, were retained by implication? Could any man say so? Could any man say, that this power was not retained by the states, as they had not given it away? For, says he, does not a power remain till it is given away? The state legislatures had power to command and govern their militia before, and have it still, undeniably, unless there be something in this constitution, that takes it away. For continental purposes, congress may call forth the militia, as to suppress insurrections and repel invasions. But the power given to the states by the people is not taken away; for the constitution does not say so. In the confederation, congress had this power. But the state legislatures had it also. The power of legislation, given them within the ten miles square, is exclusive of the states, because it is expressed to be exclusive. The truth is, that when power is given to the general legislature, if it was in the state legislatures before, both shall exercise it; unless there be an incompatibility in the exercise by one, to that by the other; or negative words precluding the state governments from it. But there are no negative words here. It rests therefore with the states. To me it appears then unquestionable, that the state governments can call forth the militia, in case the constitution should be adopted, in the same manner, as they could have done before its adoption. Gentlemen have said, that the states cannot defend themselves without an application to congress, because congress can interpose! Does not every man feel a refutation of the arguments in his own breast? I will show, that there could not be a combination between those who formed the constitution, to take away this power. All the restraints intended to be laid on the state governments (besides where an exclusive power is expressly given to Congress) are contained in the tenth section of the first article. This power is not included in the restrictions in that section. But what excludes every possibility of doubt, is the last part of it; that "no state shall engage in war, *unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger, as will not admit of delay.*" When invaded, they can engage in war; as also when in imminent danger. This clearly proves, that the states can use the militia, when they find it necessary. The worthy member last up objects to the continental government possessing the power of disciplining

the militia, because, though all its branches be derived from the people, he says, they will form an aristocratic government, unsafe and unfit to be trusted.

'Mr *Grayson* answered, that he only said it was so constructed, as to form a great aristocratic body.

'Mr *Marshall* replied, that he was not certain whether he understood him; but he thought he had said so. He conceived, that as the government was drawn from the people, the feelings and interests of the people would be attended to, and that we should be safe in granting them power to regulate the militia. When the government is drawn from the people, continued Mr Marshall, and depending on the people for its continuance, oppressive measures will not be attempted, as they will certainly draw on their authors the resentment of those on whom they depend. On this government, thus depending on ourselves for its existence, I will rest my safety, notwithstanding the danger depicted by the honorable gentleman. I cannot help being surprised, that the worthy member thought this power so dangerous. What government is able to protect you in time of war? Will any state depend on its own exertions? The consequence of such dependence and withholding this power from Congress will be, that state will fall after state, and be a sacrifice to the want of power in the general government. *United we are strong, divided we fall.* Will you prevent the general government from drawing the militia of one state to another, when the consequence would be, that every state must depend on itself? The enemy, possessing the water, can go quickly from one state to another. No state will spare to another its militia, which it conceives necessary for itself. It requires a superintending power, in order to call forth the resources of all to protect all. If this be not done, each state will fall a sacrifice. This system merits the highest applause in this respect.' pp. 297—299.

It is very difficult for the present generation to conceive the magnitude of the dangers, to which we were then exposed, or to realize the extent of the obstacles, which were opposed to the adoption of the constitution. Notwithstanding all the sufferings of the people, the acknowledged imbecility of the government, and the almost desperate state of our public affairs, there were men of high character, and patriots too, who clung to the old confederation with an enthusiastic attachment, and saw in the grant of any new powers, indeed of any powers to a national government, nothing but oppression and tyranny,—slavery of the people and destruction of the state governments on the one hand, and universal despotism and overwhelming

taxation on the other. Time, the great umpire and final judge of these questions, has indeed now abundantly shown, how vain were the fears, and how unsound the principles of the opponents of the constitution. The prophecies of its friends have been abundantly fulfilled in the growth and solid prosperity of their country, far indeed beyond their most sanguine expectations. But our gratitude can never be too warm to those eminent men, who stemmed the torrent of public prejudice, and with a wisdom and prudence, almost surpassing human power, laid the foundations of that government, which saved us at the hour, when we were ready to perish. After twentyfive days of ardent and eloquent discussion, to which justice never has been, and never can now be done, (during which nine states adopted the constitution) the question was carried in its favor in the convention of Virginia by a majority of ten votes only. Mr Henry lived long enough to acknowledge in its practical operations the sincerest pleasure, to admit his own mistakes, and to give it his sincere support. But such has not been the general result of the contest in Virginia. On the contrary, the principles then avowed by the opposition, and maintained with so much zeal, have sunk deep into the minds of those, who have since guided her public councils. And it may now be said without the suspicion of political reproach, that Virginia has throughout almost all the intermediate period controverted the powers of the general government with unceasing vigilance, and stood forth the steady and jealous advocate of state rights.

To those, indeed, who are well acquainted with the political feelings in Virginia at the period, of which we have been speaking, it may be matter of surprise, that Mr Marshall was returned a member of the convention, for the county in which he resided was then (to use the language, which distinguished the parties) decidedly antifederal. But party spirit had not become so bitter and unrelenting, as to extinguish the courtesies of private life, or to overcome those strong affections, which public services, ardent patriotism, and high talents naturally excite In several of the counties most opposed to the constitution, individuals of commanding influence and character, who were its known advocates, were chosen delegates from mere personal motives and attachments.

The adoption of the constitution of the United States having been thus secured, Mr Marshall immediately formed the determination to relinquish public life, and to devote himself to the

arduous duties of his profession. To this determination he was led by very pressing considerations. His fortune was not yet made; his practice had become extensive; his sacrifices had already been considerable. To maintain a high standing in the legislature, proportionate to his talents and character, would require so much time, that it would essentially trench upon other pursuits. To yield up his profession as a secondary object, would be to subject himself to a voluntary dependence for life. His friends were exceedingly anxious, that he should be a candidate for Congress, so that he might assist in the first organization of the government. And notwithstanding the district was antifederal, such was his personal popularity, that no doubt existed of his success. He listened, however, to the dictates of prudence, and voluntarily retired from a station, where an honorable ambition, like his, could not have failed to have reaped an ample reward of fame.

A man of his eminence could however with very great difficulty adhere rigidly to his original resolve. The state legislature having, in December 1788, passed an act allowing a representative to the city of Richmond, Mr Marshall was almost unanimously invited to become a candidate. No doubt could exist in respect to his return, for the city was federal. With considerable reluctance he yielded to the public wishes, being principally influenced in his acceptance of the station by the increasing hostility manifested in the state against the national government, and his own anxious desire to give the latter his decided and public support. He continued in the legislature, as a representative of Richmond for the years 1789, 1790, and 1791. During this period every important measure of the national government was discussed in the state legislature with great freedom and no inconsiderable acrimony. In particular, the funding system was attacked and censured in strong terms, and that part of it especially, which assumed the state debts, was pronounced unconstitutional. Thus early did Virginia avow the doctrines, which have so distinctly marked her subsequent course, and insist upon the closest abridgment of the national powers. On these occasions Mr Marshall vindicated the national government with a manly and zealous independence.

After the termination of the session of the legislature, in 1791, Mr Marshall voluntarily retired. But the events, which soon afterwards occurred in Europe, and extended a most awakening influence to America, did not long permit him to devote

himself to professional pursuits. The French Revolution in its early dawn was hailed with universal enthusiasm in America. In its progress for a considerable period it continued to maintain among us an almost unanimous approbation. Many causes conduced to this result. Our partiality for France, from a grateful recollection of her services in our own revolutionary contest, was ardent and undisguised. It was heightened by the consideration, that she was herself now engaged in a struggle for liberty, and was endeavoring to shake off oppressions, under which she had been groaning for centuries. The monarchs in Europe were combined in a mighty league for the suppression of this new and alarming insurrection against the claims of legitimacy. It was not difficult to forsee, that if they were successful in this enterprise, we ourselves had but a questionable security for our own independence. It would be natural for them, after having completed their European conquests, to cast their eyes to the origin of the evil, and to feel, that their dynasties were not quite safe, even though the Atlantic rolled between us and them, while a living example of liberty, so seductive and so striking, remained in the western hemisphere.

Nor was our danger wholly imaginary. It is hardly possible, at this distance of time, to look back without a deep feeling, that the feebleness of our national government, the deficiency of revenue and resources, the discontents at home, the internal jealousies which distracted the states, and the want of any firm public credit, exposed us to serious difficulties. If our safety was to depend upon the mere sense of moderation of the crowned heads of Europe, flushed with their recent triumph over the political liberty of France, it must be admitted, that it was somewhat shadowy and unsubstantial. In case of any combined invasion or systematic attack, we were embarrassed on one side with local divisions, and on the other with the discouraging fact, that the armies, which had achieved our independence, had the most lively and well-founded recollections of the past ingratitude of their country. Under such circumstances, the opinion was almost universal and instantaneous, that our own liberty was essentially connected with the success of France ; and patriots and statesmen, the young and the old, the contemplative and the active, gave way to feelings of unbounded exultation at every defeat of her enemies, and of admiration at the heroic deeds of her children. It may be

truly said, that the government itself partook largely of the general interest, and did not hesitate to express it in any manner not incompatible with the strict performance of the duties of neutrality. Mr Marshall was as warmly attached to the cause of France, as any of his considerate countrymen.

After the death of Louis the Sixteenth, feelings of a different sort began to mix themselves, not only in the public councils, but in private life. Those, whose reflections reached beyond the events of the day, began to entertain fears, lest in our enthusiasm for the cause of France, we might be plunged into war, and thus jeopard our own vital interests. The task of preserving neutrality was of itself sufficiently difficult, when the mass of the people was put in motion by the cheering sounds of liberty and equality, which were wafted on every breeze across the Atlantic. The duty, however, was imperative; and the administration determined to perform it with the most guarded good faith. In the mean time the arrival of M. Genet, as Minister from the Republic of France, created throughout the continent a great sensation. He was every where received with acclamations on his journey from South Carolina to Philadelphia; and even before he was accredited by the government, he undertook to authorize the armament of vessels in our ports, and to enlist men and grant commissions for hostilities against nations, with which we were at peace. It was soon perceived, that taking advantage of the general enthusiasm, he was beginning to intrude himself between the government and the people; to make the latter the instruments of overthrowing the administration; and thus to precipitate us into the war. Such conduct roused the attention of all America, and taught our ablest statesmen the necessity of immediate resistance. No one, who truly loved his country, could be insensible of the danger of permitting any foreign minister to mingle in the management of our domestic affairs; or of the calamitous results of abandoning our neutrality. One of the earliest meetings, called to express the public sentiments on this subject, was in the city of Richmond; and on that occasion, resolutions were passed, expressing a strong disapprobation of the irregular conduct of M. Genet, a deep sense of the danger of foreign influence, and a warm approbation of the President's proclamation of neutrality. These resolutions, and the address to the President, which accompanied them, were drawn up and supported by Mr Marshall, and carried by his strenuous exertions.

The great political parties, which for so many years afterwards divided the country, began about this period to assume a more distinct form, and to acquire a more unequivocal character. Hitherto the struggle had been principally confined to domestic concerns; to federal and antifederal measures; on the one side to building up and cherishing a system, which should strengthen the union and give vigor to its councils, and on the other side to resisting every approximation to a diminution of state influence. But now the contest took a wider range, and foreign politics first engaged, and soon absorbed the whole attention of the people. Many ardent votaries of liberty clung with an animated devotion to the cause of France through all her various fortunes; and felt, that even her encroachments upon our own rights were not without apology, and though not justifiable, were not to be openly resented. The administration and its friends acted upon other principles; and though not insensible to the value of the friendship of France, they saw much in her conduct, which required resistance, and much in the conduct of other nations, and particularly of Great Britain, which demanded, if we meant to preserve peace, a sober consideration of our own interests. Great Britain yielded to our remonstrances, and finally consented to indemnify us for our national injuries. The policy of France was manifestly to detach us from our neutral position; and every approach on our part to conciliation with the British government was watched by her with jealousy; and her jealousy soon spread with increased force among her friends in America. In short, for it is now matter of history, and we are at liberty to deal with it as such, the parties soon became distinguished as the friends of France, and the enemies of France, or the friends of England, and the enemies of England, in the partisan vocabulary of the day.

The decided part taken by Mr Marshall could not long remain unnoticed. His constant effort upon all occasions was to show, that the conduct of our government in its foreign relations was such as a just self-respect and a regard to our rights, as a sovereign nation, rendered indispensable; and that our independence was brought into real danger by the overgrown and inordinate influence of France. He was of course exposed to severe public animadversions, and felt in its full force the weight of those political resentments, which the known attachment of Virginia to the cause of France must inevitably

create. He was attacked with great asperity in the newspapers and pamphlets of the day, and designated, by way of significant reproach, as the coadjutor and friend of Alexander Hamilton. The name of this great man almost tempts us to pass aside for a moment to pay a just tribute to his exalted patriotism, talents, and public virtues. The lapse of more than twenty years since his lamented death has buried those animosities, which for a time obscured the brilliant lustre of his fame. But we must forbear. To have been the friend and coadjutor of Hamilton would now make many a heart beat with lofty pride; to have been his distinguished friend and coadjutor would now be deemed by the whole nation no mean title of praise.

Against these attacks Mr Marshall defended himself with a zeal and ability, proportioned to his own sincere devotion to the cause which he espoused. He soon found himself compelled to assume the character of an acknowledged leader of the federal party in Virginia, and from necessity or choice to change his determination as to public life; and he began to hesitate, whether he ought not immediately to reënter the legislature. While he was yet pausing, an event unexpectedly occurred, which decided his future course. The spring elections for the state legislature in the year 1795 came on. Mr Marshall was not a candidate, but he was nevertheless chosen under somewhat peculiar circumstances. From the time of his withdrawing from the legislature two opposing candidates had divided the city of Richmond; the one, his intimate friend, and holding the same political sentiments with himself; the other, a most zealous partisan of the opposition. Each election between these gentlemen, who were both popular, had been decided by a small majority, and the approaching contest was entirely doubtful. Mr Marshall attended the polls at an early hour, and gave his vote for his friend. While at the polls, a gentleman demanded, that a poll should be opened for Mr Marshall. The latter was greatly surprised at the proposal, and unhesitatingly expressed his dissent, declaring, that his wishes and feelings and honor were engaged for one of the candidates. At the same time, he announced his willingness to become a candidate the next year. He retired from the polls, and immediately gave his attendance to the business of one of the courts, which was then in session. A poll was, however, opened for him in his absence by the gentleman who first suggested it, notwithstanding his positive refusal. The

election was suspended for a few minutes; a consultation took place among the freeholders; they determined to support him; and in the evening he received the information of his election. A more honorable tribute to his merits could not have been paid; and his election was a most important and timely measure in favor of the administration.

It will be recollected, that the treaty with Great Britain, negotiated by Mr Jay in 1794, was the subject of universal discussion at this period. No sooner was its ratification advised by the Senate, than public meetings were called in all our principal cities, for the purpose of inducing the President to withhold his ratification, and if this object were not attained, then to prevent in Congress the passage of the appropriations necessary to carry it into effect. The first movement took place in Boston, and the excitement, there produced, spread through the country with astonishing rapidity and increased violence. The history of the country scarcely furnishes an example so full of melancholy instruction, as this, to illustrate the intoxicating influence of party spirit. There probably never was any measure of President Washington's administration, which admitted of a more complete vindication for its sound policy, its justice, and its advancement of the real interests of the nation. Yet it was assailed with the most unmeasured reproaches; it was denounced in public resolutions and anonymous pamphlets; in newspaper essays and political addresses; in the grave debates of legislative assemblies, and the vehement harangues of popular orators. The topics of animadversion were not confined to the expediency of the treaty in its principal provisions, but the bolder ground was assumed, that the negotiation of a commercial treaty by the Executive was an unconstitutional act, and an infringement of the power given to Congress to regulate commerce. Mr Marshall took an active part in the discussions upon the treaty. Feeling, that the ratification of it was indispensable to the preservation of peace, that its main provisions were essentially beneficial to the United States, and comported with its true dignity and interests, he addressed himself with the most diligent attention to an examination of the nature and extent of all its provisions, and of all the objections urged against it. No state in the Union exhibated a more intense hostility to it than Virginia, upon the points both of expediency and constitutionality; and in no state were the objections urged with more impassioned and unsparing

earnestness. The task, therefore, of meeting and overthrowing them was of no ordinary magnitude, and required all the resources of the ablest mind. Mr Marshall came to the task with a thorough mastery of every topic connected with it. At a public meeting of the citizens of Richmond he carried a series of resolutions, approving the conduct of the Executive.

But a more difficult and delicate duty remained to be performed. It was easy to foresee, that the controversy would soon find its way from the public forum into the legislative bodies; and would be there renewed with the bitter animosity of party spirit. Indeed, so unpopular was the treaty in Virginia, that Mr Marshall's friends were exceedingly solicitous, that he should avoid engaging in any debate in the legislature on the subject, as it would be a sacrifice of the remains of his well deserved popularity; and it might be even questioned, if he could there deliver his sentiments without exposure to some rude attacks. His answer to all such suggestions was uniform; that he should not move any measure to excite a debate; but if the subject were brought forward by others, he should, at every hazard, vindicate the administration, and assert his own opinions. He was incapable of shrinking from a just expression of his own independence. The subject was soon introduced by his political opponents, and the constitutional objections were urged with triumphant confidence. That particularly, which denied the constitulional right of the Executive to conclude a commercial treaty, was selected and insisted on, as a favorite and unanswerable position. The speech of Mr Marshall on this occasion has been always represented, as one of the noblest efforts of his genius. His vast powers of reasoning were employed with the most gratifying success. He demonstrated not only from the words of the Constitution, and the universal practice of nations, that a commercial treaty was within the constitutional powers of the Executive, but that this opinion had been maintained and sanctioned by Mr Jefferson, by the whole Delegation of Virginia in Congress, and by the leading members in the Convention on both sides. His argument was decisive; the constitutional ground was abandoned; and the resolutions of the Assembly were confined to a simple disapprobation of the treaty in point of expediency.

The constitutional objections were again urged in Congress in the celebrated debate on the British Treaty, in the spring of 1796; and there finally assumed the mitigated shape of a right

claimed on the part of Congress to grant or withhold appropriations to carry treaties into effect. The higher ground, that commercial treaties were not, when ratified, the supreme law of the land, was abandoned; and the subsequent practice of the government has, without question, under every administration conformed to the construction vindicated by Mr Marshall. The fame of this admirable argument spread through the Union. Even with his political enemies, it enhanced the elevation of his character; and it brought him at once to the notice of some of the most eminent statesmen, who then graced our public councils. In the winter of 1796, he attended the Supreme Court of the United States at Philadelphia, and argued the great cause of Ware *vs.* Hylton, involving the question of the operation of the British treaty upon the antecedent confiscations of British debts. On this occasion he formed an acquaintance with some of the most distinguished members of Congress from the eastern and middle states, and particularly with Mr Cabot, Mr Ames, and Mr Dexter of Massachusetts, Mr Wadsworth of Connecticut, and Mr Rufus King of New York. He was received with the most flattering distinction, and with some of these gentlemen he then commenced a friendship, which terminated only with their lives.

About this period President Washington invited Mr Marshall to accept the office of Attorney General; but he declined it, upon the ground of its interference with his lucrative practice in Virginia. He continued in the state legislature, but did not, from his other engagements, take an active part in the ordinary business. He confined his attention principally to those questions, which involved the main interests of the country, and brought into discussion the policy and the principles of the national parties. An occasion occurred, however, for the utmost exertion of his eloquence in a debate, which took place (we believe) in the winter session of 1796–7, and called forth all the strength of the opposition. Some federalist moved a resolution, expressive of the high confidence of the house in the virtue, patriotism, and *wisdom* of the president of the United States. A motion was made to strike out the word '*wisdom.*' A very animated debate ensued, in which the whole course of his administration was reviewed, and all the talents of each party were exerted to assail, or to vindicate it. Mr Marshall, as might be expected, maintained himself with his accustomed vigor. But after every exertion the

word was retained by a very small majority. It is indeed a painful and humiliating thought, that a small majority only could be found at that time in the legislature of his native state, willing to acknowledge the *wisdom* of General Washington!

Upon the recall of Mr Monroe as Minister from France, President Washington solicited Mr Marshall to accept the appointment as his successor. He respectfully declined it in a letter, which is now before us. 'Were it possible,' said he, 'for me in the present crisis of my affairs to leave the United States, such is my conviction of the importance of that duty, which you would confide to me, and pardon me, if I add, of the fidelity, with which I should attempt to perform it, that I would certainly forego any consideration, not decisive with respect to my future fortunes, and would surmount that just diffidence, I have ever entertained of myself, to make one effort to convey truly and faithfully to the government of France those sentiments, which I have ever believed to be entertained by that of the United States.' General Pinckney of South Carolina, as is well known, was appointed in his stead. Indeed, Mr Marshall's situation at the bar was so high, and so independent, that in point of honor it seemed little inferior to any office in the gift of the government. He had a strong predilection for the practice of the law, and felt the most unfeigned reluctance to quit it. The arrangements, also, consequent upon his purchase of a large and very valuable estate (to which allusion is made in the preceding letter), were of such a nature, as demanded his personal presence and coöperation. However gratifying to his ambition the high appointment of Minister to France must have been, the sacrifices and inconveniences, which would accompany it, might well induce even a more ardent and less occupied mind, to hesitate in accepting it.

Mr Marshall was not, however, long permitted to act upon his own judgment and choice. The French government refused to receive General Pinckney, as Minister from the United States; and the administration, being sincerely anxious to exhaust every measure of conciliation, not incompatible with the national dignity, for the preservation of peace, resorted to the extraordinary measure of sending a commission of three Envoys. Within a year from the time of the first offer, Mr Adams, having succeeded to the presidency, appointed Mr Marshall one of these Envoys in conjunction with General Pinckney and Mr Gerry. This was a new and embarrassing

exigency for Mr Marshall. All the reasons for declining the former appointment remained in full force; but they were met by other considerations growing out of the posture of our public affairs. The crisis was very alarming; the hope of a successful mission was not wholly uninviting; and the dangers of war, formidable to us at all times, in the divided state of the country were assuming a most unpleasant aspect. These considerations seemed to demand from a patriot and statesman some sacrifices to public duty.

Mr Marshall also could not be insensible, that the country confidently expected much from his known moderation, firmness, and prudence. He was perfect master of the whole controversy with France, and felt the deepest interest in its issue. He had the most unwavering belief, that our government anxiously desired an amicable adjustment of all our difficulties. He knew, that he should come to the negotiation breathing the spirit of conciliation, and with the most sincere wishes to accomplish a permanent and honorable peace. Nor could he fail to indulge the grateful anticipation, that if the mission were crowned with success, it would be a glorious discharge of public duty, and bring with it a solid increase of reputation. If, on the other hand, the mission were unsuccessful, being but of a temporary nature, it would not withdraw him for a long period from his professional pursuits; and would leave him the consolation, that he had not shrunk from fidelity to his country in her hour of difficulty.

After some hesitation, Mr Marshall accepted the appointment, and soon afterward embarked for Amsterdam. On his arrival at the Hague he met General Pinckney, and having received passports they proceeded to Paris. The mission was unsuccessful; the envoys were never accredited by the French government, and Mr Marshall returned to America in the summer of 1798.

It is not within the design of this sketch to enter into a full examination of the merits of this negotiation, so honorable to our own country, and, in our judgment, so disgraceful to France. The whole of the proceedings were laid before Congress by President Adams, and are now to be found among the printed state papers. Although General Pinckney was placed with great propriety at the head of the commission, and it is but a small tribute to his memory to declare, that he was a man of fine sense, and high and almost chivalric honor; yet the truth of

history requires it to be stated, that upon Mr Marshall principally devolved the duty of preparing the official despatches. They have been universally attributed to his pen, and are models of skilful reasoning, forcible illustration, accurate detail, and urbane and dignified moderation. In the annals of our diplomacy there are no papers, upon which an American can look back with more unmixed pride and pleasure. When they were first published, they created an astonishing excitement throughout the whole continent; and the public feeling was roused to the highest point of indignation at our wrongs and the gross insults offered to the nation in the persons of its Envoys. The fame of Mr Marshall received new lustre from his conduct on this occasion; and upon his return home he was received with enthusiastic demonstrations of respect, and immediately solicited to resume public life and become a candidate for Congress. During his absence he kept a journal of his diplomatic transactions, which we presume he still possesses; and we have seen letters addressed by him to General Washington, full of that wisdom, patriotism, and sound discernment, which formed the essential characteristics of both. At some future time we trust they will belong to the public.

The opinion of General Washington always had great influence with Mr Marshall, and to have been distinguished by him as a friend could not but be a flattering, perhaps the most flattering proof of merit. Mr Marshall on his return home found, that he had sustained no loss by a diminution of professional business, and looked forward to a resumption of his labors with higher hopes. He peremptorily refused for a considerable time to become a candidate for Congress, and avowed his determination to remain at the bar. At this juncture he was invited by General Washington to pass a few days at Mount Vernon; and having accepted the invitation, he went there in in company with Mr Justice Washington, the nephew of General Washington, and now a highly distinguished Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States.

What took place upon that occasion, we happen to have the good fortune to know from an authentic source. General Washington did not for a moment disguise the object of his invitation; it was to urge upon Mr Marshall and Mr Washington the propriety of their becoming candidates for Congress. Mr Washington yielded to the wishes of his uncle without a struggle. But Mr Marshall resisted on the ground of his situation,

and the necessity of attending to his private affairs. The reply of General Washington to these suggestions will never be forgotten by those, who heard it. It breathed the spirit of the loftiest virtue and patriotism. He said, that there were crises in national affairs, which made it the duty of a citizen to forego his private for the public interest. He considered the country to be then in one of these. He detailed his opinions freely on the nature of the controversy with France, and expressed his conviction, that the best interests of America depended upon the character of the ensuing Congress. He adverted to his own situation. He had retired from the Executive Department with the firmest determination never again to appear in a public capacity. He had communicated this determination to the public, and his motives for it were too strong not to be well understood. Yet he was now pledged to appear once more at the head of the American army; and from this circumstance it must be evident, what were his own convictions of the duty imposed upon every citizen by the state of American affairs. The conversation was long and animated and impressive, full of the deepest interest, and the most unreserved confidence. The exhortation of General Washington had its effect. Mr Marshall yielded to his representations, and became a candidate, and was, after an ardent contest, elected, and took his seat in Congress in December, 1799. While he was yet a candidate, he was offered a seat on the bench of the Supreme Court, then vacant by the death of Mr Justice Iredell. Upon his declining it President Adams appointed Mr Justice Washington, who was thus prevented from becoming a member of Congress.

The session of Congress in the winter of 1799–1800 will for ever be memorable in the annals of America. Men of the highest talents and most commanding influence in the Union were there assembled, and arrayed with all the hostility of party spirit, and all the zeal of conscious responsibility, against each other. Every important measure of the administration was subjected to the most scrutinizing criticism; and was vindicated with a warmth proportionate to the ability of the attack. Mr Marshall took an active part in the debates, and on one occasion distinguished himself in a manner, which will not easily be forgotten. We refer to the debate on the resolutions of Mr Edward Livingston, then a member from New York, relative to the case of Thomas Nash *alias* Jonathan Robbins. The

facts were, that a murder had been committed on board the British frigate, Hermione, on the high seas, and Nash, who had sought an asylum in the United States, was accused of being one of the murderers. The twenty-seventh article of the British treaty of 1794 provided, that the respective governments of Great Britain and the United States should, on mutual requisitions by their ministers, deliver up to justice all persons, who being charged with murder or forgery within the jurisdiction of either, should seek an asylum within any of the countries of the other, upon such evidence of criminality, as, according to the laws of the place, where the person or fugitive so charged should be found, would justify his apprehension, and a commitment for trial, if the offence had been there committed. The British minister applied to the Executive for the delivery of Nash according to the stipulation of the treaty. Nash was arrested in South Carolina, and was brought before the District Judge in that state by a writ of *habeas corpus*, and the President signified to him his wish, that if the evidence warranted, the prisoner should be delivered over to the British minister. Upon a full hearing the District Judge was satisfied, that the proofs were sufficient, and delivered up the prisoner to the British authorities, by whom he was sent to Jamaica. The prisoner was there upon trial convicted of the offence, and suffered the punishment of death accordingly.

Nash, upon his examination before the District Judge, made affidavit of his being an American citizen, born in Danbury, Connecticut, and that he was an impressed seaman. The conduct of the Executive on this occasion was the subject of much harsh animadversion in the newspapers; and in South Carolina, in particular, the propriety of the proceeding was denied in a public letter, acknowledged to have been written by Mr Charles Pinckney, then a Senator in Congress from that state. The object of Mr Livingston's resolution was to procure a vote of censure of the Executive proceedings, as utterly destitute of legal authority. It may be easily imagined, that, smarting as the nation was under the odious exercise of impressment by British officers, the circumstances alleged by Nash were well calculated to inflame the public resentment, and to produce a strong popular feeling in his favor. It is now understood, that in point of fact he was a British subject, and not born in America. The resolutions were supported by Mr Livingston, Mr Gallatin, and other distinguished gentlemen;

they were opposed by Mr Bayard, Mr Marshall, and others. The speech of Mr Marshall on that occasion has been preserved.* It is a most profound and admirable argument, and in the most conclusive manner establishes the propositions, that the case was within the provision of the treaty; that it was proper for executive, and not for judicial decision; and that in deciding it, the President was not chargeable with any interference with judicial duties. So complete was the demonstration, that it put the question at rest for ever. The speech was perfectly overwhelming; and like the celebrated letter of the Duke of Newcastle on the Prussian Memorial, it may be characterized, in the language attributed to Montesquieu, as a '*réponse sans réplique.*' We have often heard an anecdote, for the truth of which we cannot however vouch, that a celebrated statesman, then in the opposition in Congress, was requested to answer it, and upon declining the task, said he must leave it to others; for himself, he deemed it unanswerable.†

In May, 1800, Mr Marshall was, without the slightest personal communication, nominated by the President to the office of Secretary of War, upon the dismissal of Mr McHenry. We believe, that the first information received of it by Mr Marshall was at the department itself, where he went to transact some business previous to his return to Virginia. He immediately wrote a letter, requesting the nomination to be withdrawn by the President. It was not, and his appointment was confirmed by the Senate. The rupture between the President and Colonel Pickering, who was then Secretary of State, soon afterwards occurred, and Mr Marshall was appointed his successor. This was indeed an appointment in every view most honorable to his merits, and for which he was in the highest degree qualified. Yet he had great difficulties in accepting it; and his final determination to accept it was mainly influenced by the same motive, which induced him to surrender his practice at the bar for a seat in Congress, a deep sense of public duty. The circumstances, under which he took the office, were not without embarrassment. The late cabinet had been dissolved in a manner, which left room for the indulgence of some person-

* It will be found reprinted in the Appendix to the fifth volume of Wheaton's Reports.

† The resolutions were lost by a vote of 61 against 35, some of the anti-administration party voting against them.

al resentments, if not recriminations; and the warm attachment, which Mr Marshall at all times evinced for President Adams, would naturally excite some coolness in those, who were then alienated from him. He had, however, the satisfaction soon to find himself upon the most cordial terms with all the Cabinet, and in the full possession of the unlimited confidence of the public.

Upon the resignation of Mr Chief Justice Ellsworth, a good deal of public anxiety was expressed respecting his successor. The friends of Mr Justice Patterson, who was certainly an eminent Judge, indulged the hope, that he would be nominated to the office. When the President consulted the Secretary of State on this subject, the latter unhesitatingly recommended Mr Patterson. The President, however, had an insuperable objection to the nomination, assigning as a reason, that he could not make it without wounding the feelings of Mr Justice Cushing, who was an old friend, and the senior Judge on the bench. He nominated Mr Jay, who declined; and as soon as that fact was known, the President, with unusual promptitude and decision, nominated Mr Marshall. The nomination was confirmed by the Senate, and Mr Marshall, on the 31st day of January, 1801, became Chief Justice of the United States, and has continued ever since that period to fill the office with increasing reputation and unsullied dignity. The wisdom of this choice, whatever might have been the disappointment or partiality of the friends of other candidates, has been fully established by the event. The sagacity and independence of President Adams, that intuitive perception of character, and comprehensiveness of observation, almost amounting to prophecy, which were so prominent traits in his mind, never were unfolded in a more imposing form. There is probably not a reflecting man in America of any party, or any fragment of any party, who would not now cheerfully admit, that the highest judicial honors could not have fallen on any one, who could have sustained them with more solid advantage to the glory or interests of the country.

Splendid, indeed, as has been the judicial career of this eminent man, it is scarcely possible, that the extent of his labors, the vigor of his intellect, or the untiring accuracy of his learning should be duly estimated, except by the profession, of which he is so great an ornament. Questions of law rarely assume a cast, which introduces them to extensive public no-

tice; and those, which require the highest faculties of mind to master and expound, are commonly so intricate and remote from the ordinary pursuits of life, that the generality of readers do not bring to the examination of them the knowledge necessary to comprehend them, or the curiosity, which imparts a relish and flavor to them. For the most part, therefore, the reputation of judges is confined to the narrow limits, which embrace the votaries of jurisprudence; and many of those exquisite judgments, which have cost days and nights of the most elaborate study, and for power of thought, beauty of illustration, variety of learning, and elegant demonstration, are justly numbered among the highest reaches of the human mind, find no admiration beyond the ranks of lawyers, and live only in the dusty repositories of their oracles. The fame of the warrior is for ever embodied in the history of his country, and is colored with the warm lights reflected back by the praise of many a distant age. The orator and the stateman live not merely in the recollections of their powerful eloquence, or the deep impressions made by them on the character of the generation in which they lived, but are brought forth for public approbation in political debates, in splendid volumes, in collegiate declamations, in the works of rhetoricians, in the school-books of boys, and in the elegant extracts of maturer life. Not to go back to the ancients, the speeches of Chatham, and Burke, and Sheridan, and Pitt, and Fox, and Grattan, will be familiar to the ears, and uttered by the voices of thousands, who never heard of the gigantic learning of Coke, the commanding judgment of Holt, the infinitely varied professional attainments of Hardwicke, the felicitous and convincing genius of Mansfield, the cautious and unerring sagacity of Eldon, the almost preternatural union of judicial eloquence, exquisite diction, and sound principles in Stowell; or, to name a few among the illustrious living and dead of our own country, the unostentatious but vigorous sense of Tilghman, the profound and acute discernment of Parsons, or the exhausting diligence and polished strength of Kent.

We shall not attempt, on this occasion, to enter upon a minute survey of the official labors of Chief Justice Marshall. However instructive or interesting such a course might be to the profession, the considerations already adverted to sufficiently admonish us, that it would not be very welcome to the mass of other readers. But there is one class of cases, which

ought not to be overlooked, because it comes home to the business and bosom of every citizen of this country, and is felt in every gradation of life from the chief magistrate down to the inmate of the cottage. We allude to the grave discussions of constitutional law, which during his time have attracted so much of the talents of the bar in the Supreme Court, and sometimes agitated the whole nation. If all others of the Chief Justice's juridical arguments had perished, his luminous judgments on these occasions would have given an enviable immortality to his name.

There is in the discharge of this delicate and important duty, which is peculiar to our institutions, a moral grandeur and interest, which it is not easy to over-estimate either in a political or civil view. In no other country on earth are the acts of the legislature liable to be called in question, and even set aside, if they do not conform to the standard of the constitution. Even in England, where the principles of civil liberty are cherished with uncommon ardor, and private justice is administered with a pure and elevated independence, the acts of Parliament are, by the very theory of the government, in a legal sense omnipotent. They cannot be gainsaid or overruled. They form the law of the land, which controls the prerogative and even the descent of the crown itself, and may take away the life and property of the subject without trial and without appeal. The only security is in the moderation of Parliament itself, and representative responsibility. The case is far otherwise in America. The state and national constitutions form the *supreme law* of the land, and the judges are sworn to maintain these charters of liberty, or rather these special delegations of power by the people (who in our governments are alone the depositaries of supreme authority and sovereignty), in their original vigor and true intendment. It matters not, how popular a statute may be, or how commanding the majority by which it has been enacted; it must stand the test of the constitution, or it falls. The humblest citizen may question its constitutionality; and its final fate must be settled upon grave argument and debate by the judges of the land.

Nor is this the mere theory of the constitution. It is a function, which has been often performed; and not a few acts of state as well as of national legislation, have been brought to this severe scrutiny; and after the fullest consideration, some have been pronounced to be void, because they were unconstitu-

tional. And these judgments have been acquiesced in, and obeyed, even when they were highly offensive to the pride and sovereignty of the state itself, or affected private and public interests to an incalculable extent.

Such, in America, is the majesty of the law. Such is the homage of a free people to the institutions, created by themselves. Such is the consciousness of every citizen, that he holds his life, his liberty, and his property by the judgment of his peers, and the sovereignty of the constitution. What, after all, is the most wonderful in this political machinery, is the simplicity of its structure, and the ease of its operation. A foreigner would suppose, that the accomplishment of such mighty effects would require the aid of every sort of external means of influence to guard it, and ensure its success. He would imagine, that the functionaries of such duties must have the advantages of noble birth, of hereditary right, of great wealth, of extensive patronage, and of the command of military resources. How great would be his surprise to learn, that the judges, who are to decide these questions in the last resort, are few in number, rarely wealthy, with moderate salaries, with no patronage beyond the poor appointment of the clerk of their own courts, with no array of military force, living unostentatiously among their fellow-citizens, and having no means of influence beyond what their talents and public services and private virtues might command in any other station. Yet they perform the duty fearlessly and independently, and often under circumstances of the most painful and trying responsibility, in the midst of popular prejudices, party triumphs, state strifes, and national dissatisfactions. We speak here, not particularly of the judges of the Supreme Court of the United States; but also of the judges of the highest state courts in the Union. The whole power possessed by all or any of them extends not, for any practical purpose, beyond a mere naked moral power, the power of solid reasoning, just exposition, and sober appeal to the good sense of honest and intelligent minds. Their strength is in their arguments; and they speak a law, which is obeyed, and followed, and respected, simply because the profession in its learned ranks approves it, and the community comprehends its justice and conservative authority. Whoever reflects deeply must perceive, that this is the balance-wheel of our political system, the regulator, which sometimes accelerates and sometimes retards the public movements, but always works

to ensure the general safety. Suspend its operation, or weaken its exercise, and we may still remain a federative government; but it will be one enfeebled and distracted by its bad adjustments, or hurried on to despotic excesses by the common plea of tyrants, the consciousness of power and the plausible pretences of necessity.

This topic is so copious, and of such everlasting consequence to the wellbeing of this Republic, that it furnishes matter for volumes; and we must escape from it with the brief hints already suggested, to resume the subject of the constitutional labors of Chief Justice Marshall. We emphatically say, of Chief Justice Marshall; for though we would not be unjust to those learned gentlemen, who have from time to time been his associates on the bench, we are quite sure, that they would be ready to admit, what the public universally believe, that his master mind has presided in their deliberations, and given to the results a cogency of reasoning, a depth of remark, a persuasiveness of argument, a clearness and elaboration of illustration, and an elevation and comprehensiveness of conclusion, to which none others offer a parallel. Few decisions upon constitutional questions have been made, in which he has not delivered the opinion of the Court; and in these few, the duty devolved upon others to their own regret, either because he did not sit in the cause, or from motives of delicacy abstained from taking an active part.

If we do not mistake, there is but a single case, in which his judgment is known to have differed from that of the Court upon any point of constitutional law. That case was Ogden *vs.* Saunders, decided at the last term of the Court, which involved the question of the constitutionality of an insolvent law, which was passed antecedently to the formation of a contract, and discharged its obligation. On this occasion, four judges, against the opinion of the Chief Justice and two other judges, decided in favor of the constitutionality of such a law. It is not for us to discuss the merits of this controversy; much less to assume the task of interpleading in such a cause, *magnas componere lites*. But we may be permitted to say, that the peculiar powers of the Chief Justice were never exhibited in a more impressive manner, or with more collected vigor. It is, indeed, a most delightful thought, that at the advanced age of seventy-two this great judge still retains the full possession of his faculties, and that he has gone on from year to year through

his judicial labors with powers constantly improving by their wholesome exercise; and that if a single year were to be selected to furnish the most various exhibitions of his talents, none could be selected with more propriety than the last. To justify our assertion, we ask the attentive reader to take up the twelfth volume of Mr Wheaton's Reports, and examine for himself. Let him peruse with a professional or a common mind the opinions in the cases of Clark *vs.* The City of Washington, Williams *vs.* Norris, The Bank of the United States *vs.* Dandridge, Brown *vs.* The State of Maryland, Henderson *vs.* Poindexter, and Ogden *vs.* Saunders (to which we have already adverted), let him peruse, we say, the opinions in these cases, and consider how complicated and difficult were the points involved in them, and we are sadly mistaken, if he will not rise from the task with the most unhesitating approbation of our declaration.

We had originally intended to give an historical sketch of the constitutional questions argued in the Supreme Court during the period of his Chief-Justiceship; and we remain of the belief, that it would have been not without interest even to persons, who have never embarked in juridical studies. But the subject has already swollen so much under our hands, that we are compelled to abandon it for the present. We cannot, however, quit the judicial character of Mr Marshall without expressing our earnest hope, that he may long remain in his present exalted station, adding new and solid lustre to our national jurisprudence. Mr Wheaton has just closed his own valuable labors as reporter, by accepting an appointment to serve the government in the more captivating and dignified employment of a foreign mission. The Chief Justice can wish no more fortunate fate, than to have his future opinions preserved in as durable a form by as gifted a successor.

We have thus given a brief, but we trust, a faithful sketch of the life and public services of the author of the work now before us. We have been tempted more than once to break through the reserve, which duty imposes upon us, in speaking of the living, that we might indulge ourselves in other sketches of a more private and domestic nature, which would carry a charm with them into every circle. But we must forget the man, and proceed to the author; and in the very narrow space yet left to us, endeavor to do some moderate justice to the History of the American Colonies.

We have already adverted to the severe diligence, with which the present revised edition has been prepared for publication by the author. From a regard to his own character, as well as from his habitual deference for public opinion, it may well be presumed, that the work has now attained a very high degree of accuracy. The public expectations in this respect will not be disappointed. Mr Marshall is not one of those ready writers, who run over a large mass of materials with a careless or indifferent eye, and sit down to write their first impressions, and fill up the spaces left vacant of facts with plausible conjectures, or imaginary events. He does not listen with implicit faith to every idle tale told by artless credulity or vulgar prejudice. He does not seek the title of superior wisdom by unsettling the truths of history, and proving, that all writers, but himself, have mistaken the facts and the characters of former times. He does not construct any new narrative of events, and in his own closet show how fields were lost or won, by drawing upon the resources of his own fancy. He does not dispute the veracity of persons nearest the scenes, simply because his own theory would be broken down by any admission in their favor. Far different is his course, and far different his ambition. The habits of his mind are close investigation, caution, patience, and a steady devotion to the weight of evidence. He examines all the materials before him with the sobriety and impartiality of judicial life. His conclusions, therefore, if they are not always absolutely correct, are such, as it is difficult to resist, and never without very strong historical support. We have no hesitation in declaring, that the present work contains the most authentic history of the colonies, which is extant; and that it may be relied on with entire safety, as combining accuracy with variety of information.

So far as the printed materials go, great care has been bestowed to embody in the narrative all important facts; and we venture to pronounce, that the authorities cited by him will be found upon examination fully to bear him out in every statement. The plan of the work excludes the notion, that it can expound with minute detail the rise and progress of every colony. That is properly the object of those local and distinct histories, which are employed in the survey of a single colony. In such a narrative, those domestic occurrences and local circumstances, which unfold the peculiar character of the inhabitants, their pursuits and their feelings, their faults and

their factions, find an appropriate place. They amuse the curious, and instruct the antiquary; they warm the hearts and kindle the imaginations of those, who are born on the spot, and feel the inspirations of the place. But, for the most part, they can only be glanced at by the historian, and then only, when they have left deep traces of the times behind them, and imparted impulses, which have extended to other and distant ages. The private and internal transactions of states bear a very close analogy to the biography of individuals. Each may furnish materials for general history, but must be forever separated from it in objects and interests.

Mr Marshall's work professes to be a general history of all the colonies, and it is necessarily compendious. Yet it narrates all important public facts, and on no proper occasion omits to present to us the manners, and principles, and feelings of our ancestors, proper to illustrate those facts. He does not obtrude his own reflections with a profuse and embarrassing pertinacity. But there are everywhere scattered through the volume, in an unostentatious manner, proofs of his sagacity, candor, and intimate knowledge of human nature.

The style of the work is in perfect keeping with the character of the author. It is perspicuous, simple, and forcible. It possesses no studied ornaments, no select phrases, no elegant turns, and no ambitious floridness. It is plain, pure, and unpretending. Many of those words in the former edition, which were objected to by British critics in no very kind spirit, as peculiar to America, though they exist in the writings of authors of good repute in their own country, have been sedulously removed from the text. We do not object to this, though we have had occasion to know, that some criticisms of this sort have been owing more to the ignorance or petulance of the reviewers, than to their sound taste or extensive acquaintance with English literature.

After what we have said, it seems hardly necessary to add, that we recommend the work, as entitled to a place in every well selected American library, and as indispensable for every person, who aspires to a general knowledge of the history of America. We trust the learned author will find leisure to revise in the same manner his Life of Washington, and to give it the last finishing touches of his ripest judgment. The close of his long and active life could not be employed more usefully for himself or his country.

There are two defects in the execution of the work, which we regret, and which may be easily removed in a subsequent edition. In the first place, the particular pages of the authorities cited are not given, so that the task of reference is very laborious to any reader, who wishes to verify a particular fact. In the next place there is no index to the matter of the work; and a table of the contents can never well supply such a deficiency. We do not dwell on these inconveniences; it is sufficient to point them out to the candor of the author.

Art. II.—*An Amended Version of the Book of Job, with an Introduction, and Notes chiefly explanatory.* By George R. Noyes. Cambridge, 8vo. pp. 200. Hilliard & Brown. 1827.

Much criticism has been expended on the Book of Job. Apart from its interpretation, several questions have been debated concerning the kind of composition, and the antiquity of the work; whether the history be true or fabulous; where the scene of the story is laid; to what age it is to be referred, and by whom it was written. On some of these questions, little satisfaction can be obtained, and we shall pass over the ground but very cursorily, before we come to speak particularly of Mr Noyes's Version.

With the exception of a short proem and conclusion, Job is acknowledged on all hands to be a poetical book. We do not seek the evidence of this in exact versification; for if any of the Hebrew writings ever had such a versification, we have now no means of ascertaining what it is. Oriental critics are not so idly employed now-a-days, as to search for the tetrameters, hexameters, sapphics, and iambics in Hebrew verse, of which the fanciful Jerome spoke so familiarly; but any one who is tolerably conversant with the Hebrew writings, will perceive a peculiar diction, and a distribution of sentences and members of sentences into that kind of correspondency of parts, which indicate some regard to numerical harmony; and which clearly distinguish the poetical books from those, which are merely narrative, or intended only to prescribe rules of life and

ritual observances. The same distinctive evidences, concerning the poetical books of the Hebrews, cannot fail to discover themselves in a skilful version; and though most of the readers of our common translation of Job have probably never suspected that they were reading a poem, yet with very little change of phraseology, and with suitable divisions of the lines, they must cease to have any doubts on the subject. But there are much higher qualities of poetry in the book before us, in comparison with which verse is a mere accident, an insignificant appendage. Aside from the theological question concerning its inspiration, there is in it a spirit of poetical inspiration, and an effulgence of sublime conception, which place it above all that is called beautiful and grand in epic or dramatic story. The hero, indeed, is distinguished by none of the favorite exploits of Grecian or Roman fame. He is signalized by no such deeds as those of Achilles, whom Horace, a poet of no very warlike propensities, characterizes rather harshly;

> 'Impiger, iracundus, inexorabilis, acer,
> Jura neget sibi nata, nihil non arroget armis.'

He has the patience and prudence of Ulysses, and the piety of Æneas, without the dissimulation of the first, and without being blazoned by the deeds of personal valor ascribed to either. He is altogether a moral hero. The sublimity of his character is wholly a moral sublimity. The character is not indeed perfect or immaculate; but, taken as a whole, it affords an illustrious example of constancy under sufferings, and of a mind triumphing, by the aid of conscious virtue and unshaken fidelity, over a succession of adverse events and overwhelming calamities, and the perplexing conduct of real or pretended friends.

The descriptions of Deity, who has so much agency in the progress of the story, and particularly in its catastrophe, are often similar to those of some of the prophetic writings. But they appear to be addressed still more than these to human comprehension, and sometimes remind us of the strong, sensible images, by which Moses illustrates the power of Jehovah, in his song of deliverance from Egyptian bondage. There are, however, frequent and remarkable instances of simple and yet elevated descriptions of God's power over the elements and the material creation, and of his invisible operations, which indicate a true conception of spirituality, unaided by material objects.

'He removeth the mountains, and they know it not;
He overturneth them in his anger.
He shaketh the earth out of her place,
And the pillars thereof tremble.
He commandeth the sun, and it riseth not,
And sealeth up the stars.
He alone spreadeth out the heavens,
And walketh upon the high waves of the sea.
He made Arcturus, Orion, and the Pleiades,
And the secret chambers of the South.
He doth great things past finding out,
Yea, wonderful things without number.
Lo! he goeth by me, but I see him not,
He passeth on, but I perceive him not.' ix, 5—11.

In all this there is a remarkable absence of symbolical representations of Jehovah. He *walketh* upon the waters, indeed; but there is no express mention of any members of material, bodily organization. The mountains are not removed by his powerful *arm*, nor the earth shaken, nor the pillars made to tremble by the *blast* or *breath of his nostrils*, nor the stars sealed up by his *fingers*. Throughout the book, there is a sort of inartificial gradation, though not a uniform climax, in the descriptions of Deity, which illustrate his dominion in the works of creation and providence, till they terminate at last in the most humbling challenge of human power and skill.

We might proceed to point out a great variety of particular and peculiar beauties in this composition. Little satisfaction however, is commonly derived from insulated examples of this kind; and when we come to analyze minutely what has pleased us in the aggregate, we resemble somewhat the artificer, who is delighted rather with the mechanism of the parts, than with the less distinct and general excellences of the whole, which command the admiration of most observers. We shall say nothing, therefore, of the animated apostrophes direct or indirect, which here and there occur; of the oracle which came secretly, and the ear caught a whisper; of the image whose form could not be discerned, accompanied by a breeze and a voice, and words of heavenly wisdom; of metaphors descriptive of divine attributes, of the tenure of human life, and of mortal weeknesses and woes; of moral delineations, whether of justice, beneficence, or charity; of strains of elegiac tenderness, or submissive devotion, or impatience and despair, all alike true to nature and to poetry; of scenic difficulties,

which are nets, and traps, and snares placed in the path, or the way fenced up, or the lamp extinguished, and light turned to darkness; of local scenery and local allusions, and illustrations from animated nature. All these are scattered richly and profusely, and decorate the poem with a drapery less ornate and splendid, to be sure, than that of more modern oriental poetry, but still highly beautiful and picturesque.

As it regards the class of poetical compositions, to which this book belongs, it seems very unimportant how it is determined, or whether it is determined at all. It has not, as Mr Noyes remarks, strictly speaking, such an action as the models of epic and dramatic story have prescribed to those kinds of writing. Instead of a prominent action, from which the great moral flows, the moral is the result of reasoning, and of the exercise of the suffering virtues. The supernatural machinery which consists in the intervention of Jehovah and of such ministers of his power as he chose to commission, is consonant with the opinions of the Hebrews. And though it is sublime and splendid, incomparably beyond what Gibbon calls the elegant mythology of the Greeks, yet it is such as is employed in the prophetic writings of after times, and not peculiar to any species of sacred poetry. Neither is the work in any proper sense dramatic. The interlocutors are few, and utter elaborate discourses and arguments. And though these discourses are full of animation, they resemble speeches rather than dialogue, and the persons aim to establish or confute a moral and religious position, by moral and religious reasoning and illustration, with very little dramatic show. If it is worth while, therefore, to give it any particular name, we have no objection to call it, with Mr Noyes, 'a didactic poem upon the ways of Providence; the leading design of which, is to establish the truth, that *character is not to be inferred from external condition;* and to enforce the duty of *submission to the will of God.*' Mr Noyes has given a very full and satisfactory analysis of the book, as well in the introduction to his Version, as in the argument prefixed to its several chapters, or other more natural divisions, in the notes which follow the translation; and thus the reader is prepared to peruse it understandingly.

Whether this book contains a true or a fabulous history, is a question which has been often agitated. There have been some, both among Jews and Christians, who deny that such a person as Job ever existed, and who contend that the whole

is a mere instructive fiction. Again there are others who maintain as strenuously the real existence of all the persons introduced, and the literal truth of the discourses, severally ascribed to them. Warburton considers the story as allegorical; making Job personate the Jews, and his three friends, as they are called, three great enemies of the Jews, and his wife the idolatrous wives of the people, mentioned by Nehemiah; thus bringing down the time to the return from the Babylonish captivity.

But where nothing can be known, and consequently affirmed with certainty, we must content ourselves with what is most natural and probable. Now it is consonant with all our knowledge of antiquity, that heroic stories, and such as are intended to enforce some great moral, however much of the fabulous may be mingled with them, are founded in historical facts belonging to real agents. And we can see no reason to doubt that there was such a person as Job; a man of great possessions and great probity; born and brought up in affluence; powerful and revered, beneficent and beloved; bereaved afterwards of his children, despoiled of his possessions, wasted by disease, and harassed by confident and self-constituted advisers; and who, irritated by their suspicions and reproofs, became weary of his life. And thus, when every thing went so ill with him, what more natural than the plaintive elegy with which the controversy between him and his three friends is closed. From this we select the following portions, in Mr Noyes's Version.

'O that I were as in months past,
In the days when God was my guardian!
When his lamp shone over my head,
And when by its light I walked through darkness!
As I was in the days of my youth,
When I communed with God in my tabernacle;
When the Almighty was yet with me,
And my children were around me;
When I washed my steps in milk,
And the rocks poured me out rivers of oil!

'When I went forth to the gate through the city,
And took my seat in the street,
The young men saw me, and hid themselves,
And the aged arose, and stood.
The princes refrained from speaking,

And laid their hand upon their mouth.
The nobles held their peace,
And their tongue cleaved to the roof of their mouth.
When the ear heard me, it blessed me;
And when the eye saw me, it bore witness to me.'
xxix, 2—11.

'But now they, that are younger than I, hold me in derision,
Whose fathers I should have disdained to place with the dogs of my flock.' xxx, 1.

'Worthless and despicable,
They were driven out of the land.
And now I am become their song;
Yea, I am their by-word.
They abhor me, they stand aloof from me;
They forbear not to spit in my face.
They loosen the reins, and afflict me;
They cast off the bridle before me.
On my right hand rise up their brood;
They trip up my feet;
They raise up ways for my destruction.' xxx, 8—12.

We have said that there is sufficient reason to believe that Job was a real person, and that the history is founded in truth. Ancient tradition favors the supposition. 'If I have any perception of truth,' says Doederlein, 'tradition for a long time preserved the memory of Job.' But we are not obliged to suppose that his words are preserved with literal exactness; that a person prostrated with grief and pain, uttered himself in language the most eloquent and glowing, in an uninterrupted stream of poetical thoughts, and in poetical and metrical language too. Whatever we are told of the extraordinary faculty of the Arabs, in pouring out their unpremeditated verse, it goes but little way to account for the variety and magnificence, the beauty and grandeur of this divine poem. The scenery of the country in which it is supposed to have been written, where the inhabitants are surrounded with dark forests, and horrible precipices, and frightful solitudes, might give rise to unstudied images of terror, and naked and sublime descriptions of external objects. These must have been familiar to an inhabitant of the deserts and mountains of Arabia. But to clothe them in their moral garb, to use them in reasoning and illustration, to string these pearls, if we may use an oriental figure, so as to give connexion and design to the whole, seems to be

the work of labor and of art. It is hardly credible, says *Mercer*, one of the most judicious and faithful commentators upon Job, that, in the condition in which he is described to have been, he could have spoken in this way. 'He said more or less; and this is the sense of what he said, afterwards reduced to the present form by the writer of the book.'

Bu though there is no difficulty in believing that Job was a real person, and that the facts in the history, as well as his feelings, and the general import of his language are given with sufficient fidelity, it is impossible to ascertain with any certainty who he was, or how he became so much known to the Hebrews, and so much regarded by them. All the knowledge we have of him is from the book itself, which seems to have no connexion with the history of the Israelites; and he is mentioned by none of the writers of their sacred books, till long after the time in which he is generally supposed to have lived, and the book which bears his name to have been written. It has been supposed by some, indeed, that he is the *Jobab* mentioned in Genesis, in the genealogy of Esau's descendants, and among those who rose to sovereignty in Edom or Idumæa This opinion grew out of a spurious appendix in some of the ancient versions, describing his descent, and was countenanced by some of the fathers, who wished to leave nothing unaccounted for. But it is not usual in the writings of the Old Testament to contract or change a name without any warning; and the degree of similarity of names in this case, amounts to little, and it would in fact be entitled to no regard, if the scene of the book were not supposed by some to lie in Edom, and its materials, in their opinion, to be more ancient than the writings of Moses. For, though Job claims to have been distinguished by great dignity, and to have commanded great reverence in the time of his prosperity, insomuch that princes and nobles were silent in his presence, yet there is no allusion in his discourses or history to his ever having been invested with royal authority.

In some of the preceding remarks, we have taken it for granted that the book of Job is of Arabian origin; and in this opinion there is a sufficient concurrence among the most approved critics. But there is a diversity of opinion concerning the part of Arabia, which is called the land of *Uz*, where Job is said to have lived. In the Septuagint version this name is translated *Αὐσῖτις*; and *Ptolemy*, who is accounted most worthy

of credit in regard to the affairs of ancient Arabia, represents the *Αὐσῖται* as the inhabitants of a country near Babylon. It is accordingly placed by Spanheim, and by Rosenmüller after him, in the northern part of Arabia Deserta, and contiguous to the Euphrates and to Mesopotamia; being the part nearest to the Chaldeans, and also to the Sabæans, of whose incursions mention is made in the introduction of the book of Job. Those who suppose that this was a part of Idumæa, must make the distinction of West and East Idumæa, with Calmet, which has no other basis than conjecture.

Another fruitful subject of speculation, is the period of the history of the Hebrews to which the contents of the book of Job are to be referred. Some would make Job prior to Moses, and the history contained in the book which bears his name older than the Mosaic law; between the time of Genesis and Exodus. This opinion is founded mainly in the fact, that there is no mention of the rites, and customs, and affairs of the Israelites throughout the whole book. Now it is maintained, that Moses was the great model, or pattern, to which all the after writers constantly recurred, and that they never failed to make those allusions which showed their national origin. There does seem to be much weight in this argument, on the supposition that the work was written by a Hebrew for the use of Hebrews; though its weight is lessened by the consideration suggested by Mr Noyes, that all the characters are Arabians, upon whom the laws and usages instituted by Moses were not binding. And yet it seems a little remarkable, that in so large a composition of an Israelite, nothing should steal forth, even by inadvertence, which should betray his kin to the peculiar people. The language of all the characters introduced is consistent in respect to the unity of God; but this shows nothing more than the great antiquity of the book; that it existed before pure theism was supplanted by the worship of the heavenly host; at least while just notions of the divine unity were maintained by the more thinking and enlightened, though it would seem that the worship of the *heavenly host*, which was probably the beginning of all idolatry, was not unknown:

> 'If I have beheld the sun in his splendor,
> Or the moon advancing in brightness,
> And my heart have been secretly enticed,
> And my mouth have kissed my hand,—

> This also were a crime to be punished by the judge;
> For I should have denied the God, who is above.'
> xxxi, 26—28.

Among the poets of Arabia, no less than among the philosophers, it is maintained by Sir William Jones, that a pure theism long outlived the stupid and gross idolotry which prevailed among the mass of the people. We may conclude, therefore, whoever was the writer of the book before us, that the opinions of the several characters are justly represented, even if it come down much lower than the time of Moses. The persons of the poem not being Israelites, and the place of Job's abode not being within the realm of Israel, are thought by some to be reasons sufficient why there should not only be no mention of the affairs of the Hebrews, but why the writer should be studiously silent concerning them. If this view of the case be satisfactory, nothing so far is determined concerning the date of the book, and we are left at liberty to fix it at any period of the Hebrew history, where other evidence may lead to a decision of the point.

There are many things in this book, says Rosenmüller (giving credit to hints before thrown out by Bernstein), which show that Job lived at a time when men were getting beyond the simplicity of the patriarchal age. Job himself lived in a city, and if he were not its chief, he was, from his own testimony, one of its principal men. Mention is made of the tumult of the city, of a written sentence, of words written and inscribed in a book or register, and engraven on a rock with an iron instrument. There is no evidence of the existence of any kind of writing among the Hebrews before the time of Moses. 'Some,' says Warburton, 'suppose letters to have been in use among the patriarchs, and to have been transmitted by them to the Egyptians; but there are such strong objections to this opinion, to mention no other than the patriarchs sending verbal messages, when it was more natural and more expedient to send them written, that others have thought proper to bring them down to Moses.' This learned prelate's own opinion is, that Moses, instead of having introduced letters into Egypt, as some maintain, was there educated as well in the knowledge of the alphabet, as in the general learning of the country.

That the writer of the book of Job was a Hebrew, there can be little doubt, since there are in it so many sentiments,

and opinions, and modes of thinking, and forms of expression analogous to those in other sacred writings of the Old Testament. These analogies exist between Job and the Psalms to a considerable degree, and are more numerous and striking between Job and the Proverbs; and this has led many to ascribe it to David or Solomon. It is demanded, what else can be the occasion of the agreement; whether the author of Job drew from the Psalms and Proverbs, or the writers of these last imitated Job; or the parallelisms flowed from a common fountain. In a certain sense, the last supposition seems to be the true one. And the solution given by Rosenmüller appears to be perfectly natural and satisfactory, though perhaps a little too limited. The agreement which is so often detected between Job and the Psalms and Proverbs, according to him, proceeds not from imitation, but from a mode of speaking and philosophizing, a state of learning, of knowledge, and of opinions common to the same age. And, he adds, if we fix upon a time for the origin of the book of Job, we cannot be far out of the way in placing it between the time of Hezekiah and Zedekiah. In coming to this conclusion, he is influenced in some degree by the language and style, which tend towards Chaldaism. Parallel passages between Job and other parts of the Old Testament, are not confined to the poetical or prophetical writings only, but can be traced even in the Pentateuch. Nor is there anything marvellous in this. We may take a long period in the literary history of almost any cultivated people, and find a multitude of similar examples of agreement in their poetical writings, which bring no deserved suspicion of imitation or plagiarism upon the later author. This is true even in English letters, mutable as the language has been, and copious as it is in words and combinations. But take a language so limited as the Hebrew, the changes in which were very gradual for ages, in which so little was recorded, and so many proverbial and striking expressions were fixed in the memory; and it is not at all surprising that writings of a similar class should have many similarities of sentiment and phrase, though very remote from each other in point of time; quite as many as we find in the case we are considering, which we need not go about to account for by supposing a designed imitation. The other argument taken from the Aramaic dialect, to which the book of Job approaches, if it amounted to much, would go to prove a still more recent origin, than that

which is fixed upon by Rosenmüller. Some learned critics, and among them the celebrated Gesenius, say that all the poetical writings of the Old Testament border upon the Aramaic dialects. Now if this be admitted, it is justly inferred that the dialect of the book we are considering does not necessarily prove the recent origin of the work, but only its poetical style. Indeed when we find, as we often do, how rashly great oriental critics have decided on these subjects, and how widely they differ from each other, we are disposed to value the following caution as worthy to be placed among the *canons* of biblical criticism, in regard to the Old Testament; 'We should not judge very positively concerning the antiquity of the books, guided by a certain peculiar sound of words and style, before the history of the Hebrew language and its various dialects, are thoroughly examined and explained.'

We have said nothing concerning the author of Job, because we consider the attempt to ascertain this point entirely hopeless. But the canonical authority of the book is well established. Though it is not mentioned expressly by Philo and Josephus, who had no occasion to cite it, yet it is acknowledged by Jerome and Origen among the christian fathers, and also in the Talmud, beside being quoted in the Epistle of James. Its having a place in the canon of the Old Testament, is a strong proof that it was written by a Hebrew, since, as Mr Noyes remarks, the Hebrews were jealous of their religious prerogatives, and would not be likely to admit into their sacred volume a poem written by a foreigner.

Every reader of our common version of the book of Job, who has thought at all on the subject, must have frequently felt the want of an amended version, in various instances, notwithstanding the universal attachment which exists to the language of the old translation. Mr Noyes expresses great respect, in common with the general feeling on this subject, for the common version of the Bible;

'It has great merit in several respects. No new translation can or ought to succeed, which does not resemble it in language and style. For the excellence of its language, however, we are not, as is commonly supposed, indebted to king James's translators, but to the successive translators of the Bible from the time of the first English version.

'Much light has been shed upon the meaning of the sacred volume, since the common version was made. The present trans-

lator does not profess to have made discoveries. He has only attempted, by a careful study of the original, with the help of the best commentaries and lexicons, to bring forward for common use what has long existed, but has been locked up in ponderous folios, or in ancient or foreign languages. The notes are designed for various classes of readers, and intended to be chiefly explanatory. But with respect to the more important alterations, it has been thought best to give some of the reasons and authorities on which they were founded.' *Introduction*, p. ix.

Whoever shall examine Mr Noyes's list of the principal works which he has consulted, and the notes which are annexed to his version, will be alike satisfied with the extent and the impartiality of his researches; and that they are directed mainly to the correction of false or obscure translations. Not that he has never deviated from the common version for the sake of a better word or expression, which does not essentially affect the meaning; or from taste, where the language might be improved, without losing any of its force; but he has never deviated, as far as we can perceive, through affectation or caprice. He has not allowed himself the latitude, and could not, according to the rules he prescribed to himself, which Dryden gave in laying down the principles of translation from the ancient classic poets. It would be ludicrous, indeed, to make a Hebrew speak, as he would have spoken, if he had spoken in English. But there is a due regard to our vernacular idiom, which must be observed by a translator from writings in any language, or of any age. And it happened from inattention to this particular, and from false notions of fidelity, that obscurities were allowed by our old translators to deface their work; obscurities nearly allied to error, and calculated sometimes to mislead the reader.

While the Germans abound with translations of this and other books of the Old Testament, both in Latin and in their vernacular tongue, English theologians and scholars have been very sparing of similar labors. There is no English version of Job of much critical and poetical pretensions combined, except that of *John Mason Good;* and in our opinion the pretensions of this version in neither respect are very well sustained. The simplicity which ought to reign in the translation, is too often marred by a forced inversion of language, by unusual words and far-fetched interpretations, by an affected compounding of terms, and an ambitious display of poetical phraseology.

Take, for example, the commencement of the poem, where Job breaks out in execrations of the day of his birth.

'Perish the day in which I was born!
And the night which shouted, a man child is brought forth!
O! be that day darkness!
Let not God unclose it from on high!
Yea, let no sunshine irradiate it!
Let darkness and death-shade crush it!
The gathered tempest pavilion over it!
The blast of noon-tide terrify it!
That night—let extinction seize it!
Let it not rejoice amidst the days of the year,
Nor enter into the number of the months!'

Good's Job, chap. iii, 3—6.

'Perish the day in which I was born,
And the night which said, 'A man child is brought forth!'
Let that day be darkness;
Let not God regard it from above;
Yea, let not the light shine upon it!
Let darkness and the shadow of death dishonor it;
Let a cloud dwell upon it;
Let the deadly heats of the day terrify it!
As for that night, let darkness seize upon it;
Let it not rejoice among the days of the year;
Let it not come into the number of the months!'

Noyes's Job, chap. iii, 3—6.

We should be willing to leave it to every reader of taste to say, which of these translations best comports with the notions he has formed of the circumstances that gave rise to these impassioned exclamations; which is most conformable to the natural language of passion. And we hazard nothing in affirming that Mr Noyes's version of the passage is more faithful, and corresponds much more nearly to the versions of the best translators and critics.

Dr Good's governing reason for *shouted* instead of *said*, is, that it is more spirited; but to our ears, it is a term rather too riotous. *Unclose* is a meaning of remote inference from the primary meaning of the original. *Sunshine irradiate* it, *tempest pavilion* over it, and *extinction* seize it,—are instances of departure from the simplicity of the Hebrew phraseology. 'Let the tempest pavilion over it,' is what Mr Noyes renders in the same way as is done in our common version, and with literal exactness, 'let a cloud dwell upon it.' *Death-shade*

instead of 'shadow of death,' which last is familiar to every reader of the English Bible, and translated in Latin versions *umbra mortis*, is adopted for no other reason, as we can perceive, but because it is a compound similar to the Hebrew. But 'shadow of death' is the literal rendering, and 'death-shade' is an inversion of the words of the Hebrew compound. *Crush*, in the same line, instead of 'dishonor' or pollute, is substituted from the meaning of a supposed kindred verb in Arabic; a kind of criticism always requiring caution, but very dangerous as it is wielded by Dr Good, and in the present case introduced in defiance of all the rules of etymology, which regard the analogy subsisting between the Hebrew and Arabic letters.

There is a diversity in one line, in the passages cited, between Dr Good and Mr Noyes, and other translators, which is worth remarking as affording an instance of great obscurity in the original; and by no means a solitary instance in this book.

'The blast of noon-tide terrify it!' *Good.*
'Let the deadly heats of the day terrify it!' *Noyes.*
'Let the blackness of the day terrify it!' *Common Version.*
'Horrificent cum dirissima quæque!' *Rosenmüller.*
'Ihn schrecke jegliches Unheil!' *Augusti und De Wette.*

The literal meaning of the word that has given rise to these different interpretations, depends on its derivation; and it signifies, according to the primitive, either *heat* or *bitterness*. The noun is in the plural form, and is followed by the word signifying *day*. Dr Good takes his flight from the *æstus*, or *vapores æstus*, of Cocceius, to *pestilential vapors*, and thence to *black blasts*, and thence to poisonous winds (*videlicet*, Simoom or Samum), till he lights upon the poetical phrase *blast of noon-tide*. Mr Noyes, without superinducing one meaning upon another, takes the sense which naturally flows from the primitive, according to Gesenius (and he might have added, Buxtorf, Cocceius, and others), and adds an epithet not unsuitable to the intensive signification of the word, *deadly* heats. The word used in our common version is authorized by some learned lexicographers. The translations of Rosenmüller and De Wette are founded upon a different supposed primitive—the *bitternesses* of the day—whatever evils could befal it.

We forbear to enter into any minute criticism of the passages, which we have selected from the two versions of Dr Good and Mr Noyes. What we have done is merely from a wish to give the general reader as fair and intelligible a view as we are able in so short a compass, and from a single specimen, of the relative merits of these two translations. For Dr Good's version, with the introduction and voluminous notes, is a large volume, and one of imposing appearance; and when we are calling the public attention to a new English version, the merits and defects of its predecessor come fairly before us. To our taste, Dr Good has too many wayward fancies in his mode of interpretation; he is too much afraid of simplicity, which we should think, from some of his renderings and annotations, he holds to be a word synonymous with feebleness; he is often drawn out of his way by remote analogies, and is so fearful of creeping, that he ever and anon soars aloft with too venturous wings. Though a man of various learning, we have not so much confidence as we could wish, in the accuracy of his *oriental* learning. By his frequent use of it, he would seem to claim some eminence in this department; but from the multitude of errors which might be pointed out in his criticisms, it can hardly be allowed him. Many of these errors were exposed some years since by the Eclectic reviewers; and thus bringing upon themselves a pretty angry attack from the author, they afterwards made very thorough work in the execution of their thankless office; and in their efforts to increase the amount of evidence, sometimes perhaps bordered upon hypercriticism, and sometimes made the critic answerable for all the untractableness of the types. But after the most generous deductions, enough remained to establish the fact, that he was not among the number of accurate and careful critics. And we might proceed to show, what, if we rightly remember, was not remarked upon in those reviews, namely, that his criticisms drawn from languages kindred to the Hebrew, particularly from the Arabic, are often unsound, and sometimes founded in radical mistakes concerning the etymology of words.

Mr Noyes, on the contrary, cautiously feels his way, and if he sometimes errs, as well he may, in his interpretations, it is where there is great uncertainty about the true course. His object is always to give some meaning; and this, especially where no essential doctrines are involved, but only the purpose of giving connexion and intelligibleness to discourse, is certain-

ly better than giving no meaning at all. We may say of Job, what a celebrated translator of ancient classic poets said of Persius; that the most skilful interpreter can only divine his meaning in some cases, and cannot be sure that he has divined rightly. In such cases, it is not the translator's business to make nonsense, or throw about the passage a convenient ambiguity, but, after weighing probabilities, to come as near the author's sense as he can. Such appears to have been the process in producing the Amended Version, which is distinguished by its simplicity and good taste, and bears the marks of patient investigation and good judgment.

In the introduction to this book, there occurs four times a word, which, in the rendering of our common version, has probably struck most readers as a very harsh expression. In the fifth verse of the first chapter, Job says, 'It may be that my sons have sinned, and *cursed* God in their hearts.' In the eleventh verse, Satan says to Jehovah, 'Put forth thine hand now, and touch all that he hath, and he will *curse* thee to thy face;' and again in the fifth verse of the second chapter, 'Touch his bone and his flesh, and he will *curse* thee to thy face.' In the ninth verse of the same chapter, his wife says to Job, '*Curse* God and die.' Now that the same Hebrew word, and a word that constantly occurs in the Old Testament, signifying *bless*, should here seem to require an opposite rendering, has been somewhat of a *crux interpretum*. We remember to have heard of a gentleman, when in a state of pupilage, who was well nigh won by an Oriental Professor to join the Hebrew class, being so appalled with the uncertainty of the language, from the unlucky mention of this case by the professor, that he renounced his purpose in despair. But Dr Good would restore the word to its legitimate and primary meaning in all cases, and remove all the difficulties in the instances here cited. This he does by a process, to speak very gently of it, *parcè detortum;* and by liberties which no critic probably will grant him. He translates 'My sons may have sinned, *nor blessed* God in their hearts.' i, 5. 'Will he then indeed bless thee to thy face?' i, 11, and ii, 5. 'Dost thou hold fast thine integrity, blessing God and dying?' ii, 9. The violence done to the original in the first instance, is that of giving the connective *vav* a negative signification, *nor*, the same as *and not*, while the preceding member, with which this is connected, is affirmative; and with all the latitude which must be

given to this connective, we are confident that the use here supposed by the translator, is unexampled. The second and third instances, rendered interrogatively, are also wholly unauthorized, and are vindicated by no examples. The compound particle used in the Hebrew, implies a strong asseveration; *formula juramenti*, as some of the lexicographers express it. If therefore it admits of an interrogative form, in any case, the negative part of the compound must not be overlooked; and instead of 'Will he then, indeed, bless thee,' we must supply a small word, and read, 'Will he *not* then, indeed, bless thee,' which is an emendation that would not be quite suitable to Dr Good's purpose. The case of Job's wife, as it is commonly understood, is the most revolting of all. Perhaps the notion of an ironical use of the word is not unsuitable in this place; though we should rather favor a similar sense to that in which we think the word is used in the preceding cases. Now if there is a secondary use of the word, not unlike that which often takes place in all languages, which affords an explanation of these passages, such as will approve itself to the judicious, then it is worthy to be adopted. Mr Noyes has given a good summary of the reasons which have induced him, in common with many eminent critics, to adopt the rendering in his Version, in which he has preserved a uniformity in the several texts we have quoted from the common version and from Dr Good's translation.

'Chapter i, verse 5.—*and renounced God in their hearts*; i. e. been unmindful of him, dismissed him from their thoughts, or withheld the reverence and homage which are his due. It is hardly credible that Job suspected his children of *cursing* God. He was only apprehensive lest the gaiety of a festival had made them forget God, and neglect his service and worship. The term בָּרַךְ generally signifies *to bless*. It was the term of salutation between friends at meeting and parting. See Gen. xxviii. 3. xlvii. 10. In the latter use of it, it corresponded to the English phrase, *to bid farewell to*, and like that came to be used in a bad sense for *to renounce, to abandon, to dismiss from the mind, to disregard*. It may imply *disregard, neglect, renunciation*, or *abhorrence*, according to the connexion in which it is used. *Χαίρειν* in Greek, and *valere* in Latin, are used in the same way. Thus Eurip. Med. 1044.

Οὐ δῆτ' ἔγωγε' χαιρέτο βουλεύματα.

'And Cicero in a letter to Atticus (viii. 8.), in which he complains of the digraceful flight of Pompey, applies to him a quotation from Aristophanes; *πολλὰ χαίρειν εἰπὼν τῷ καλῷ, bidding farewell to honor*, he fled to Brundusium. Another instance of this use of *valere* is in Ter. And. iv. 2. 14. *Valeant, qui inter nos dissidium volunt.* Also in Cic. de Nat. Deor. i. 44, near the end; *Deinde si maxime talis est Deus, ut nullâ gratiâ, nullâ hominum caritate teneatur, valeat!* See Schultens and Rosenmüller.' *Notes*, p. 4.

We might proceed to point out many particular instances, in which Mr Noyes has improved upon the common version. In the chapter which contains Job's execrations of the day of his birth, a part of which we have quoted in another place, is the following passage;

> 'Let the stars of its twilight be darkened;
> Let it long for light, and have none;
> Neither let it see the eyelids of the morning.' iii, 9.

Eyelids of the morning is an oriental image, literally translated, which we think with Mr Noyes is worth preserving; though some may prefer 'the dawning of the day,' in the common version, as being more adapted to the comprehension of most readers. Milton transferred this *oriental pearl* to our language, which circumstance is noticed by Mr Noyes;

> 'Under the opening eyelids of the dawn,
> We drove afield.'

There is a passage in a succeeding chapter, of doubtful interpretation, which Mr Noyes has left untouched.

> 'Behold, man is born to trouble,
> As the sparks fly upward.' v, 7.

The literal meaning of the phrase here rendered *sparks*, is, according to most of the lexicons, *sons of heat*, or *of a live* or *burning coal;* suggesting as naturally as any thing, sparks. But it is variously rendered *arrows*, *coruscations*, *eagle*, *vulture*, *bird of prey*, *bird-tribes*. It is no want of good judgment in Mr Noyes, since the present version gives as true an illustration of the thought, and as probable a meaning of the words as any other, to suffer it to remain unaltered.

The following passage is rendered in a manner much more clear and intelligible than we find it in the common version.

'But my brethren are faithless like a brook;
They pass away like streams of the valley,
Which are turbid by reason of the melted ice,
And the snow, which hides itself in them.
As soon as they become warm, they vanish;
When the heat cometh, they are dried up from their place.
The caravans turn aside to them on their way,
They go up into the desert, and perish.
The companies of Tema look for them,
The caravans of Sheba expect to see them;
They are ashamed that they have relied on them;
They come to the place, and are confounded.' vi, 15—20.

Caravans is perhaps somewhat objectionable, because it is the mere translation of one oriental word into another, and the translation of an ancient and more general term, into one comparatively modern, and more specific. And it is a little capricious, perhaps, to translate the same Hebrew word, in the second instance, *companies*, and a different word again *caravans*. In neither case, however, does it materially affect the sense. We incline to Mr Noyes's version, 'The caravans turn aside to them on their way,' rather than to our common version, 'The paths of their way are turned aside;' though critics are not entirely agreed in this case.

We could proceed with a good relish to cite examples through the book, which vindicate its title, *an amended version*. But we should in this way occupy a disproportionate share of room for this article. We shall therefore content ourselves with a remark or two on the Notes annexed to this version. In comparison with those of Dr Good, they are in quantity about one fifth. They are always to the purpose, while those of his predecessor comprehend all imaginable things, supposed to bear upon the subjects of the text. Mr Noyes's notes will be found very useful, not only by enabling the reader to preserve the thread of the discourse, but also by showing the meaning of particular passages, and of apposite metaphors and comparisons; by illustrating local allusions, whether relating to modes of life and personal occupations, or to peculiarities of country, to climate, and soil, and natural scenery, and natural productions; all of which serve to give beauty and individuality to the descriptions, and afford those embellishments, which cannot always be understood or enjoyed without something of the critic's aid.

If there is anything of superfluity in Mr Noyes's Notes, it is in the illustration of the sentiment in the text of his version, in some cases where it is not uncommon or peculiar, by citation from the ancient classics. A great portion of these illustrations and coincidences are indeed such as we should be unwilling to spare; and we know that it is so much to the taste of many scholars, that for them there is little danger of excess. In the case before us, however, we consider the remark of consequence rather for caution than for censure. All that we should expunge would make a very slight diminution of the materials of the volume.

We feel in duty bound to say, that the kind of learned labor exhibited in this volume has, in our opinion, fallen into very competent hands; and we have little doubt, that the public mind is prepared, or may easily be prepared to welcome the toils of the learned, who shall succeed in giving a more pure and intelligible translation of the sacred writings, if the same respect is shown to the language of our common version, which Mr Noyes so constantly manifests.

Art. III.—1. *Voyage of His Majesty's Ship Blonde to the Sandwich Islands, in the Years* 1824–5. *Captain the Right Hon. Lord Byron, Commander.* London. 1826. 4to. pp. x. and 260.

2. *Narrative of a Tour through Hawaii.* By William Ellis, Missionary, from the Society and Sandwich Islands. Third Edition. London. 8vo. pp. 480.

3. *Review* of the preceding works in the London Quarterly Review, No. LXX. pp. 419—445.

4. *The Rev. C. S. Stewart's Letters on the Sandwich Islands,* as published in the Boston Daily Advertiser.

The attentive reader of voyages and travels must have observed a very great diversity in works of this kind. Some, though relating to unpromising fields, contain much to excite attention and reward a careful perusal; while others, in which interesting countries are described by eye-witnesses, exhibit nothing but tedious specimens of barrenness and stupidity.

c 1245.

Among the travellers of the present day are men, who have displayed high qualities of the mind and the heart. Laborious, discriminating, patient, cautious, and possessing a most amiable candor, they have evinced not only a scrupulous regard to truth, but a conscientious fear of doing injustice to individuals, or communities, by hasty and unauthorized representations. A far greater number, however, have written with little knowledge, and less consideration; and have sent their crude speculations and random assertions into the world, without the slightest sense of responsibility. Matter is furnished for the pages of the splendid quarto, with as little deliberation, as is observable in the preparations of the most careless editor of a daily newspaper; and charges, deeply affecting the character of large classes of men, are made with as little ceremony, as by the vehement bar-room politician, against a party to which he is opposed. It is expected, in the mean time, that the splendid quarto will be praised in the popular reviews; and, if it flatters national prejudices, or ministers to national vanity, this expectation is pretty sure to be realized. Thus rash calumnies are propagated, to an indefinite and most injurious extent. Erroneous impressions are made upon the minds of multitudes in all parts of the civilized world; and not a few individuals, who would otherwise have been impartial, form and cherish antipathies which will never be eradicated.

It is obvious, from this view of the subject, that all who wish to obtain correct information, to discriminate between undoubted facts and heedless conjectures, and to avoid becoming the dupes of the shallowest impositions, should first ascertain the character of the traveller, and the means of information which he possessed, and should thus fix his claims to credibility. This may often, but not always, be done by looking at the internal evidences only. In the cases before us, there are other means of judging.

The narrative of Mr Ellis was reviewed in our work.* It was published in this country and in England, contemporaneously; and the third edition issued from the London press, in a little more than a year from the appearance of the first. The second and third editions were successively enlarged by the introduction of much new matter. A portion of these additions relates to the government and usages of the islands; and, as

* No. LI, pp. 334—364.

the information respecting this topic is more authentic and more particular, than any which has heretofore appeared, we make the following extracts.

'The government of the Sandwich Islands is an absolute monarchy. The supreme authority is hereditary. The rank of the principal and inferior chiefs, the offices of the priests, and other situations of honor, influence, and emolument, descend from father to son, and often continue through many generations in the same family, though the power of nomination to every situation of dignity and trust is vested in the king; and persons by merit, or royal favor, frequently rise from comparatively humble rank to the highest station in the islands, as in the instance of Karaimoku, sometimes called by foreigners, William Pitt. This individual, from being a chief of the third or fourth rank, has long been prime minister, in rank second only to the king, and having, in fact, the actual government of the whole of the Sandwich Islands.

'Hereditary rank and authority are not confined to the male sex, but are inherited also by the females; and, according to tradition, several of the islands have been once or twice under the government of a queen.

'Four distinct classes or ranks in society appear to exist among them. The highest rank includes the king, queens, and all the branches of the reigning family. It also includes the chief counsellor or minister of the king, who, though inferior by birth, is by office and authority superior to the queens and other members of the royal family.'

The second rank includes the governors of the different islands; the third, the head men of districts or villages; and the fourth, very small landholders, and all the common people.

'Every island is given by the king to some high chief, who is supreme governor in it, but is subject to the king, whose orders he is obliged to see executed, and to whom he pays a regular rent or tax, according to the size of the island, or the advantages it may possess. Each island is separated into a number of permanent divisions, sometimes fifty or sixty miles in extent. In Hawaii there are six, Kohala, Kona, &c. Each of the large divisions is governed by one or two chiefs, appointed by the king or by the governor, and approved by the former. These large divisions are divided into districts and villages, which sometimes extend five or six miles along the coast; at others, not more than half a mile. A head man, nominated by the governor, usually presides over these villages, which are again subdivided into a number of small farms or plantations. The names of these are generally significant; as *Towahai*, the waters broken, from a stream which runs

through the district, and is divided near the sea; *Kairua*, two seas, from the waters of the bay being separated by a point of land, &c.

'Although this is the usual manner in which the land is distributed, yet the king holds personally a number of districts in most of the islands, and several of the principal chiefs receive districts directly from the king, and independent of the governor of the island in which they are situated.'

The governor collects and pays over taxes for the king. He also makes exactions on his own account. The smaller chiefs demand rents and services from their inferiors; so that, by all this process, the poor laborer is kept in a state of abject poverty.

It is manifest, that so far as the principles of christianity are received and obeyed, the government of the islands will assume a more mild and equitable character.

In the last chapter but one of Mr Ellis's book, and in the Appendix, are numerous facts respecting the language of the Polynesians, and the question of their supposed origin, to which we may advert, in a subsequent part of this article. All the discussions, on these and other subjects, are conducted by Mr Ellis with becoming caution and modesty. His work abounds in matter of deep interest, and sustains a truly respectable rank among books of this class.

What degree of credit is due to the voyage of the Blonde, our readers will have some means of judging, when they learn in what manner the book was made up, and how difficult it is to find a responsible author.

A frigate had been sent by the British government, on a voyage of kindness to a remote tribe of uncivilized men, under the command of a nobleman, who had just succeeded to the title of his relative, the most distinguished poet of the age. Under these circumstances, the return of the ship naturally presented to the eager and wakeful mind of a London bookseller, the inquiry, whether a profitable use could not be made of almost anything, which should commend itself to the nobility and gentry of Great Britain, as a voyage under the auspices of Lord Byron, whose grandfather had signalized himself in the Pacific, and whose immediate predecessor in the title, endowed with a genius, which cast all titles into the shade, had recently fallen in the cause of Grecian liberty. Application was therefore made to Mr Bloxam, the chaplain of the Blonde,

for such materials as he might be able to furnish. This gentleman kept a journal, but with what regularity, or with what pretensions to accuracy, does not appear. One of the American missionaries saw many parts of this journal, at the time when it was composed; but of these parts, very few are to be found in the volume before us. The papers of Mr Bloxam, however, such as they were, or at least some of them, were put into the hands of the publisher. The writer could not, or would not, prepare them for the press. He left England in haste, to enter upon the duties of a foreign chaplaincy. We do not believe that Mr Bloxam had unfriendly feelings towards the American missionaries; or that he would have spoken of them otherwise than in terms of respect. Just as he was about sailing from Portsmouth, he heard of Mr Stewart's arrival in London, from the Sandwich Islands, and immediately sent a friendly note to him, regretting that imperious circumstances would prevent the renewal of their former agreeable intercourse. The ordinary rules of politeness did not require this attention; and there is no reason to think it would have been shown, if Mr Bloxam had cherished the spirit, which is often apparent in the 'Voyage,' and in the 'Review,' which it called forth.

We have arrived at the first stage in the production of a book of travels. Scraps of a journal are deposited in the hands of a bookseller. These scraps, however, not being judged suitable for the eye of the public, either because they contained too little or too much; because they wanted connexion or consistency, or would reflect credit on men whom it was not thought expedient to praise; for some of these reasons, or all of them united, were delivered to a Mrs Graham, a sort of literary *redacteur*, or intellectual mechanic, whose ready services must be of special importance to the trade. In this way, with a few hasty notes for the elements of the composition, travels can be written in London, and suited to every meridian and climate in the world.

In the case before us, however, Mrs Graham was not satisfied with the notes of Mr Bloxam. That it would have drawn too heavily upon her powers of invention, if she had undertaken to fill up all the chasms in the voyage, we dare not assert. She thought it well to apply to some of the junior officers of the Blonde for their journals, which they were so kind as to submit to her inspection. She sought an interview

with the American missionary, then in London, who, having heard from her own lips some of the misstatements, which now appear in the work, frankly corrected them; and told her plainly, that if she relied upon some of the authorities, which she had quoted, she would be egregiously misled; for without impeaching the character or motives of the midshipmen, whose journals she possessed, it must be perfectly evident, that, as they knew nothing of the native language, and had few opportunities of learning the condition of the people, or the effects of the mission, and as they must derive much of their information through very suspicious channels, it would be altogether unsafe to send reports forth to the world, merely because they might have been entered in the private diaries of these youthful officers.

To the foregoing particulars, in regard to the origin and manufacture of this book, the public have a right; and it is hoped that they may not be useless as a specimen of the art and mystery of writing travels, especially as taken in connexion with what will appear in the sequel of this article.

On examining the book, it is apparent that very free use is made of Mr Ellis's narrative, which was published only a few months previously. Nearly all the most interesting facts, relating to the traditions of the islanders, and the history of the islands, are taken from this source. Mr Ellis must doubtless consider himself highly honored by such condescension, as the acknowledgment is made in so remarkably courteous a manner, by placing at the bottom of the page, the words '*See Ellis;*' which token of gratitude and respect meets the eye very frequently, though not so frequently as justice would require. It must, also, be quite comforting to the purchaser of a two guinea book, to see that all the best passages are taken from a contemporaneous work on the same subject, which contains much more than the work he is reading, and on incomparably better authority; and which can be had for one third of the money.

It is remarkable, too, that fragments which were furnished by the American missionaries, as illustrations of the language of the natives, and of their skill in composition, are inserted without scruple; and, in return for this politeness to their visiters, the missionaries are treated with contempt and calumny. Acknowledgment is made to Mr Bingham, in the body of the work, for a translation of a native song, which is there

copied; but as it was deemed convenient, in several subsequent passages, to hold up Mr Bingham to reproach and scorn, another native song, of which he gave a copy, both in the original and in a translation of his own, is inserted in the Appendix, without *any acknowledgment whatever*. It doubtless occurred to the delicate mind of Mrs Graham, that it would not be well to make too free with a name, which she had vilified; and that some of the literary labors of Mr Bingham, in this department, had better stand to the credit of the joint concern of Bloxam and Co., of which concern she was the factor. In like manner, a particular account of the *pule ana-ana*, or death-prayer, which was copied, by permission, from the private journal of Mr Stewart, is published in the Appendix, with the vague acknowledgment, '*from the missionaries.*' In a word, everything which could be obtained from the portfolios of the missionaries, or gleaned from their conversation, to fill out a dull and disjointed narrative, and impart some sort of animation to heavy pages, was greedily seized and thrown into the small collection of heterogeneous materials for a book, the principal design of which appears to have been, as the principal effect will be, to make prejudiced and ill informed readers think contemptuously of Americans, and of the character and labors of the American missionaries.

To fill the volume, it was necessary to give a long account of the visit of Riho-Riho to London, where he died. Many frivolous things are mentioned, and even the tavern bills of the party are commemorated; but it is perfectly evident, that the writer had no means of discovering the real views and feelings of this young king and his followers. On her homeward passage, the Blonde touched at several small islands, and at two or three ports on the western coast of South America. Incidents of this kind serve to give some variety; and we think that, in all these parts, the journals of the midshipmen were used. The last article in the Appendix, is an accurate and officer-like survey of the harbor of Waiakea, or Byron bay, on the eastern coast of Hawaii, by Lieutenant Malden, of the Blonde, with useful notices of other harbors in the Sandwich Islands. This article is of more value, than all the rest of the book, because it may be relied on.

As to the body of the work, if we take away all that Mr Ellis and the American missionaries have been made to contribute; a few tolerable passages, which doubtless were copied

from Mr Bloxam's journal; and some gross misrepresentations of facts, on which we propose to animadvert; the remainder will exhibit a specimen of as complete inanity, as can well be imagined. There is one good thing about the book, and that is its brevity. After all the labor to collect matter from so many sources, and to make much out of a little, the whole could be printed, and not very closely, in a duodecimo volume of two hundred pages.

If we are asked, who is responsible for the accuracy of the statements in the work, we are happy to say, that Lord Byron *is not*. It does not appear, that he ever saw a sentence of original composition that it contains, or that he directly or indirectly sanctioned the publication. Some anonymous correspondents appear to have had a hand in it; and among them, and the midshipmen, and Mrs Graham, and Mr Bloxam, the responsibility must be divided, according to the skill, judgment, and conjectures of the reader.

That Mr Bloxam is not peculiarly, or especially, responsible for any obnoxious statement or passage, which can be pointed out, we think is plain from the following sentence in the preface. 'The editor is conscious, that some things may have been omitted, and some, possibly, mistaken, notwithstanding every endeavor to do justice to the work, owing to a want of that local knowledge, which Mr Bloxam, as an eye-witness, must have possessed, and with which he would, no doubt, have extended and adorned his narrative, had he fortunately remained to prepare it for publication.' Indeed! '*Some things may have been omitted.*' How omitted? Stricken out of the manuscript of Mr Bloxam? Did not the editor know, that *many things were actually omitted*, in this manner? Or is the meaning, that *some things may be deficient*, which her own imagination could not supply, but which were necessary to explain what was inserted? Again, '*Some things may possibly be mistaken, owing to a want of local knowledge.*' Undoubtedly. The man or the woman, who undertakes to fill up chasms in a book of travels; or to form into one texture shreds and patches, from the journals of different writers, and from hearsay reports, not only *may possibly be mistaken*, but, without a miracle, must *inevitably* fall into error. It is impossible that a work, thus formed, should sustain any character for accuracy.

Mrs Graham calls herself the editor. We should call her

the *fabricator*, not using the word here in the odious sense (which would be to prejudge the question), but in a *mechanical sense*, as accurately descriptive of the kind of smithcraft, which she must have used in connecting the detached links placed at her disposal.

We might here stop, and dismiss the book as nearly worthless; and we should do so, if its tendency were not highly pernicious. Nor would even this consideration induce us to proceed, were not the evil greatly magnified, by the currency which is given, through reviews and other channels, to what is pernicious, as well as to what is useful, in works which are constantly issuing from the press. It is to be remembered, also, that the exposure of blunders and perversions in one publication, may supersede the necessity of exposing similar blunders and perversions, should they be repeated; and that some of the greatest benefits of criticism result from its operating by way of example.

The editor (for so we must call her) manifests a commendable zeal to display whatever knowledge is within her reach. In the following instance, she really supposed she had advanced beyond Mr Ellis. 'The Sandwich Islanders,' says she, 'reckon by forties, or, as we may say, double scores; they call forty teneha; ten tenehas is one lau; ten lau a manu; ten manu a kini; ten kini a lehu; ten lehu a nurwanee; ten nurwanee one pao.' In a note, it is added, 'Ellis, in his Appendix, says the islanders only count as far as the kini.' It is true that, according to Mr Ellis, the natives count only to five denominations; that is, to four hundred thousand; and he had inadvertently transposed the *kini* and *lehu*, putting the *kini* last. The editor would represent the natives as going two denominations further; that is, to forty millions. Now it would seem somewhat remarkable, that Mr Ellis, after residing two years at the Sandwich Islands, and six years at the Georgian Islands, where a dialect of the same language is spoken, and after conversing and preaching in these dialects, as readily as in English, should not have discovered the extent of the numerals so accurately, as a person who could converse with the natives only by an interpreter, and who probably never even attempted to study the language.

This mystery is explained at once, by a member of the American mission, who has recently returned from the islands. The word *narawali*, improperly written *nurwanee*, means *for-*

gotten, unknown, unthought of; and the word *pau*, wrongly written *pao*, means *all*, or *the whole*. When the native was questioned, either in London, or at the islands, *What do ten lehu make?* or *What comes next?* he doubtless answered, *Narawali;* by which he meant, *I can go no further, all beyond is unknown.* The unsuspecting Englishman, however, supposed he had got a new denomination; and, in fresh pursuit of another, inquired *What next?* or, *What do ten narawali make?* To which the native answered, *Pau; I have said all I can say;* and this was written down as a regular numerical denomination; so that, in conclusion, when the Englishman comes to understand his own system of notation, he will find that ten *lehu* make one *unknown*, and ten *unknowns* go for the *whole*. In what manner the Englishman was made to understand, that the native had actually, and absolutely, arrived at the very *ne plus* of his knowledge, we can only guess. Probably it was by some significant gesture.

One favorite design of the editor, is to make it appear that the Sandwich Islands are under the special guardianship of Great Britain. With the political reasons, which relate to this subject, it is not our design to intermeddle. Whether it would be wise, or unwise, for the British or the American cabinet to desire colonies in the Pacific, we leave for others to decide. There is no doubt, however, that things are now tending toward the occupation of these islands by a foreign power; and this result seems inevitable, unless the natives should become so far civilized, as to institute an efficient police, and cause their rights to be respected.

Though we are so often reminded of the kindness shown to the islanders by the British government and people, there is one passage at least, which indicates that this kindness is not absolutely and purely disinterested.

'Besides, the commercial interests of England, in the Pacific, are likely to be greatly injured in case the Sandwich Islands should fall into the hands of the Russians or Americans, and it was of some importance to grant the protection the king had come to seek, *for our own sake*, as well as for his.' p. 72.

Whatever may be thought of the British government taking the Sandwich Islands under its peculiar guardianship, or whatever this relation may imply, there can be no doubt, we should presume, that the common interest of the commercial world

will be promoted, by that elevation of moral and intellectual character, which it is the object of missionary labors to impart. More than a hundred vessels now touch at the principal port in these islands, in a single year. Most of them are large ships, having a full complement of men and valuable cargoes. As the population of North America increases, and especially when the western coast shall be inhabited by civilized communities, the resort to these islands will be incalculably great. If the natives shall then be orderly, industrious, and virtuous, the intercourse may be reciprocally beneficial. It would seem most likely to give satisfaction to all, if a strict neutrality were observed, and all were permitted to pursue commerce and obtain refreshments, on conforming to impartial and salutary regulations. The subject is one of considerable importance, and deserves the particular attention of the Russian and American governments, as it already has the attention of the British.

The account of the religion of the islanders, which is presented in the 'Voyage,' is totally unsupported by evidence, and directly against the testimony of Mr Ellis and the other missionaries. It is just such an account, as might with equal propriety be inserted in any other book of travels among a heathen people; and, in almost all cases, it would be directly opposed to facts. But let us look at one of these passages.

'The belief of a Supreme Being, the author of all nature, and the peculiar protector and father of the human race, was the foundation of their creed, in common with that of all the tribes of men, who have begun to think of more than the supply of their physical wants.' p. 10.

'They deified the operations of nature, and placed between man and the Supreme Creator, a race of intermediate and generally benevolent beings, to support and comfort him. *Ibid.*

Now it will appear, on a very slight examination, that the *creed* here mentioned is a mere fiction, without a particle of evidence to sustain it; though it has been so often repeated, that superficial writers and credulous readers believe it to be a reality. In some few tribes of North American Indians, there seem to have been traces of a belief in an omnipresent and all powerful Deity; and in these tribes there was no idol-worship. But among other tribes of our continent, there is not the slightest proof, that the conception of God, as a spiritual being, or as a being who takes an interest in human affairs, ever en-

tered the minds of any of the people. And the same is true of almost all the human family, who have not derived their religious faith, either directly or remotely, from revelation. But to return to the Sandwich Islands. The natives had no idea of a 'Supreme Being, the author of all nature, and the peculiar protector and father of the human race,' nor of a 'race of intermediate and generally benevolent beings to support and comfort man.' The only motives to religious worship, seem to have been a hope of averting the malevolent influence of evil deities, or of directing that malevolence upon enemies, in time of war, or of keeping the common people in a state of servility to the chiefs. The thought of support, or comfort, to be derived from these odious beings, or of moral accountability to a superior power, or of moral principle as applicable to the conduct of either gods or men, much less of a pure, spiritual essence, governing the world and pervading all things,—never entered the mind of a Sandwich Islander, till he derived it from European and American visiters. The ascription of enlarged and sublime thoughts of the Deity to the Polynesian tribes, is as mere a fabrication, as it would be to pretend that they were acquainted with the astronomical discoveries of Newton or Laplace. It is doubtful whether any of their deities were of a higher character, than that of deceased kings and giants. Polyphemus and Enceladus would come up to their standard; and probably Hercules, certainly Neptune, would greatly transcend it.

One great source of error, with writers on this subject, is, that they almost uniformly assume, that heathen nations are now, or have generally been, *in a rising state*. Thus it is said, in the passage above quoted, that the foundation of the Polynesian creed was held by the natives, 'in common with all the tribes of men, *who have begun to think of more than the supply of their physical wants*.' It is here taken for granted, that men gradually rise to juster views of the Deity, without the aid of revelation, by the operation of their own minds. We ask for the proof of this doctrine. All Scripture is against it. Much history is against it. The present state of the heathen world is against it. We have yet to learn, that there has been a single instance, upon the face of the earth, of an ignorant and heathen people, making advances in the knowledge of God, unless they derived aid from some extraneous source. If there is such an instance, let it be produced, and let the mat-

ter be thoroughly investigated. On the other hand, the instances of deterioration are innumerable. They can be found in every period of authentic history. The Indians of our own continent are very striking examples. It can be proved from their languages alone, that they are descended from a highly cultivated race of men. But they have been sinking lower and lower, till, in regard to any theory of morals and religion, most of the tribes have sunk to the very bottom. Far from employing their minds upon such subjects, they never think of them at all. They are in a state of perfect moral darkness, so that, when asked the plainest questions, they reply without the least concern, *We do not know; our fathers never told us; we never think about it.*

After describing a visit to a place formerly used for idolatrous worship, the editor relates the following story, as having been received from a man on the spot, who was once the officiating priest.

'One morning his father had placed the usual offering of fish and poi before the Nui Akua, or Great Spirit. The son having spent a long day in an unsuccessful fishing expedition, returned, and, tempted by hunger, devoured the food of the gods. But first he placed his hands on the eyes of the idol, and found they saw not; and then his hands into its mouth, but it did not bite; and then he threw his mantle over the image and ate; and, replacing the bowl, removed the mantle and went his way. Being reproved by his father, he said, "Father, I spoke to him, and he heard not; I put my hand into his mouth, and he felt not; I placed tapa over his eyes, and he saw not; I therefore laughed and ate." "Son," said the old priest, "thou hast done unwisely; 'tis true the wood neither sees nor hears, but the Spirit above observes all our actions."' p. 201.

Now we utterly discredit this story. It has no verisimilitude. Even the children know, that hideous carved images do not see, or hear, or bite. They suppose these images to be *representations*, made according to the skill or caprice of the artist, and designed to present to the eye some memorial of material gods, who go from place to place, in the general form and figure of men, and who occasionally visit the sacred inclosures, where they are worshipped. It was known to all the people, that the food placed before the idols was not consumed by them; and generally, at least, that it was not consumed by the gods, of which these idols were the types; for nothing was

more common, than for these offerings of hogs and fruit to remain from day to day, till they became putrid and decayed. Sometimes it was pretended, we believe, and perhaps often, that the gods came in the night, and consumed the food placed before the idols.

As to the *Nui Akua*, a very doubtful phrase (which if there is anything to authorize it, would be spoken *Akua Nui*), we have never heard, that any *great god*, or *god by way of eminence*, was worshipped in Hawaii; much less, that such a god had a distinct idol made for him. And if there were such a god, there is no propriety in translating the phrase into the English words *Great Spirit;** for the highest conceptions, which the natives had of any deity, fell as far short of even the Jupiter of the classics, as the shapeless images of wood, stone, and feathers, were inferior to the most finished statues of Phidias or Praxiteles. What then can be said of the use of the word *spirit*, the most sublime in its import (with the exception of *Jehovah*), by which Christians are accustomed to designate the God of the Scriptures. The sentiment, with which the extract closes, that 'the Spirit above observes all our actions,' was never of Polynesian origin. It sounded very prettily to the ears of the London writer, and therefore it was written down.

After these specimens of the editor's acquaintance with the religion of the natives, it may be proper to look a little at her historical memoranda.

In giving some account of Lahaina, in Maui, a choice specimen of eloquence and history is introduced, by way of episode.

The occasion was this; an insurrection broke out at Tauai, in September, 1824, when Karaimoku was on that island. He immediately sent up to the windward for a thousand armed men. A large part of them volunteered at Lahaina. Mrs Graham's account of the matter is as follows;

'At Maui the erees [that is, the chiefs] agreed it would be proper to send two hundred men in canoes; but the chiefs themselves, either dreading a renewal of the bloody scenes which had troubled them in the time of Tamehameha, or moved by the caprice or indolence of half-civilized men, seemed unwilling to join the expedi-

*For remarks on the manner of translating Akua, see our former review of Mr Ellis's book, No. LI, pp. 360, 361.

tion, when Kaikioeva, an aged chief, came among them, and learning the cause of their meeting, and their backwardness to go to battle, he lifted up his withered hands and said; "Hear me, ye chiefs; ye who have warred under the great Tamehameha. Karaimoku and I were born upon the same mountain in this island. We were nourished at the same breast, and our boyish sports were in common, and together we breasted yonder foaming waves. In manhood we fought side by side. When Karaimoku was wounded, I slew the chief whose spear had pierced him; and though I am now a dried and withered leaf, never be it said that Kaikioeva deserted his friend and brother in arms in time of need. Who is on Karaimoku's side? Let him launch his war canoe and follow me." This burst of eloquence, from so approved a warrior, aroused the chiefs. In an hour all the war canoes in and near Lahaina were launched, and bore six hundred men to Tauai, in time to join Karaimoku as he marched to attack the fort of Taumuarii.' pp. 99, 100.

It is true, that Kaikioeva was at Lahaina, when Karaimoku sent thither for reinforcements; that he said he would not leave his old friend, or (as Virgil expresses it more exactly) his *æquævum amicum*, unassisted in time of danger; and that this declaration had some effect in hastening the departure of the people. All the rest is either apocryphal, or positively false. Upon this account, we remark,

First, as there were but few chiefs at Lahaina, and of these Kaikioeva was the highest, it is absurd to suppose that the rest determined what to do without consulting him, and that it was only by accident that he became acquainted with what had been determined on. We believe he was governor of Maui at the time; and, if so, all the orders must have proceeded from him.

Secondly, there was not a war-canoe at Lahaina, when this celebrated speech was made; of course none could be launched. And if the shores had been lined with canoes, not one *would* have been launched; because the government possessed much better means of transportation. Not only was this the fact, but the editor *knew it to be so;* for she has recorded it (p. 192) in these words; 'The superior advantage of European vessels has, of course, as soon as felt, *superseded the use of the war-canoe.*' Tamehameha possessed European or American vessels, and profited by them, many years ago; and the use of the war-canoe had been long superseded; and yet, for the sake of a flourish, war-canoes are created at Lahaina,

in September, 1824, and launched in an hour, in sufficient numbers for the conveyance of six hundred men.

Thirdly, these war-canoes arrived at Tauai, it seems, at the very time when Karaimoku was marching to attack the fort of Taumuarii. Now it so happens, that there is but one fort in Tauai, and of that Karaimoku was in undisturbed possession, when the reinforcements arrived. He had been attacked in this fort, when the insurrection broke out; but the assailants were repulsed, and they never repeated the attack. He pursued them across the island; and if they erected any temporary defences, there could have been nothing in their possession worthy of being called *a fort.*

The rhetorical embellishment of the aged chief '*lifting up his withered hands,*' and calling himself a '*dried and withered leaf,*' is amusing enough to those who have been acquainted with him. Mrs Graham, being so intimately conversant with the Sandwich Islands, and their inhabitants, ought to have known, that he is a perfect model of plumpness and rotundity; that he has a smooth and shining skin; and that no alderman in the British metropolis appears at a greater remove from anything *withered*, than this same governor Kaikioeva. Thus it is, that rhetoric and history, fiction and fact are jumbled together. Many a speech has been written for a savage hero, which, if it could be repeated to him, would make him stare worse than the approach of an enemy.

We have seen in what manner the religion of the islands appeared to the editor; let us now attend to her view of the social and moral character of the people.

In the early part of the 'Voyage,' we are cheered with the design of purifying the morals and improving the manners 'of an intelligent, cheerful, and sweet-natured people.' (p. 52.) The Quarterly Reviewer goes further, and says, that 'a more cheerful, inoffensive, hospitable, and kind-hearted people, than the Sandwich Islanders, *do not exist in any society whatever.*' And he refers to Mr Ellis's narrative, in which it appears that, among other enormities, *two thirds of the children perish by the hands of their own parents;* generally, soon after they are born, though sometimes after they are three or four years old. The same Reviewer afterwards quotes from the 'Voyage,' an account of the great council, at which Lord Byron was present, and where 'the heroic Kapiolani then said, that on the lands belonging to herself and her husband, Naihi, she had

used every endeavor to establish laws for prohibiting robbery, murder, and, especially, drunkenness, adultery, infanticide; and, on the whole, she had been tolerably successful.' It would seem to us rather singular, that upon the first dawning of christianity upon so kind-hearted and inoffensive a people, it should be necessary to establish laws against robbery, murder, adultery, and infanticide; and that when these laws were introduced among a little community of perhaps five thousand souls, all that could be said, should be, that the experiment had been *tolerably successful.* We must think, notwithstanding the assertion of the Reviewer to the contrary, that the people of Scotland, Switzerland, and the United States, and of other countries in which christianity has prevailed, are much more inoffensive and kind-hearted, than the Sandwich Islanders in their original state.

In describing the character of a barbarous and uncivilized people, it is not easy to do exact justice, or to leave precisely the right impression. Mr Marsden always speaks of the New Zealanders, as a noble race of men, and as capable of high improvement; yet, taking any one of his journals, and perusing the whole of it, there will be little danger of mistaking their character; which is that of the most cruel, revengeful, treacherous, murderous set of cannibals to be found upon earth. Some of them, and even those who had visited England, persisted in the practice of roasting and eating their prisoners, against the strongest remonstrances of the missionaries residing among them. Indeed, it seemed at one time not improbable, that the missionaries themselves would be murdered, and their bodies used for food, by the very people for whom they were laboring, and whose friendship had been solemnly pledged. These savages, however, or their descendants, it is hoped, may become Christians; and, under the transforming influence of divine truth, may be raised to a civilized condition.

The Sandwich Islanders are not cannibals; though the inhabitants of many islands in the Pacific occasionally eat the bodies of their slaughtered enemies. Excepting cannibalism, it is difficult to mention the crime which was not perpetrated in the Sandwich Islands, without compunction and without shame. The last nine verses of the first chapter of Romans contain a far juster account of the character of the people, than can anywhere else be found in the same number of words. They were not, properly speaking, 'haters of God,'

because they had no knowledge of God, or his attributes; nor were they remarkable for 'debate,' unless when intoxicated; but we are unable to mention any other characteristic, in that appalling description, which did not belong to them as a people, when christianity began to exert an influence upon them.

It is said the natives were 'cheerful.' There was doubtless much rude laughter, a sort of heedless gaiety, when they met, either for their obscene songs and dances, or for other amusements. In this respect they much resembled ignorant and thoughtless children, who have been brought up in some debased and dissolute neighborhood, and who, amid their coarse jokes and idle banter, laugh at everything. Though the islanders do not appear to value human life at all, when they can gain any desirable object by killing each other, yet it has always been safe for white men to travel among them. This does not appear to be accounted for, however, by the restraining influence of moral principle. How far the policy of Tamehameha, which induced him to cultivate intercourse with foreigners, and how far the dread of civilized men, which is so common among savages, may have had an effect in this matter, we are unable to say.

The Reviewer, in another place, calls the Sandwich Islanders a 'simple-minded people,' by which we suppose he means, that they are ready to believe what they are told, and that they are frank and honest in their own declarations. This is a total mistake. Distrust and treachery are among the vices of almost all savages. For their distrust, however, they are not so much to be blamed; because it is the result of their painful experience. This universal want of confidence is perhaps their greatest source of torment; and it is the great evil with which missionaries have to contend, for a series of years, at the commencement of every mission. So much have savages usually seen, both among themselves and their visiters, of treachery, fraud, and villany, that they do not believe it possible, that any man should be actuated by other than selfish and sinister views. They utterly discredit professions of disinterested friendship; though they do not always tell you so to your face. They know nothing, either from what passes within their own bosoms, or from what takes place within the range of their observation, which whould make them think, that missionaries should leave their homes, and reside in a foreign land, merely for the sake of doing good. But when they have

looked on for a few years, and have witnessed the coincidence between professions and conduct; when they have seen missionaries labor patiently for the benefit of froward and heedless strangers; and when they experience the salutary influence of such labors; it is not uncommon that they yield a confidence unlimited, in the same proportion as it had been pertinaciously withheld. The Reviewer, in the case before us, seeing this confidence reposed in the American missionaries, and not knowing how laboriously, and against how many obstacles it had been won, supposed it was to be accounted for by looking at the simple-mindedness of the natives.

When the first missionaries arrived, in the spring of 1820, the mass of the people were in a state of ignorance, degradation, and misery, greater than can be imagined by any one, who has always resided in a christian country. There is no doubt, that they were much more wretched, than when the islands were discovered by Captain Cook. Two most frightful causes of calamity had been introduced by foreigners; namely, a loathsome disease, and the use of distilled spirits; and both these causes, with many others, had been in such a state of aggravation, as to threaten the islands with absolute depopulation. It is believed, on good grounds, that the number of inhabitants had diminished one half, in little more than forty years; and that the downward course was never more rapid, than at the time here alluded to. The common people were poor in the extreme, almost utterly destitute of clothing, living in hovels, with the loose straw on which they slept, and their matted hair, filled with vermin. To raise up such a people, from their degradation, did the missionaries devote their lives.

But the moral condition of the islands cannot be more forcibly represented by any one fact, than by the notorious practice of celebrating the death of a high chief by Bacchanalian and Eleusinian orgies; or, in plainer language, by an unbounded license, extended through several days, for every individual to do what he pleased. One would think that now was the time for a *kind-hearted* people to show their kindness; and for an *inoffensive* people to do no harm; for here was no constraint of any kind. The theory of the custom, or what may be called *the fiction of the law*, was, that the grief of the people was so excessive, that they knew not what they did, and therefore they could not be held responsible for their conduct. In ac-

cordance with this fiction, immediately on the death of a chief being announced, a most ungovernable wailing ensued; all the people of both sexes crying, screaming, shrieking, and expressing their sorrow by most vehement gesticulations, and working themselves up to a most extravagant frenzy. They tore out their hair, beat their breasts, knocked out their teeth, cut themselves, and struck themselves on the head, with clubs, or any hard substance, which fell in their way. Then followed a universal, promiscuous, public, shameless prostitution of females, from which neither age nor rank was exempt. In these days of riot and debauchery, robberies were perpetrated, every old grudge was remembered, and murders were not uncommon. Language is inadequate to describe the scene.

After such a recital, it is pleasing to add, that christianity has already put an end to these abominations. Keopuolani, the mother of Riho-Riho, died in September, 1823. She was, in point of rank, the highest person in the islands; and, in pursuance of ancient custom, her death would have been the signal for the greatest enormities. But she had embraced the Gospel; and, in anticipation, had taken measures to prevent these evils. The people wailed greatly at her decease; but other extravagances were not witnessed.

When the news of Riho-Riho's death arrived from England, Karaimoku took special pains to abolish what remained of this practice, and was entirely successful.

As to the islanders being so kind and simple-minded, another fact may not be improper. During the slight insurrection, or rebellion, at Tauai, which has been already mentioned, Karaimoku, being then under the influence of christian principles, gave the most humane orders to his armed men, as to the treatment of their vanquished and flying adversaries. But some of the inferior chiefs yielded to their own ferocious dispositions, rather than to his orders, unnecessarily destroying both lives and property; and there were instances of their shooting and stabbing, out of mere wantonness, infirm, helpless, aged persons, of both sexes, who had not borne arms, and who never even thought of resistance. This was not done by old soldiers, hardened in camps; but by young men, who had never seen war before, and to whom this was the first opportunity of publicly killing their fellow-subjects, under the color of authority. In former times, as all tradition unites in declaring, wars of extermination were waged; by which we mean,

that it was common to give no quarter, and to massacre the women and children of the vanquished party. And this mode of warfare has been practised, in other islands of the Pacific, as missionaries have witnessed with their own eyes.

When Karaimoku, Kaahumanu, and other chiefs had begun to learn something of the true religion, and to see the reasonableness of its requirements, their eyes were gradually opened to behold the enormity of their previous character and conduct. And so it was with the common people. None of them pleaded the kindness of their hearts; but all were ready to confess, that their minds had been in darkness, their hearts evil, and their conduct abominable.

Every person acquainted with the human character is aware, that no vice is more destructive of all that is noble and generous in man, and that none leaves a more indelible stain, or brings more deep and thorough debasement, than lewdness in its aggravated forms. Yet this vice is of all others least restrained throughout Polynesia. Of this fact, the editor of the 'Voyage' seems to have been not altogether unapprized. In connnexion with some benefits, indirectly acknowledged, as conferred upon the natives by the American mission, we find the following sentence.

'It is to be hoped, also, that the spiritual doctrine that those gentlemen are inculcating, and the habit of universal clothing, which the chiefs, who have travelled, are desirous of introducing, will check the vice and its consequent evils, which have been too often mentioned and lamented by former visiters, to require a more serious notice here.' p. 137.

The most favorable specimen of composition, which we can give from the volume before us, is a description, of part of the funeral solemnities, on landing the remains of the king and queen at Honoruru.

'Having reached the church, which was hung with black on the occasion, the cars were drawn up before the door, and the persons of the procession formed a circle around, while the chaplain of the Blonde read the funeral service in English, and the American missionary addressed the assembly in their native tongue. The procession then, in the same order, marched to the same house, belonging to Karaimoku, where we had been received the day after our arrival.

'As soon as the coffins were deposited on the platform, the band accompanied some native singers in a funeral hymn, which

the missionaries had written and taught them to sing to the air of Pleyel's German Hymn. We could not help reflecting on the strange combination of circumstances here before us. Every thing, native-born and ancient in the isles, was passing away; the dead chiefs lay there, hidden in more splendid cerements than their ancestors had ever dreamed of; no bloody sacrifice stained their obsequies, nor was one obscene memorial made to insult the soul as it left its earthly tenement; but instead, there was hope held out of a resurrection to happiness, and the doctrines admitted that put an end to sacrifice for ever and pronounced the highest blessing on the highest purity. Where the naked savage only had been seen, the decent clothing of a cultivated people had succeeded, and its adoption, though now occasional, promises permanency at no distant period. Mingled with these willing disciples, were the warlike and the noble of the land, the most remote on the globe, teaching by their sympathy, the charities that soften, yet dignify human nature. The savage yells of brutal orgies were now silenced; and as the solemn sounds were heard for the first time, uniting the instruments of Europe, and the composition of a learned musician, to the simple voice of the savage, and words, not indeed harsh in themselves, framed into verse by the industry and piety of the teachers from a remote nation, came upon the ear, it was impossible not to feel a sensation approaching to awe, as the marvellous and rapid change a few years have produced, was called up to the mind.' pp. 128—130.

This passage is known to be from the pen of Mr Bloxam, as it is distinctly remembered by the missionary, now in this country, who read parts of his journal. Several expressions in it, such as 'bloody sacrifice,' 'obscene memorial,' and 'the savage yells of brutal orgies,' do not seem to be in very exact agreement, with what was quoted respecting a 'kind-hearted and inoffensive people.'

But to let that matter rest, it would seem that a mighty transformation had taken place,—one which is here celebrated in strains of warm panegyric, and one which might naturally have excited so much respect, if not admiration, for 'the industry and piety of the teachers,' by whose persevering labor it had been effected, as to have secured them from any rude attacks throughout the volume. Such attacks, however, are made; and in such a manner, and under such circumstances, as to require investigation, and to deserve the attention of the public.

In a preceding passage, after describing the first public interview between Lord Byron and the chiefs, when he was in-

troduced to the young king, and the presents of the British government were delivered, the editor, or journalist, adds;

'The ceremonies being over, and the gifts delivered, the American missionary, Mr Bingham, *who loses no opportunity of mingling in every business*, proposed prayers; and accordingly said what may be called *a long dull grace* to the entertainment, first in English, and then, as it appeared to us, more easily in the Sandwich tongue. As soon as he had ended, refreshments were placed for us on a table.' pp. 117, 118.

On this passage our first remark is, that we exonerate Mr Bloxam entirely from the least suspicion of having written it, or given his consent to it. Were it correct in point of fact, the expressions are so unsuitable to be used by one minister of the Gospel, in speaking of another who had treated him with kindness and respect, that we should not charge them upon him, unless compelled to do so by irresistible evidence. Happily, the presumption is the other way. The paragraph was written, probably, either by a midshipman, who stood in so remote a part of the hall as not to know what took place, or who received the account by hearsay altogether; or by a correspondent at the islands, who is laboring to find proofs of Mr Bingham's interference with politics; or by the editor in London, who, seeing it mentioned in the journal, that Mr Bingham offered a prayer, may have inferred, that he proposed it himself. We are inclined to think, that the midshipmen must share the authorship of this precious *morceau* among themselves.

Now as to the truth of the statement, we are able to say, that the prayer was *not* proposed by Mr Bingham, but by Karaimoku. This was stated in the journal of the missionaries, written at the time, and since published in this country, and has lately been confirmed to us verbally, by one of them who was present. Soon after the formal introduction of Lord Byron, the delivery of the presents, and the reception of them with suitable acknowledgments, Karaimoku turned to Lord Byron, and, in a very respectful and dignified manner, expressed himself in words, which were interpreted nearly as follows; 'Would it not be well to unite in a prayer of thanksgiving to Jehovah, that he has inclined the king of England to show favor to us poor people, in sending to us the remains of our king and queen, and that he has preserved you safely during the

voyage, and brought you to our islands?' To this proposal, which was made spontaneously, and without any consultation with the missionaries, Lord Byron readily assented. Karaimoku then requested Mr Bingham to offer the prayer, which was a matter of course, as he was the only missionary present who had long been in the habit of speaking the native language; and, indeed, the only ordained missionary, who resided permanently at that place.

It would not be worth while to take notice of such blunders and misrepresentations, were they not made the foundation of serious charges against the mission. It should be remembered, that where there is one impudent writer, there will be many unreflecting readers, who will take him at his word; and that, when men hold so public and responsible a station, as is held by the missionaries at the Sandwich Islands, it is a serious evil, that unfavorable opinions should be extensively formed of their character, in consequence of falsehoods and misrepresentations, circulated through what are deemed respectable channels.

We must pause here to apprize our readers of the true grounds of opposition to the labors and character of the missionaries, as it has existed for the last three years. These grounds may be classed under three heads.

1. Among the visiters and foreign residents at the Sandwich Islands, there are not a few whose love of gain is much stronger than their love of morality. These people have the sagacity to see, that if the influence of the mission prevails, so as to discourage or put an end to drunkenness, there will be fewer purchasers of rum; and that, if the mass of the people learn to read and write, and become intelligent, it will not be so easy, as it has been, to make profitable bargains out of them.

2. Most visiters at the islands have been in habits of licentious intercourse with the native females. This intercourse is, through the influence of christianity, becoming more difficult.

3. The remaining cause of obloquy and opposition, is an apprehension that, as the missionaries are Americans, and are exerting a great influence upon the people, this influence will ultimately clash with that right of guardianship and protection, which is claimed for the British. Comparatively few feel the weight of this motive; but these few are very busy, and to

their activity the misrepresentations of the volume before us are principally to be attributed.

An opposition being thus formed, and fed by motives continually and briskly operating, some pretext for it must be assigned; the true reasons not being sufficiently creditable to the opposers. The missionaries had been the happy and voluntary instruments of producing a great change in the moral condition of the people. Drunkenness had been nearly prevented, though four years ago it was more prevalent than among any other people in the known world. Lewdness had been greatly restrained; and foreigners began to apprehend, that they should themselves be compelled to be more moral, or to seek the indulgence of their vicious propensities in some region, which had not experienced the power of christianity. The missionaries, as a natural consequence of their great and benevolent services, were held in high estimation by the chiefs and people. Having uniformly shown themselves to be men of truth and integrity, diligence and disinterestedness, they had established for themselves a character, such as had never been known at the islands before. The chiefs had a great regard for their advice, and would doubtless have received it gladly on any subject, on which they would be willing to give it. As the chiefs had actually made laws, which bore hard upon the vices of foreigners; as these laws had been undeniably prompted by a regard to religion; and as religion had been introduced by the missionaries only, it seems very plausible to assert, that *the missionaries had interfered with the government of the islands.* This assertion has therefore been made, and a thousand times repeated; with what truth will appear in the sequel.

The opposition has been felt toward *all* the missionaries, and their whole system of operations; but as Mr Bingham was one of the little band, who first arrived, and the only ordained missionary permanently residing at Honoruru (the seat of government and the place where foreigners principally resort), it was to be expected, that he should experience a large share of hatred, and should often be selected by name for crimination and reproach.

Beside the charge of interference with the government, there is also a heavy impeachment of the mission, on the ground of the strict observance of the Sabbath, and the numerous religious services, which have been imposed upon the natives.

Both these topics of complaint are displayed in the following long quotation from the Voyage.

'Unhappily, the good men who, as missionaries, have abandoned the sweets of civilized society, to devote themselves to the improvement of these Islands, and in obedience to the command, "Go ye and teach all nations, baptizing them," are of a sect too austere, as we should think, for the purposes they are so anxious to promote.

'The old tabus are indeed no more; but they have called Sunday the *la tabu*, or consecrated day, and nothing in the heathen time could be more strictly tabued. The missionaries forbid the making of fire, even to cook, on Sunday; they insist on the appearance of their proselytes five times at church every day; and having persuaded them, that they are the necessary conductors to heaven, they are acquiring a degree of public and private importance, which, but for the situation of the islands, which secures a constant accession of foreigners for the purposes of commerce, would bid fair to renew the Jesuitical dominion of Paraguay. It is true they defend their system by saying, that since the tabu for the false deities was so severely kept, the proselytes might despise our doctrine, did we pay less regard to Him, whom we preach as the true God; that, as to the not cooking on Sundays, it is no hardship, for it has always been the habit to cook enough for two or three days at a time, and to eat cold meats between the cooking days, because the mode of dressing food by fire-pits and heated stones is so very slow; and as to the frequency and length of the prayers, the people have nothing better to do. Such are their answers. But other missionaries have found something for their catechumens to do. The Moravians at the Cape of Good Hope have taught the Hottentots, the most degraded race of men, and that nearest, before their time, to the brutes, the arts of civilized life.' 'We believe mistaken zeal to be the source of many of the errors we see; but we fear, also, that some of the love of power has mingled with the zeal, and that the government of the country, through the medium of the consciences of the chiefs, is a very great, if not the principal object, of at least one of the mission.

'We had a striking proof of their power the other night. It was Saturday; and as Karaimoku was now well enough to enjoy a spectacle, the promise made to Boki of reserving some of the figures of the phantasmagoria, for his friends at Oahu, was recalled, and preparations were accordingly made for its exhibition. As it was a public show, every body was expected to be there; and if Messrs Bingham and friends were not expressly invited, it was probably because it was supposed they would come, if they

did not imagine the amusement of too worldly a nature. They had certainly due notice of it; for that very morning one of the party had a long conversation with one of the officers on the subject. How were we astonished, therefore, when all things being prepared, the company assembled, and among the rest the little king and princess, notice was given, that, on so near an approach of the Sabbath, prayer was a fitter employment! Accordingly, the two poor children were carried off in tears, and many of the chiefs and people followed to the missionary meeting. Karaimoku and Kaahumanu however staid with us, and were extremely charmed with the exhibition, examining the room after it was over, and exhausting themselves in conjectures as to the manner in which it was produced.

'The intemperate indecency of this conduct, on the part of the mission, seems to have occurred to the more reasonable among themselves. Mr Stewart was with his wife, whose health is exceedingly delicate, at some distance; a note was sent to him, we think by Mr Bingham, to tell him what was going on. His sensible advice was, that the missionaries, with their congregation, should adjourn in a body to the theatre, see the show, and then return to prayers. This advice however was not acted upon, and our phantasms played to a thin house.

'Mr Stewart endeavored to explain the matter as follows;—It appears that two native teachers, who were highly regarded in the Island, and who had the more influence over their countrymen, as they spoke their own language, and were of their own kindred, had been brought up *in one of the United States*, where the Jewish method of reckoning time is observed, *and the day begins and ends at noon;* hence the Sunday, the first day of the week, begins at noon on Saturday the seventh day; and these teachers, having adopted this computation of time, have established Saturday meetings and exercises accordingly. This is very well so far as it goes; but Mr Bingham, the head of the mission, uses, on all other occasions, the christian measure of time; and he does not appear to be a person quietly to let two youths intrude with new ordinances on his *cure*.* Indeed, his own explanation admits the fact, that the meeting was of his own planning, and that having called his people together, he left the choice to themselves.' pp. 145—150.

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*'We have learned, by the arrival of persons who visited the islands after us, that the *almost open assumption of power by the mission* had created the greatest jealousy in the minds of the chiefs. The impaired state of Karaimoku's health rendered them very anxious, and seemed to have opened to the mission the hope of reigning in the name of the little king.'

The Quarterly Reviewer seizes upon the forgoing story with greediness, and repeats it in the following version.

'There was one point, however, on which Lord Byron appears justly to have felt some uneasiness, and this was the tone, manner, and line of conduct of the American missionaries, particularly one of the name of Bingham. The influence which this man had acquired over the simple natives, and his uncalled for interference in petty concerns wholly unconnected with his mission, were but too manifest on several occasions, but never more openly nor more offensively, than when Boki, one Saturday evening, expressed a wish to entertain his countrymen with an exhibition of phantasmagoria. The young king and his sister, with many of the chiefs and people, had assembled to see the show, when, behold! a message was received from this Bingham, "that on so near an approach of the Sabbath, prayer was a fitter employment!" and such was the ascendency which this man had gained, that "the two poor children were carried off in tears, and many of the chiefs and people followed to the missionary meeting." Mr Stewart, another of the missionaries, ashamed of the indecency of such conduct, was anxious to explain the matter, by saying, that they followed the Jewish mode of reckoning, and considered Sunday to begin on Saturday at noon.' No. LXX, p. 438.

We propose to give our readers a brief history of this transaction, as it really took place; but we must anticipate the narrative a little by saying, that, after the exhibition of the magic lantern, about ten o'clock on Saturday evening, Mr Bingham learned, that the attendance of the chiefs had been small. He immediately wrote a letter to Lord Byron, with a view of explaining the misunderstanding, so far as he was able. This letter is printed in the Voyage; for what purpose we cannot divine, as it completely falsifies all the allegations of the voyager, which are worth notice. It is preceded by a paragraph, which we first quote.

'The following is a copy of the letter sent to Lord Byron on this occasion. It is written by the American missionary Bingham. This man is, we have no doubt, *truly zealous in the cause of religion;* but we cannot forbear to remark, that he has in a manner thrust himself into *all the political affairs of the island,* and acts as secretary of state, as governor of the young princes, director of consciences, *comptroller of amusements,* &c. an interference that some may regard as political, *and tending to establish an American interest in the islands,* and others, as produced by circumstances which Mr Bingham has not the prudence to avoid.' p. 111.

This letter, which the editor denominates 'curious,' appears to us very suitable, and though written in haste, is such as Mr Bingham has no occasion to regret.*

The Quarterly Review says, with an air of infinite self-complacency, speaking of the American missionaries, that 'they have so little judgment, and are so little acquainted with the human heart, as to let their zeal outrun discretion on many occasions and in many shapes; and this,' adds the Reviewer, 'we knew to be the case before now.' It is to be presumed, that the foregoing extracts furnish some of the strongest proofs of the incompetency of the missionaries, which the Reviewer was able to produce; and, in this presumption, we must invite our readers to examine the subject with some attention.

When the Blonde arrived at Honoruru, just five years had elapsed from the first establishment of the mission. Within that time, the missionaries had learned the language without

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* The letter here follows in full.

'*Oahu, Saturday Evening.*

'My Lord,

I take the liberty to address you a line, simply to acquaint you with the ground of a partial misunderstanding this evening. Though we do not regard Saturday evening as belonging to the Sabbath, yet the people have been instructed, both by Mr Ellis and ourselves, to make preparation on Saturday for the proper observance of the Sabbath. A number of chiefs have been accustomed of late to assemble, of their own accord, for social worship among themselves on Saturday evening; and were assembling for that purpose this evening. This will, I hope, account for the apparent reluctance of some of them to receive your truly kind attentions. Several asked our advice; and we told them expressly we would not detain them from the exhibition, which you had kindly proposed to show them, but would have them act their own pleasure.

'This, I assured Mr Ball, was the fact, when he came to my house for Mr Pitt.

'I have taken the liberty to make this explanation, in order to show you, that we would studiously avoid any interference in any of your intercourse with the chiefs; and while I can assure you I entertain a high sense of the honor and the kindness, which you and your honored king and highly favored country have done this nation, I cherish the hope, that those efforts on your part may, in connexion with our feeble exertions, be crowned with happy and complete success.

You will therefore allow me to be,

My Lord,

Very respectfully and sincerely yours,

H. Bingham.'

To the Rt. Hon. Lord Byron.

those helps, which all their successors will enjoy; adopted an alphabet; reduced to some form, a dialect never before written; taught all the highest chiefs to read and write; printed elementary books; established many schools for children and adults; preached the Gospel to the people in their own tongue; caused them to understand the plain principles of the Bible; impressed upon the minds of these uncivilized hearers some just views of the government of God, the reasonableness and perfection of his laws, and the plan of salvation clearly revealed in the New Testament; and, in short, exerted an influence which seemed likely to bring all the inhabitants into the order and happiness of christian society. Such results had been witnessed by the blessing of God upon incessant labor, endured in the midst of 'weariness and painfulness,' and many privations, in a tropical climate, by men and women, who left inviting situations in their own country, for the sole purpose of raising up pagans and foreigners from the lowest state of debasement, to the dignity of 'fellow-citizens with the saints and members of the household of God.' It would not be amiss for the editor of the 'Voyage' and the Quarterly Reviewer to reflect, that such persons ought not to be impeached before the whole civilized world, unless upon weighty and substantial grounds. And what are the grounds of impeachment, which are spread over so many quarto pages, and transferred, with such scrupulous care, that they should lose nothing, into the widely circulating sheets of the most important review in the British metropolis? When stripped of verbiage, they all amount to the single charge, that on a certain occasion, *one* of these missionaries expressed his opinion, that *prayer was a fitter employment for Saturday evening, than an attendance upon an exhibition of the magic lantern;* and the inferences are, that the missionaries impose an intolerable strictness upon the people; that they interfere in political measures; that they domineer over the chiefs; that they have acquired a threatening influence over the conscience; that, through this influence, they aim at the government of the islands; and that, to crown the whole, they are destitute of common sense. Now we insist, in the name of justice, that this whole string of inferences be stricken out of the indictment. Not one of them follows from the mere fact, that a missionary should think an established religious service a better preparation for the Sabbath, than attending an exhibition of phantasmagoria. Even

if the expression of such an opinion were erroneous and absurd, still so long a chain of inferences cannot be attached to it. Supposing Mr Bingham had expressed an opinion, which *seemed* rather indiscreet, would not candor require, that all the circumstances of the case should be known, before sentence should be pronounced against him? Is it probable, that the journalist knew these circumstances? and if not, how could he decide whether the alleged opinion were indiscreet, or not? Mr Bingham may have known very little of the manner in which the exhibition had been invited, or of the inconvenience of delaying it? It is said, indeed, by the voyager, that 'Mr Bingham and friends had due notice of it; for that very morning *one of the party* had a long conversation with one of the officers on the subject.' And is this the way of administering justice? Is every member of the mission to be supposed, without any proof, to know every thing, which has been communicated to every other member? Missionaries have many things to do; and, in their numerous avocations, even the proposed exhibition of a magic lantern may have arrested very little of their attention; especially as it was no business of theirs, and they were not even invited to be present.

Again; the voyager could not tell on the spot, nor can we, or the Quarterly Reviewer, tell, how important the religious service was considered by the chiefs, or what consequences were apprehended from their suffering it to be displaced by a mere amusement. But till all these things are known, it is impossible to pronounce a fair and equitable sentence.

The article in the 'Voyage,' and that in the Review, are intended to affect the reputation of the *whole mission;* and this it will do, so far as its representations are credited. But is such a course candid, fair, and honorable? Mr Bingham was but one missionary out of twelve, of whom eight were at that time preachers of the Gospel; and all these preachers, except Mr Stewart and himself, were laboring on other islands. Shall the supposed, or assumed, mistake of *one*, in regard to so small a matter as an evening's amusement, be imputed, as a serious offence to those, who were a hundred miles off, and who, perhaps, will never have heard of the transaction till the Quarterly Review shall meet their eyes?

We have gone thus far upon the admission, that Mr Bingham expressed the opinion imputed to him; but we now deny

the fact altogether. There is not the slightest proof of it; and Mr Bingham's letter affords a strong presumption against it.

It may be well to state here, as briefly as possible, the real facts and circumstances of the case; and, in making this statement, we shall rely upon the published account of Mr Stewart, and upon verbal communications received from that gentleman, who was personally present with Mr Bingham, at the time of his alleged interference; whereas, neither Mr Bloxam nor Mrs Graham, nor the midshipmen, were thus present.

While Boki and his party were on their passage from England, they were amused with the wonders of the magic lantern; and Boki, apprehending that these wonders would be exhausted, begged that the show might proceed no further; and that some part of it might be preserved for the gratification of his friends at the islands. One Saturday morning, when Kaahumanu, a female of high rank and now principal regent, was breakfasting on board the Blonde, the magic lantern was mentioned, and the inquiry made, when she would like to see the exhibition. She replied, *this evening;* either not reflecting what day of the week it was, or not adverting to the regularly appointed religious services, to which some of the chiefs had recently begun to attend, on Saturday evening.* Not long after, that is, some time in the forenoon, Lord Byron met with Mr Stewart, and informed him of the appointment; to which Mr Stewart made no objection, saying, that he presumed the chiefs would be highly gratified. Not considering the intimation of Lord Byron in the light of an invitation, he did not mention the fact to the other missionaries. What is more remarkable, Kaahumanu did not mention the appointment to any of the chiefs. This omission was probably the result of mere inattention or forgetfulness.

Toward evening the chiefs begun to assemble for their religious service, which had been established and was conducted by themselves alone, and to which some of them were strongly attached. At this moment, the phantasmagoria occurred to the mind of Kaahumanu; and she inquired what was to be done. The general voice was, that the religious service should

* The occasion of the meeting, which interfered with Kaahumanu's appointment, was as follows. Kapiolani and her husband Naihi had recently come down from Hawaii, where a religious meeting for Saturday evening, had been some time established. At their instance, a similar meeting was commenced at Honoruru. The missionaries neither originated nor conducted it, nor were they expected to be present.

proceed, and the amusement should be deferred till Monday night. A messenger was despatched to Lord Byron; but all was too late. His lordship and suite, with the band of music, were rapidly approaching. The messenger met them at the gate; and, not having received any discretionary orders, cried *tabu*, and shut the gate; as much as to say, *You must not come; all ingress is forbidden.* This was, indeed, quite unceremonious, and not very civil to Lord Byron, who had come by express appointment, and merely out of kindness to do the chiefs a pleasure. It was natural, therefore, that he should speak with some decision, and call upon a native interpreter to know the occasion of such treatment. The native, not being able to speak much English at best, and being greatly disturbed by the apprehension that Lord Byron was displeased, did not express himself intelligibly; but could only say something about *chiefs*, and *prayers*, and *tabu*, and *Sabbath*, and *missionaries*. He probably meant something like this; *that, before the Sabbath, the chiefs were in the habit of attending prayers, or of holding meetings of a similar character with those, which were held by missionaries.* On hearing this explanation, such as it was, Lord Byron thought it very strange, that an appointment of a religious service should be made at such a time, and in such circumstances. The chiefs, seeing him discomposed, and wishing neither to give up a solemn meeting, nor to afford any cause of offence, walked to one of the mission houses, where Mr Bingham and Mr Stewart were together. This was the time, when Mr Bingham is stated by the Quarterly Reviewer to have acted so 'offensively.' On hearing the circumstances of the case, Mr Bingham declined saying more than that he did not think it wrong for those to attend the amusement, who felt disposed to do so; and that he thought it should be left to the inclination of each individual. The chiefs, acting according to this suggestion, went, some of them to the exhibition, and some to the prayer meeting, which was removed at a little distance. Some left the show in disgust, and retired to the prayer meeting. The young king was persuaded to be present at the entertainment, where he witnessed the whole; and with him Karaimoku and Kaahumanu stayed to the close. The minds of the chiefs were discomposed by the various blunders of the evening. Uncivilized men, of all others, do not like to enter upon a party of pleasure by compulsion, or while in a state of disappointment. The young princess would

not leave her hiding-place; and, as the voyager correctly says, 'the phantasms were played to a thin house.'

It afterwards appeared, that Lord Byron felt more than any thing else the seeming interference between his intended kindness to the natives and a religious service appointed, as he then supposed, by the missionaries. When he became acquainted with all the facts, and learned the true cause of the disappointment, he declared himself, in a note now in the possession of Mr Stewart, to be perfectly satisfied, and added that the transaction had left upon his mind no impression unfavorable to the mission.

After this narrative, let us advert to the errors in the statement of the voyager. It is not true, that 'notice was given, that, on so near an approach of the Sabbath, prayer was a fitter employment;' nor that 'the two poor children were carried away in tears;' nor that 'the chiefs and people followed to the missionary meeting,' as there *was no missionary meeting;* nor that 'Mr Stewart was at some distance,' he being in the house with Mr Bingham; nor that 'a note was sent to him by Mr Bingham,' or any one else, 'to tell him what was going on,' as he was, in fact, the only one of the missionaries who previously knew; nor that he 'advised the missionaries and their congregation to adjourn in a body to the theatre,' as he had no thought of attending the exhibition, and had not even mentioned it to his brethren; nor that he 'explained the matter by a reference to the Jewish Sabbath;' nor that the 'native youths were educated in one of the United States, where the day begins and ends at noon.' Mr Stewart did not even know, till the Reviewer informed him, that the Jewish Sabbath began at Saturday noon, nor that the people in any one of the United States followed the Jews in this respect.

Nor does Mr Bingham's letter admit, 'that the meeting was of his own planning.' On the contrary, it implies that the meeting was planned by others, where it says, that 'a number of chiefs have been accustomed of late to assemble, *of their own accord*, for social worship.' The reference to Mr Ellis, and to the general course of instruction on the subject of preparing for the Sabbath, was doubtless intended to show his lordship, that the idea of a religious meeting of some sort, or in some circumstances, on Saturday evening, was no new thing; and that therefore the chiefs, in commencing and maintaining such a meeting were not acting from mere whim, or

sudden impulse. Nine or ten errors are rather too many for so short a piece of history. The Reviewer adds to the number by saying, without *even the color of authority*, that Mr Bingham sent a message to the meeting; or, to use his delicate and urbane language, '*Behold! a message was received from this Bingham;*' a most inexorable message, indeed, if, as the Reviewer affirms, 'such was the ascendency which this man had gained, that "the two poor children [the young king of the islands and his sister] were carried off in tears."'

This message, with its appalling consequences to the poor children, and all the portentous evils which were indicated by it, are sheer fabrications.

The voyager says, 'that every body was expected to be there, though Messrs Bingham and friends were not expressly invited;' and his reasons for expecting every body to be present are, 'that it was a public show,' and the missionaries 'certainly had due notice of it.' It is true that Mr Stewart was told by Lord Byron himself, that the magic lantern was to be exhibited *to the natives, at the solicitation of Kaahumanu;* and that he replied, that he thought the natives would be pleased. But does this prove that Mr Stewart *knew* that the show was to be public? or that he was bound to consider this incidental conversation as a notice to attend? And was the show public in fact? Were the sea-captains, and other foreign residents, admitted as a part of the company? The voyager does not say they were; and, if they had been, we think the house would not have been so *thin*, as it is represented to have been.

The indictment preferred against Mr Bingham is, that he interferes with the petty concerns of the natives, by *controlling their amusements, directing their consciences*, &c. The only proof worth mentioning, produced by the voyager, is the letter of Mr Bingham, by which it appears, that he neither controlled the amusements, nor directed the consciences of the chiefs; unless it be a direction of conscience to have said, that it was *not a case of conscience at all*, and that he saw no objection to the chiefs *doing just as they pleased.* The accuracy of the statements in this letter is not doubted by the voyager; and yet he seems to exult in having made out his charge. This is the most remarkable prosecution we ever heard of. The accuser produces no proof in support of his allegation, not a single particle of evidence being brought home to Mr

Bingham; but he volunteers on the other side, and proves, what no accused party is bound to do in order to his complete defence, *a decided negative of the whole charge.*

About three weeks after this affair, a general council of the chiefs was held, at which the young king was confirmed as the successor of Riho-Riho, a regency was appointed during his minority, some salutary laws approved, and a formal approbation given to missionary labors. Lord Byron, his officers, and the missionaries were present by invitation. The chiefs expressed their opinions at considerable length, the substance of which is given in the 'Voyage.'

'Lord Byron was now called upon to speak, when he presented to Karaimoku and the other chiefs, *a paper containing a few hints* concerning their affairs, which he wished them to look over at their leisure, and if they approved of them, to adopt them as their own, but not as the dictates of the British government, *which had no wish whatever to interfere with the regulations of the chiefs, who must be the best judges of what suited the people.*'

pp. 154, 155.

The wisdom and propriety of Lord Byron's conduct, as exhibited in this paragraph, must be obvious to every person; especially in two particulars, his communicating his thoughts in writing, and his expressly disclaiming any right of himself as an agent of the British government to interfere in the political affairs of the country. It would have been well, if every subsequent visiter of the islands had imitated this truly excellent example.

The transactions of the council, *in regard to the mission*, are not accurately related by the voyage.

'A conversation then ensued among the chiefs on the subject of the missionaries; and Lord Byron was asked if the king of England had any objection to the settling of the American mission in the Islands, and instructing the people. His lordship said that he had heard that the missionaries had an intention of drawing up a *code of laws for the people*, and to this he *decidedly objected;* but so long as these gentlemen did not interfere with the laws or commerce of the country, he could not object to their instructing the natives in reading, and in the christian religion.

'Mr Bingham, in behalf of the mission, stated, that the American missionaries had neither the design nor the wish to interfere with the political or commercial concerns of the nation; being expressly prohibited by their commission, and their public and

private instructions from their patrons, from any such interference; that they act under the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, incorporated by the legislature of Massachusetts, for the sole purpose of propagating the Gospel among the heathen; that it is not for the mission to give laws to the nation, nor to interfere with the authority of the chiefs, nor to engage in commercial speculations, nor to be known otherwise than as propagators of the Gospel; but, taking the Bible as their guide, their object in residing in these islands is, to enlighten the nation in the doctrines and duties of christianity, that they may obtain its everlasting rewards. This he repeated in the vernacular tongue; and the council then broke up.' pp. 155, 156.

We are authorized by an eye-witness to say, that Lord Byron did not express any suspicion, that the missionaries would interfere with the political affairs of the natives. He was called upon, as a public man, and perhaps unexpectedly, to declare his opinion of the object and designs of the missionaries, and nothing could be more proper than to ask for a public statement of what that object and those designs were. Such a statement was promptly given by the missionaries, in the English language, and in the language of the natives, and a copy in English was handed to Lord Byron. How much use the voyager made of this written statement, or how closely he adhered to it, we do not know. He is perfectly correct, however, in saying, that the missionaries then disclaimed (as they have uniformly done on other occasions) all interference with commercial pursuits or political measures.

Perhaps some of our readers may not see the necessity of disclaiming particular designs, unless these designs were, at the time, imputed to the missionaries. It may be well, therefore, to say, that profligate and interested men, who hated the moral influence of the mission, and wished to plunge the natives into deeper and still deeper debasement, have made such allegations against the missionaries, without the least regard to truth or probability, as would be likely to have an unfavorable effect upon the minds of these ignorant people. Among the various causes of alarm are to be numbered, the design of the missionaries to get the lands of the chiefs, to transfer the islands to the United States, to get political influence, to meddle with commerce, and, especially, the tendency of their measures to *offend the English*, and to *bring upon the islands the displeasure of the British government*. This last cause of

suspicion was working great evils in the summer of 1822, when it was dissipated by the arrival of the Deputation of the London Missionary Society, who convinced the chiefs, that it was groundless. When Boki arrived in the Blonde, he stated, that the king of England was friendly to the designs of the missionaries; and here was Lord Byron on the spot, a representative of the English government, who might be called upon in public council, to confirm these statements of Boki. The chiefs did not need to be informed what were Lord Byron's private sentiments concerning the mission. They already knew him to be friendly to every social and moral improvement. But they wanted a public declaration, which could be referred to, as a matter of notoriety, for the purpose of repelling future slanders.

After the statement of the missionaries, Lord Byron said, that, so long as they adhered to their instructions, and acted conformably to their professions, they would be highly deserving the patronage and favor of the chiefs and people. His design obviously was, not to intimate any suspicion, that the missionaries would depart from their instructions; but to make *their public declaration* the basis of *his public approval;* and in this manner it becomes every public functionary to act.

The voyager does Lord Byron great injustice, by making him say of the missionaries, '*that he could not object* to their instructing the natives in reading, and in the christian religion.' The fact was, he gave a warm and decided recommendation, founded, as we have said, upon the public declarations, which had just been made.

We have alluded to Boki's report of an interview with the king of England. This took place at Windsor, some weeks after the death of Riho-Riho. Boki stated at the islands, that the king walked with him through many apartments, and talked with him a good deal. Mrs Graham gives the following account of the interview.

'Boki, who had kept a journal during his residence in England, made very full notes of what passed at this audience. Since his return to his native land, he writes, that he has read these notes so often to the different chiefs, that he has become very hoarse. We regret much that a copy of this journal was not procured while Boki was on board of the Blonde.' p. 74.

We are rather incredulous, as to the extent of Boki's notes;

for he never held the pen of a ready writer. Still he was *able* to write in his own language, though rather clumsily. But whether he wrote down the words of George the Fourth, or not, it is certain that they made a deep impression upon his mind. These words he repeated publicly, and often. He said, that when he inquired of the king, whether preachers were good men, his Majesty answered, 'Yes; and they are men to make others good. I have always some of them by me; for chiefs are not wise like them. We in England were once like the people in your islands; but this kind of teachers came, and taught our fathers; and now you see what we are.' And again; 'You and your people must take good heed to the missionaries; for they were sent to enlighten you and do you good. They came not for secular purposes, but by a divine command, to teach you the word of God. The people would therefore all do well to attend to instruction, and to forsake stealing, drunkenness, war, and everything evil, and to live in peace.' This advice certainly well became the ruler of an enlightened christian nation; and it would be happy, if all the king's subjects would imitate the liberality, which is indicated by this advice of their sovereign.

After all that we have said, respecting the positive errors and misrepresentations of the 'Voyage,' the faults of omission are scarcely less remarkable. There is, in many cases, a studied silence respecting the missionaries, which can only be accounted for, by supposing either the voyager, or the editor, to have been actuated by a most unmanly jealousy towards them; either because they were Americans, or because they were not clergymen of the church of England. The Blonde first touched at Lahaina in Maui, where Boki and his suite first landed. Lord Byron conversed for an hour or two with Mr Richards, the missionary residing there, and made many inquiries respecting the islands and the mission. How natural it would have been for a voyager, who was evidently in the most pressing want of materials, to record some of the information thus collected? How natural for a man, who had been eight months within the sides of a ship, to mention his satisfaction at finding a gentleman of intelligence and education, with whom he could converse on the state of these interesting islands. It is highly probable that Mr Bloxam had something of this kind. It seems scarcely possible it should

have been otherwise. But not even the name of Mr Richards is mentioned in the book.

After the Blonde had been at Honoruru in Oahu several weeks, and Lord Byron was about to visit Waiakea, on the eastern side of Hawaii, accommodations were kindly afforded to Mr and Mrs Stewart, that they might accompany him in the frigate. The occasion of this polite and generous attention was the ill health of Mrs Stewart, which, it was hoped, might be relieved by a short voyage. During this voyage, of a month in duration, Lord Byron was always affable, and frequently conversed with Mr Stewart in the most free and familiar manner. They went to the volcano together; descended into its immense crater at the same time; and together beheld the terrific glare of its fires by night. Yet no mention is made by the voyager of this generous conduct of his commander; nor is it even intimated, that Mr Stewart was ever on board the Blonde. This is the more strange, as Mr Bloxam and Mr Stewart showed their journals to each other; and Mr Bloxam wrote some complimentary verses, which have appeared in Mr Stewart's journal, as printed in one of our periodical publications.

While at Waiakea, a party was formed to ascend the highest mountain on the island. Mr Goodrich, the missionary of the place, was one of the party. Some of the officers of the Blonde also belonged to it. The rest of the party failing from fatigue and cold, Mr Goodrich continued to ascend, and reached the highest peak alone. This general account is given in the 'Voyage;' but the name of the missionary is suppressed; nor is the nature of the enterprise described. The fact is, that Mr Goodrich performed an exploit, which Baron Humboldt would have celebrated with enthusiasm. He travelled many miles in the night, after leaving his exhausted companions; continued to ascend till the atmosphere was so rare, as almost to forbid further exertion; passed over large tracts of frozen snow, which was so slippery as to make walking dangerous; found difficulty in deciding which was the highest peak; at last succeeded in selecting and climbing it; and there, at three o'clock in the morning, the moon shining brightly, he stood in that sublime solitude, upon the top of a vast cone, rising out of the Pacific to the limits of perpetual congelation. But this was not thought worthy of being mentioned in the 'Voyage;' the small talk, which is introduced

into that meagre volume, being considered as of more importance.

The last time that Lord Byron was on shore, he breakfasted at Mr Bingham's by invitation. This was perhaps eight weeks after the phantasmagoria, and six after the council, at which so much coldness and jealousy of the mission would seem, from the accounts of the voyager, to have been apparent. At this last interview, on the very day of his leaving the islands, Lord Byron made himself very agreeable; said many civil things; and appeared to enjoy the society around him. Being more acquainted with Mr Stewart, than with any other missionary, he inquired confidentially in private, what, in Mr Stewart's opinion, had been the effect of the visit of the Blonde upon the minds of the chiefs, and the missionaries. This inquiry was frankly answered by the declaration, that a most happy impression had been made, and that Lord Byron would leave the islands with the affectionate respect, the prayers, and the blessing of the missionaries. He replied that, should he arrive safely in England, it would give him pleasure to meet the inquiries of the christian public with a decided testimony to the usefulness and success of the mission. This pledge was honorably redeemed, immediately on his lordship's arrival in London, before a large assembly, the late Joseph Butterworth, M. P. in the chair. Mr Stewart arrived in London soon afterwards, there met Lord Byron, and received from him the same courteous treatment as at the islands. And yet, unless we are mistaken, it does not appear from the 'Voyage,' that this commander *ever deigned to speak to a missionary;* or *that he ever did a kindness to any member of the American mission.*

Nor would it seem, that the chaplain had any more intercourse with the missionaries, than his captain had. Is it possible, that Mr Bloxam should have written a journal, in which there is not a single mention of his having spoken with ministers of the Gospel, who were almost daily in his company for more than two months; and who were employed in the greatest and most honorable labors, to which human agency is ever applied? and when these labors were cheered with prospects of the most encouraging and delightful nature?

There is another strange deficiency in this compilation from the journal of a chaplain. While the Blonde was at the islands, the principal chiefs were proposed as candidates for making a

public profession of religion, after having long had the subject under consideration, and being thought to give sufficient evidence that they understood, and cordially embraced the great principles of the Gospel. Two of these chiefs, who had the greatest influence, namely, Karaimoku and Kaahumanu, are frequently mentioned in the 'Voyage;' and always in terms of respect. Not a word is said, however, about their religious character, or their knowledge of the New Testament. This is the more remarkable, as Mr Bloxam was on board the frigate with Kaahumanu and her sister Piia during the short voyage which has been mentioned. On the whole, the chaplain either had a singular taste, as to the selection of interesting facts to be entered in his journal, or the best part of his lucubrations has been omitted.

The voyager, for the sake of telling a good story, has related, in very glowing language, the visit of a chief woman, Kapiolani, to the crater of the great volcano; and the Reviewer, being ignorant of all the principal facts and circumstances, has made this story the foundation of a series of remarks, designed not only to disparage the labors of the missionaries, but to cover their characters with contempt. We cannot afford room for quoting the obnoxious passages; but affirm that the whole is a misrepresentation.

It is worthy of notice, that when missionary attempts are just beginning, the general opinion of philosophical writers seems to be, that *nothing can be done;* that the superstitions of the heathen are so inveterate, and their minds so besotted and obtuse, and the customs of fifty generations so irresistible, that it would be vain to attempt a reformation. The condition of these ancient nations cannot be altered. The children must be like the fathers, through all the future ages of the world. But when, after years of patient toil, and many discouragements, a moral revolution has been effected; after the debased idolater, and the cruel savage, have been raised to the dignity and comfort of civilized life, and brought under the pure and holy influence of religious truth, it is then found out, that this mighty transformation is one of the easiest things that was ever conceived of. The change itself is ascribed to some trifling cause; and the missionaries, far enough from receiving any credit for what they have done, are unmercifully chastised for not having done more, in less time, and in a more easy, rational, and agreeable manner. It were to be wished,

that cold, unfeeling critics, who sneer at the labors of missionaries without knowing anything about them, would set the world an example of what they, in the plenitude of their wisdom, could accomplish. This they have not yet condescended to do; but there are multitudes of men, on whom they could make the experiment; and every philanthropist will rejoice to see light beaming forth from any quarter, however unexpected.

In one of the quotations, which we have made from the 'Voyage,' much is said of the strict observance of the Sabbath, and of the unauthorized and unreasonable requirements of the missionaries. We have a strong suspicion, that these charges were compiled in London, not from anything written by Mr Bloxam, or the midshipmen; but that they were derived from a source entirely independent of the Blonde. Our principal reasons are, that none of the officers of that frigate were known to entertain or express opinions so entirely at variance with fact, as those in the paragraph alluded to; but an individual now residing at the islands has frequently, since the Blonde left them, made numerous statements of the same general nature with these, and distinguished equally by a settled hostility to the mission, and a total disregard of truth. But let us recur to the charges. It is said, in substance,

1. That the missionaries induce the natives to observe the Sabbath with unnecessary rigor. The only proof adduced is, that the natives are forbidden to make a fire for cooking on that sacred day. Mr Stewart has sufficiently explained that matter by saying, that the work of preparing food and cooking it, is the work of a large part of a day. This work is not ordinarily performed by the people more frequently than once in three, four, or five days; and therefore it is obviously proper that it should not be performed on the Sabbath. The missionaries do indeed desire, that the Sabbath should be consecrated to those religious purposes, for which it was designed.

2. The missionaries are said to '*insist on their proselytes appearing at church five times every day.*' Were it not that this charge is carefully distinguished from the one, which relates to the Sabbath, we should be inclined to the charitable conclusion, that the writer intended, by the phrase *every day*, no more than *every day of religious worship*, that is, *every sabbath*. But, as the words now stand, such a construction cannot be admitted. It would not be true, indeed, if it were confined to the Sabbath; but the falsehood would not have

been so glaring. Did the writer expect to be believed, when he said, that the missionaries *insisted* on their proselytes appearing at church *thirtyfive times a week?* Mr Stewart says, there were but three public meetings in a week, designed for the people generally; namely, two on the Sabbath, and one on Wednesday evening. Beside these assemblages, there were Sabbath schools, catechetical exercises, and various other more retired meetings, as in Great Britain and America. As to the reasons, which the voyager puts into the mouths of the missionaries, it is superfluous to remark, that they have received a coloring, which destroys their identity. Something may have been said, which was taken as the occasion of these apologies; but in so different a connexion, and with so different an application, as to make the use of them here an utter perversion.

We have now done with the 'Voyage,' and shall direct the attention of our readers for a few moments to the Reviewer. He does not confine himself to the Voyage of the Blonde, but has had access to letters of Captain Beechey, commander of the sloop of war Blossom, who touched at the islands in the spring of 1826, on his way to meet captain Franklin, beyond Bering's Strait. This captain is said to be a man of intelligence; but, owing to his national prejudices, or some other cause, he was most egregiously imposed upon by the individual, to whom many slanders against the missionaries can be directly traced. We speak advisedly here; for we can prove in a court of justice, that some of the stories, told by Captain Beechey, were told before his arrival at the islands, *and in the same words*, by the individual referred to; and what is more, we can prove the stories to be utterly false.

The substance of Captain Beechey's charges is, that the missionaries, by the multiplicity of their religious observances, are withdrawing the people from agricultural labors, and thus leading them into poverty, misery, and civil war. Now it might have been well if the captain had inquired, whether, in the history of the human race, it has ever occurred that learning to read and understand the Bible has produced such effects as these. But let us examine his facts. 'Thousands of acres of land,' says he, 'that before produced the finest crops, are now sandy plains.'

The mission began to exert a considerable influence in the year 1824, about two years before Captain Beechey's arrival.

This is rather a short time for producing an effect so deleterious, as to change a fruitful country into sandy plains. But it happens, that all the sandy plains seen by Captain Beechey, or his informer, have been in the same situation as at present for many years. Some of them are mentioned by voyagers in the year 1804, which was sixteen years before the arrival of the first missionaries. There is no doubt that more land was formerly cultivated than at present, and that the islands were far more populous than now. There is as little doubt, that the depopulation was occasioned by the original vices of the people, greatly aggravated by the vices derived from Englishmen in the first instance, and Americans afterwards. If this depopulation should continue, it will not be owing to the Bible, or the missionaries, but to the opposition of abandoned white men to the only principles, which are of sufficient efficacy to redeem and save a sinking people.

Probably Captain Beechey does not know, that the natives, before the missionaries arrived, were accustomed to spend whole weeks together, congregated by thousands, for public games and dances, during which seasons of revelry, the most disgusting licentiousness prevailed. Is it credible, that such a people should be rendered more idle and improvident, by exchanging their games of chance for reading and writing, and their public dances for the intelligent worship of the true God?

Again, we are told by the captain, that 'provisions are so extremely scarce, that not long since the king sent to beg a little bread of the American consul.' It is curious to observe what sort of evidence is here relied on. The king, a boy thirteen years old, asked of an American a little bread, a foreign article; and this is to prove an extreme scarcity of provisions! Suppose one of the English nobility, who once lived at Rome, or Naples, but who now resides in London, should send to one of his acquaintance, and beg a little vermicelli, would it prove the existence of famine in the British metropolis? Mr Stewart expresses the opinion, that the present king, boy as he is, has never seen a day, since he received the title of king, in which he could not immediately provide for a thousand men.

During the year 1826, the port of Honoruru was visited by more than a hundred foreign vessels, many of them having large crews, and staying one, two, and three months. After long voyages, the men consume large quantities of fresh

provisions, vegetables, and fruits; and, on going to sea, they take from forty to sixty barrels of potatoes, taro, &c. for each vessel. It would not be strange, if, in such circumstances, there should be a scarcity of those provisions, which are most in demand; especially when it is considered, that the people have never been encouraged to industry, by having the fruits of their labor at their own disposal. But what is the fact? In the year 1822, the mission had produced little effect upon the mass of the people. The same port was visited that year by less than fifty vessels. The price of provisions was dearer than at any time since; and almost twice as dear, as at the time when Captain Beechey was predicting a famine. Christianity is now pleading for the rights of the common people, and inducing the chiefs to be mild, and merciful, and just to them; and, in this way, unless the benevolent designs of the missionaries are frustrated by ill disposed foreigners, the encouragement to industry will be so great, as to secure an abundance of the productions of the soil. This, while it essentially aids the natives in the process of civilization, will afford a most grateful supply to the numerous ships which traverse the Pacific.

The Reviewer supposes, that the idleness, poverty, misery, and the forebodings of future evil, so strongly described by Captain Beechey, were brought upon the poor simple natives, by the missionaries having preached against neglecting *the one thing needful;* thus inducing the people to spend all their time in religious pursuits, and leaving no time for the concerns of this world.

Again, says the Reviewer, 'the apprehension of civil war, expressed by Captain Beechey, appears to be owing to another text of Scripture, which says, that in the kingdom of heaven none is before or after another, none is greater or less than another; which, as the American teachers apply and expound it, is exactly to tell these poor creatures, that "all men are equal," a doctrine which Mr Bingham's countrymen are more ready to preach than to practise.' The Reviewer has not given us chapter and verse for the text, that prompted to so mischievous and seditious an exposition; which is the more to be regretted, as, in the course of our reading the Bible, we have never fallen upon any such passage of Scripture. But is the Reviewer seriously afraid, that men should be taught that they have rights? The Gospel has delivered many

nations from cruel bondage; but it has never yet enslaved any, nor authorized or prompted sedition and violence. Its pacific tendency has already been felt at the islands, in more instances than one.

As to Captain Beechey's stories about Tahiti and Tubuai, they are all second hand, and were coined in the same mint with the others. He was so far imposed upon, as to believe that many of these islanders had died, because they were too lazy to cook oftener than once a week, and were therefore in the habit of eating sour food. This produced 'complaints in the stomach, and carried them off.' Such is the story. The fact is, however, that the Sandwich Islanders, and probably other islanders of the Pacific, keep their food, till it has fermented, because they prefer it in this state. And as to health, there probably is not a more nutritious diet in the world, than that of the people at the Sandwich Islands, of which sour *poi* (an esculent vegetable, cooked, pounded, made into paste, and fermented) is the principal article. The chiefs, who always have an abundance of this food, are men of enormous size. We are informed in the 'Voyage,' that Kuakini (John Adams) then only twenty-seven years old, weighed three hundred and sixty-four pounds, avoirdupois. He is six feet three inches high, and so well proportioned as not to have the appearance of great corpulency. Several of the chief women are said to weigh more than three hundred pounds each; and yet they have been eating sour *poi* all their lives.

After all, Captain Beechey 'admits,' says the Reviewer, 'that the missionaries are entitled to every credit, for having succeeded in abolishing human sacrifices and the prevailing crime of infanticide.' Indeed! Entitled to every credit! And shall not those, who have shown themselves capable of accomplishing the greater, do something toward accomplishing the less? Will men, who have weakened, and finally broken the bands of a depraving superstition, and raised up the most abject of their race to dignity and virtue, be found inadequate to the task of inculcating the duties of social and civil life? It would not have been amiss, if Captain Beechey and the Reviewer had patiently inquired what the missionaries had done, and in what manner they had done it, before they were stigmatized as wanting in common sense.

There are, in the course of the Review, several glowing descriptions of the good done by missionaries, in numerous

islands of the Pacific; but they were *native missionaries*, sent from islands, previously converted to christianity, to other islands remaining in their idolatrous state. They were instructed, however, and fitted for their work by missionaries of European origin; and this should have led to some favorable conclusions respecting the labors of those, who first introduced christianity into Polynesia.

The Reviewer, taking the hint from a passage in the 'Voyage,' which we have already quoted, commends the example of the Moravians, and eulogizes their labors, at the expense of all other missionary efforts. We are very sure that these writers have not a higher opinion of the Moravians, and their persevering and faithful exertions, than we have long entertained. It has, however, been the fashion of late, with those who dislike missions generally, to praise the Moravians highly, on two accounts, which are set forth as peculiar to them; namely, their declining to preach the higher points of doctrine, and their teaching their converts to be industrious. The title of these good missionaries to praise for the first reason, is more than questionable; for no men were ever more assiduous in proclaiming what they deemed the peculiar doctrines of christianity. On these they build their hope of success; and they fortify themselves by the results of experience, now extended nearly through a century. Their industry is indeed worthy of high commendation; and though it may not have been surpassed, it has been successfully imitated by missionaries of several other denominations.

If the Moravians had attempted to benefit the Sandwich Islanders, they would have labored to make piety, temperance, justice, purity of mind, and chastity, as well as industry, universal. Had they succeeded according to their desire, no lewd, abandoned, fraudulent visiter, could have touched at the islands, with the least hope of gratifying his brutal or selfish desires. And how would this state of things have been relished? Would it not have called forth slander, abuse, misrepresentation, and malignant opposition? The Moravians have not been without experience of these evils. In the course of the last century, among other enterprises of benevolence, they commenced a mission to the Indians, in the borders of what is now one of the United States. Here they were traduced and vilified by their white neighbors, almost as much as Mr Bingham and his associates have been slandered at the Sand-

wich Islands. The Moravians were also accused of interfering in politics; and this brought great odium and severe persecution upon them; though the charge was utterly groundless.

We will here take occasion to say a word on the manner in which the islands of the Pacific became inhabited. It is found that the natives of Polynesia, from New Zealand to the Sandwich Islands, are one people, having the same manners and customs, and speaking the same language; and this fact is sufficient to silence forever the infidel objection, that mankind could not have descended from one pair, because the different parts of the earth could not have been thus peopled. If the islands of the Pacific, whose inhabitants are all ignorant savages, are descended from a common stock, as they certainly are, we need not be greatly troubled about the alleged impossibility of peopling any part of the world with the descendants of Noah. The question *how* these islands were first settled, is not very easy of solution. Tradition is nearly silent respecting it. History discloses nothing. The Reviewer is not at all puzzled, however, with any difficulties of the case. After deciding that the people are oriental, he says, 'their dispersion over the Pacific is easily accounted for, by the constant easterly winds, which at various times, and in various directions, may have blown fishing canoes from the Asiatic islands to those scattered over the Pacific, and from one of these islands to another; which last accident, indeed, is constantly happening at the present day.' Let no man despair of a theory to suit any exigency after this. The *constant easterly winds*, which are commonly called trade winds, have, it would seem, the astonishing property of blowing canoes from the west to the east; so that, by this new species of attraction, these canoes, against the will of their owners, against the waves and currents, and *against the winds themselves*, have traversed the wide Pacific, and carried the ancestors of the present inhabitants to every island.

Just before the number of the Quarterly Review, containing the article on the Sandwich Islands, issued from the press, a letter was received in London, which, as it reïterates the charges against the American missionaries, the Reviewer was very eager to introduce, though at the distance of more than a hundred pages from the principal article. The letter purports to have been written by Boki, governor of Oahu, and brother of Karaimoku. It is unquestionably a forgery, and a very glaring

one; though the Reviewer pledges himself that it is genuine. The letter and the introductory paragraph are as follows;

'Since the preceding pages have been struck off, we have been favored with the following literal copy of a letter of Boki (which we pledge ourselves to be genuine), confirming what we have stated with regard to the conduct of the American missionaries at the Sandwich Islands.

Islands of Woahoo, Jan. 24, 1826.

'Sir,—I take this opportunity to send you thes fu lines, hopping the will find you in good health, as ples god the leve me at present. I am sorrey to inform You that Mr Pitt (Karaimakoo) has gon thro four opperashons since you sailed from here, but thank god he is now much better, and we ar in hops of his recovery, and I am verey sorey to tell you that Mr Bingham the head of the Misheneres is trieng evere thing in his pour to have the Law of this country in his own hands. all of us ar verry happy to have sum pepel to instruct us in what is rite and good but he wants us to be entirly under his laws, which will not do with the natives. I have don all in my pour to prevent it and I have don it as yet, Ther is Cahomano wishes the Misheneres to have the whol atority but I sholl prevent it as long as I cane, for if the have their will be nothing done in thes Ilands not even cultivation, for ther own use. I wish the peppel to reid and to rite and likewise to worke, but the Misheneres have got them night and day old and young so that ther is verrey little don her at present. The pepel in general ar verrey much discetisfied at the Misheneres thinking they will have the laws in their own hands. Captain Charlton has not arived from Otiety which makes me think sumthing has hapned to him. Mr Bingham has gone so far as to tell thes natives that nether king George nor Lord Biron has any regard for God, or aney of the English cheefs, that they are all bad pepel but themselves, and that there is no Redemsion for aney of the heads of the English or American nations. God send you good health and a long life.

'Mrs Boki sends her kind love to Lord Biron and Mr Camrone and the Hon. Mr Hill.

(Signed) NA-BOKI.'

We do not suppose, that the Reviewer suspected this letter of being a forgery; but, with a moderate share of perspicacity, he *would* have suspected it; and the least suspicion should have prevented its publication. With what contempt would the Quarterly Reviewers look upon a Greek or Latin epistle which should be vouched for, as having been written in

the days of Xenophon or Cicero, but which, on the slightest examination, should prove a literal translation of a modern English letter, such as an ordinary youth of fifteen would now write on a common subject? What would they think of a letter written by a Frenchman, represented as so ignorant of the English language as not to be able to spell it, and yet expressing himself entirely in the English idiom, without a single word or phrase, that indicated a foreign origin? But neither the Greek, the Latin, nor the French is so different from the English, in idiom and train of thought, as is the Sandwich Island tongue.

The only disguise of the letter under consideration is bad spelling, which is really no disguise at all; for a half instructed foreigner would learn to spell the English language right much sooner, than he would learn to use words in their proper meaning, or to form them into proper phrases and sentences. A foreigner learns to spell, by the eye, and therefore he spells correctly the new language which he is writing. He consults his memory, or his dictionary, well knowing that the ear is to him no guide at all. What Englishman, for instance, ever undertook to spell the French language merely from hearing it spoken? This is not mere theory. We have seen numerous letters written by imperfectly educated foreigners; and the spelling is uniformly, in such cases, much more correct than the composition,—the use of words, the arrangement, the idiomatical phrases. Since the article in the Quarterly Review appeared, a respectable clergyman has shown us an original letter, written by a youth from the Sandwich Islands, who was then under the tuition of several students in the Theological Seminary in Andover. The occasion was this. Mr Mills, whose name is dear to every friend of missions and of Africa, was absent from Andover, and had just been afflicted by the death of a beloved mother. The youth in question had received much kindness from the mother and the son, and was advised to write a letter of condolence; which he did, in the following words; in copying which we shall follow his spelling, punctuation, and use of capitals.

'Andover January 1810. Dear Sir. Mr. Samuel J. Mills. Now I no Father and no mother. and your mother very good to me. now I hope she go to God. so I mind what she say so I must be a good man if I come to good man I hope I see her again. she

very kind to me now I lost my mother and my friend your mother. Behold I am not feel very well. I am,

HENRY OBOOKIAH.'

In the pretended letter of Boki, the whole is English, as to thought, style, and idiom; and even the errors in spelling are those into which an illiterate Englishman would fall, but which are very different from the errors of an ignorant foreigner. It is obvious, also, that no person would speak of his own people as 'the natives,' and 'these natives;' nor would he speak of them as a party, or a community, distinct from himself.

These things are plain to any reflecting man, though he may know nothing of Boki, except that he is a Sandwich Island chief. But the Reviewer had been treating of a book, in which there is no proof that Boki ever spoke English, while there is frequent mention of the *interpreter* for the party, while they were in London. To those, who are intimately acquainted with the state of things at the islands, it is known, that if Boki had written the letter, he would have spelled the proper names in his own language rightly. Four of these occur, and not one of them is rightly spelled; though all the natives, who have learned to write, are in the constant habit of spelling them correctly. In the spelling of these four names, there are *thirteen* mistakes, nearly all of them such as Englishmen and Americans actually make; the natives never; because they use an alphabet, which preserves them from the ordinary causes of error in spelling other languages. The English names, Pitt, Bingham, Charlton, George, and Hill, are all spelled correctly; which is singular enough for a writer, who could not spell his brother's name, in his own language, without making two mistakes.

But to bring the matter to a close at once; Boki cannot understand, or speak English, except a little, in short broken sentences, on the most common subjects. He transacts all business with Englishmen and Americans, by the aid of interpreters; and his ignorance of the English language is so well known to all, that, in the autumn of 1826, plain sentences, uttered by Captain Jones of the United States navy, were designedly misinterpreted to him in public, and without any fear that he would detect the error. Nor was he able to do it. Had it not been for the kind interposition of Providence, much injury would have resulted from these attempts to deceive him.

As to *writing* English, the thought never entered Boki's mind. He never learned to *read* it; and such parts of sentences as, 'trying everything in his power to have the law of this country in his own hands,'—'nothing done in these islands, not even cultivation for their own use;'—'no redemption for any of the heads of the English or American nations,'—would be utterly beyond his comprehension, if written by another.

It is highly probable, that the letter was signed by Boki, a specious account having been given him of its contents. There are strong reasons for thinking, that it was antedated six or eight months, in order to render the imposition more effectual.

If such a forgery were committed merely as a matter of sport, without any malicious intention, it would be extremely reprehensible; but what act can be more dishonorable or wicked, than to make a deliberate fabrication the vehicle of false charges, the object and tendency of which are to prejudice the world against the exertions of men, who have made no ordinary sacrifices in devoting their lives to a most arduous task, and thus materially to impede a work, upon which the moral and intellectual progress, the present and future happiness, of many tribes and nations are depending?

ART. IV.—*Select Specimens of the Theatre of the Hindus; No. I,* THE MRICHCHAKATI, *or* THE TOY CART; a Drama. *No. II,* VIKRAMA AND URVASI, *or* THE HERO AND THE NYMPH; a Drama. Translated from the original Sanscrit by HORACE HAYMAN WILSON, Secretary to the Asiatic Society of Bengal. 8vo. pp. 204 and 105. Calcutta, 1826.

MR WILSON appears, either by way of Introduction to these Specimens, or in some separate work, to have written *A General View of the Hindu Dramatic System*, principally derived from the *Das'a Rúpaka*, which we take to be a Sanscrit work on the same subject. This 'General View' we have not had the advantage of seeing, and are consequently obliged to review these translations, without the light it would no doubt have afforded us.

The knowledge of the Sanscrit drama was first imparted to the nations of Europe, by Sir William Jones. Before his arrival in India, it was not known that the Hindu literature was enriched with that species of composition. Sir William informs us, in the preface to Sacontalá,* that his attention was first called to the subject, by a passage in the *Lettres Edifiantes*, to the following effect ;—'that in the north of India, there are many books called *Nátac*, which, as the Brahmans assert, contain a large portion of ancient history, without any mixture of fable.' It was some time before Sir William could find out what the nature of these *Nátacs* was. 'At length,' says he, 'a very sensible Brahman, named Rádhácánt, who had long been attentive to English manners, removed all my doubts, and gave me no less delight than surprise, by telling me that our nation had compositions of the same sort, which were publicly represented at Calcutta, in the cold season, and bore the name, as he had been informed, of *plays*.'

Sir William Jones expresses the opinion, that dramatic literature must have been extremely ancient in the Indian empire, inasmuch as the invention of it is usually ascribed to Bharat, 'a sage believed to have been inspired.' The name, by which India is called by the natives of that country, *Bharata-vashta*, would seem, in fact, to indicate a connexion between this inspired dramatist, and the very *incunabula* of the Hindu people. Sir William, however, considerately adds, that this opinion of the origin of the Hindu drama is rendered very doubtful, by the universal belief, that the first Sanscrit verse ever heard by mortals, was pronounced, in a burst of resentment, by the great Válmic, who flourished in the silver (antediluvian) age of the world. He adds also, in additional derogation from the claims of Bharat, as the inventor of the Indian drama, the following 'wild story,' as he calls it, of the production of the first regular Sanscrit play. It was composed by Hanumat or Pávan (a singular *alias*) 'who commanded an army of Satyrs, or Mountaineers, in Ráma's expedition against Lancá. It is added, that he engraved it on a smooth rock, which (being dissatisfied with his composition) he hurled into the sea; and that, many years after, a learned prince ordered expert divers to take impressions of the poem on wax, by which means the drama was in a great measure restored.'—'My

* Sir William Jones's Works, VI. 203. Quarto edition.

pandit,' continues Sir William Jones, 'assures me, that he is in possession of it.' Considering its history, one might look in honest Hanumat's play, for some specimens of the bathos.

The publication before us contains the translation of two Sanscrit plays, which, with the 'Sacontalá' of Cálidása, already translated by Sir William Jones, are the only entire specimens, we believe, of the Hindu theatre, which are before the public. Of these two plays, the second, *Vikrama and Urvasi*, is also the production of Calidasa, 'the Shakespeare of India;' but as *The Mrĭchchakati*, or *The Toy Cart*, is contained in the first number, and is the performance of a poet not hitherto introduced to the western world, we shall make it the first subject of remark.

The introduction of *The Toy Cart* itself ascribes the composition to a royal bard, Sudraka by name. The first question that arises then, in order to ascertain the age of this drama is, when did his sacred majesty Sudraka reign. As the solution of this question presents a pretty good specimen of the manner, in which points of Hindu, and we may add, Chinese antiquity, are sometimes settled, we shall enter a little more particularly into it.

Although 'the name of Sudraka,' we are told, 'is very celebrated in Hindu history,' yet it is a matter of controversy, whether he lived one hundred years before, or one thousand years after, the christian era! It seems to be admitted, that he preceded Vicramáditya (we use Sir William Jones's orthography, Dow and Polier read it Bickermagit*), but whether it be the Vicramaditya, who died fifty-six years before our Savior, and whose death is the beginning of an era in India, or another king of the same name, who flourished in the eleventh century of the christian era, is questioned.

Colonel Wilford, however, is satisfied with neither date, and assigns another of his own, to the royal dramatist, to whom we are indebted for *The Toy Cart*, namely, the year of our Savior 192. Colonel Wilford's deduction of this date deserves quoting as a chronological curiosity. It is almost as good as Lord Shaftesbury's descent from king Pepin. It is as follows. Puliman, the last king of Magadha, of the Andhra dynasty, died A. D. 648, and *is said* to have reigned 456 years after the first king of the same dynasty, who must

* Heeren's Ideen. Th. I. Abth. II. s. 407.

accordingly have flourished A. D. 192. Now *it is said*, that in one of the very ancient religious books of the Hindus, there is this *prophecy;* that in the year of the *Kali* 3,300 minus 10, a great king (it appears not where) would reign, named *Sudraka*. The year of the Kali 3292, is A. D. 192; hence *Sudraka* is the king already alluded to, as the first king of Magadha of the Andhra race. It is true, this founder of the Andhra dynasty is, in the Hindu *histories*, called by a totally different name; but then as the Hindu prophecies *foretold*, that Sudraka would reign about the same time, there is no doubt, according to Colonel Wilford, that we possess, in *The Toy Cart*, a play in ten acts, really written by the individual, who deposed the last sovereign of the Kanwa family, and reigned over Magadha in his stead.

It is with some concern, after we have thus been at the trouble of fixing his majesty's era, that we are informed by Mr Wilson that there is 'but one prince so named, *of any note*, in the annals of the Hindus.' That it was written by *the* one, who is so remarkably notorious, as to have the period of his reign unsettled, by about eleven centuries, does not appear.

The only additional fact communicated with respect to the author of this piece, is the duration of his reign, which extended, *it is said*, to one hundred years, and which terminated by what is courteously styled 'voluntary cremation.' In plainer phrase, it appears that his majesty, soon perplexed with the cares of empire, after reigning but a single century, burned himself to death; a striking instance of want of ambition! There are few of his majesty's predecessors of that age of the world in India, who did not cling to their sceptres, their three and four hundred years. Our royal bard, at the close of a poor century, takes himself off; not indeed 'throwing a firebrand into the Magadha empire,' but lying down peaceably upon his own funeral pyre.

But it is time to pass from the king himself to the burning words of his tragedy. After a solemn benediction in the name of Seeva, the manager enters on the stage, and apprizes the audience, that his company are prepared to enact the drama entitled *The Toy Cart*. This name arises from an incident in the play, to which we shall allude in its place. He informs the audience, that 'there was a poet, whose gait was that of an elephant, whose eyes resembled those of the partridge, whose countenance was like the full moon, who was of stately per-

son, amiable manners, and profound veracity, well versed in the *Rig* and *Sáma Védas*, in mathematical sciences, in the elegant arts, and the management of elephants.' After this glowing description of the author of the play, the manager proceeds in part to open its plot to the audience.

In Avanti (the modern Ougein, the capital of Scindiah) lived a young Brahman of distinguished rank and excellent character, but reduced to poverty; his name was *Chárudatta*. A lady (sustaining the same relation to society in Avanti, that Aspasia did in Athens), *Vasantaséná* by name, becomes enamored of Charudatta, and, although the worthy Brahman already enjoys the blessing of a faithful and virtuous wife, the business of the play is to effect an additional union (which the manners of India permit) between Vasantasena and Charudatta.

After hinting at this plot, the manager enters into a dialogue with one of the actresses, and subsequently with one of the characters of the piece, *in propriâ personâ*, and then goes off. By way of illustrating the dramatic taste of the Hindus, it may be observed, that the greater part of the prelude has no possible connexion with the play; not even *such* a connexion, as that which the 'Induction,' that precedes the 'Taming of the Shrew,' has to the body of that comedy.

The play opens with a dialogue between the impoverished Brahman, Charudatta, and his friend *Maitreya*, the *Gracioso*, or, as the Hindu criticism styles it, the *Vidúshaka* of the piece, a character of mixed shrewdness and simplicity, with an affectionate disposition. Charudatta, while engaged in the performance of the evening sacrifice, falls into a lamentation with Maitreya on the evils of poverty. They are interrupted by the sound of pursuing voices, and Vasantasena the beautiful, wealthy, and virtuous courtezan, the heroine of the piece, rushes upon the scene, in front of Charudatta's house, followed by *Samst'hánaka* (the brother-in-law of the Rajah, an ignorant, frivolous, and cruel coxcomb), who, enamored of Vasantasena, and attended by his tutor, a Parasite (the *Vita* of the Hindu stage), and a servant, are pursuing her through the streets. This lady, having seen Charudatta, in the court of a temple, had conceived a strong attachment for him, of which, however, Charudatta himself was ignorant; as was Vasantasena that she had been pursued to the door of the man, who had inspired her with the tender passion. In the dialogue, which takes place between Vasantasena and her

pursuers, the former incidentally learns, that she is in front of of Charudatta's dwelling; and, as it is now the dusk of the evening, she immediately escapes into it, thus eluding their pursuit. To account to Charudatta for this visit, and at the same time to ensure a farther intercourse, Vasantasena tells him, that she has been pursued by robbers, for the sake of her jewels, which she accordingly begs him to accept, for safe keeping; and then to conduct her home. This Charudatta accordingly does, but not till he had learned (in a scene with the pursuers without the door), what before he was ignorant of, that he was the object of Vasantasena's affections. The first act closes with Charudatta's return from conducting Vasantasena home.

The second act opens with a scene curiously illustrating the Hindu manners. A *Samvâhaka* (or joint-kneader) an important personage in the bathing establishments of the East, having lost at play ten *suvernas*, which he cannot pay, escapes by flight from the gaming house, pursued by the master of the house and the gamester to whom he had lost the money. To elude their pursuit, he walks *backwards*, like Cacus, into an open temple, and places himself on a pedestal, as the deity of the temple. The pursuers enter, and immediately recognise him. Not daring, however, to force him from the sanctuary, they shake and pinch him, affecting to think him an image of wood or stone. This scene doubtless gave no little scope for the practical wit of the Hindu stage. In order to lure the Samvahaka from his stand, the gamesters sit down on the floor, and begin to throw their dice for a stake. The poor Samvahaka, like a warhorse who hears the trumpet, unable to resist the tempting sound of the dice, proves too soon, that he had not yet 'forgot himself to marble,' and leaps from his pedestal, to watch the progress of the game. He falls of course into the hands of his merciless creditors, and being unable to acquit his debt to them, is carried off to be sold to slavery; the Hindu form of *mesne* process. While they are carrying him off for this purpose, another gamester, *Darduraka*, comes in; takes pity on the sad plight of the Samvahaka; picks a quarrel with his creditors; and in the *mêlée*, gives the Samvahaka a chance to escape for his life; which he does to the house of Vasantasena, near which these occurrences take place.

Having entered the house and the presence of this lady,

and having received her promise of protection, never denied to a suppliant in the East, the Samvahaka effectually secures to himself the favor of Vasantasena, by disclosing the fact, that he had been in the service of Charudatta, before the decline of this person's fortunes. The love, which the lady bears to Charudatta, makes her eager to be useful to the Samvahaka, his former servant; and hearing, without doors, the clamors of his pursuers, she sends a jewel to them, in the name of the Samvahaka, and in acquittance of his debt. Disgusted with the occurrences, which had befallen him at the gaming table, the Samvahaka avows his determination to abandon the worldly life he had hitherto led, and become a mendicant, or wandering devotee of the faith of Budha,—a faith not as yet proscribed in Hindustan.

At the commencement of the third act, Charudatta and his friend Maitreya are represented as returning from a concert, the former in ecstacies at the voice of a skilful singer *Rebhila;* while Maitreya expresses himself in a manner calculated to lead one to suppose, there was the same difference among men, as to the taste for music, under king Sudraka, three or four thousand years ago, that there is in this transatlantic republic at the present day;

'Now for me,' says this surly censor, 'there are two things, at which I cannot but laugh; a woman reading Sanscrit, and a man singing a song. The woman snuffles, like a young cow, when the rope is first put into her nostrils; and the man wheezes, like an old Pundit, who has been repeating his bead roll, till the flowers of his chaplet are as dry as his throat. To my seeming it is vastly ridiculous.'

After something more in this strain, and after Charudatta has particularly entrusted Maitreya with the charge of Vasantasena's casket of jewels, the two Brahmans drop asleep. While they are asleep, a dissipated blade, named *Servillaka*, breaks in upon the scene, on a burglarious errand, and adroitly plunders the sleeping Maitreya of the casket of jewels; which he designs as a present for *Madaniká*, the handmaiden of Vasantasena, with whom he is in love, and whose freedom he hopes to purchase with this treasure. A servant soon enters, who, discovering the robbery, awakens her master and his friend. Charudatta is of course dismayed at the loss of the rich casket, which he had received as a pledge, and which, in consequence of his poverty, he fears it will be thought he has him-

self secreted. The servant carries back to her mistress, the wife of Charudatta, the tale of her master's sorrow, at the loss of the casket; and this excellent lady immediately determines to give up to her husband a string of diamonds, the last remnant of her bridal treasures, to enable him therewith to make some compensation to Vasantasena, for the loss of her jewels. With this string of diamonds, accordingly, Maitreya is sent, in the name of Charudatta, to the house of Vasantasena, with the message, that Charudatta, having rashly engaged in play and lost the casket at the gaming table, was now desirous of making compensation with a string of jewels.

Meantime, however, and before this errand is performed, Servillaka, the *innamorato* of Vasantasena's handmaiden, having, as we have seen, stolen the casket, comes and presents it to the said maiden, Madanika, in order that with it she may purchase her freedom of her mistress Vasantasena. On his acquainting Madanika with the manner of acquiring the casket, the latter, immediately recognising it as the property of her mistress, confided to Charudatta, easily convinces Servillaka of the necessity of returning it, either to her lady or Charudatta; and between them they devise the plan, that Servillaka should pretend to be a messenger sent by Charudatta to restore it to her. While this little device is arranging, Vasantasena, unknown to the lovers, overhears it all, from the upper part of the room. Thus let into the secret, Vasantasena approaches, and with all imaginable gravity receives the casket from Servillaka; and having informed him that it was agreed between her and Charudatta, that whenever the casket was returned, the messenger, who brought it, should receive Madanika for his pains, she bestows the maiden on Servillaka. The lovers, from this act of generosity, perceive that Vasantasena was, they know not how, in possession of their little secret, and aware of their fidelity to her in restoring the jewels.

In this part of the play, the underplot is first brought into notice. The king, *Pálaka*, is universally detested as a tyrant, and is particularly odious to the Brahmans. A prophecy is current that *Aryaka*, the son of a cowherd, shall ascend the throne in his place; and alarmed by this prophecy, the king sends out to apprehend Aryaka and his followers, and cast them into prison. Among these followers are the gamester Darduraka (whom we mentioned above, as having interfered in behalf of the Samvahaka), and also Servillaka. Servillaka has no soon-

er received Madanika from Vasantasena's hand, than the public crier comes round, proclaiming that Aryaka is in prison. Servillaka determines to go and rouse his friends, to relieve him, and meantime sends his newly acquired mistress, for safety, to the house of the aforesaid Rebhila, the singer.

By this time, Maitreya, the friend of Charudatta, arrives at Vasantasena's house, to bring the string of diamonds, in compensation for the supposed lost casket. Here an extraordinary scene is set forth, and one which, if the resources of the Hindu scene-painters are on a level with the poet's genius, must have been in representation truly splendid. Maitreya is taken through eight successive courts, composing the house of Vasantasena; and pausing in each, the servant who guides him, and Maitreya, describe in dialogue, the various parts of the domestic economy, display, and furniture, connected with each court. They at last get access to the lady herself, the mistress of all this magnificence. She takes the jewels from Maitreya, not betraying to him, that she has already received back her casket; and informs Maitreya, that she shall visit his friend in the evening. Maitreya, who is somewhat misanthropic, conceives that the object of this visit is to extort from Charudatta some further compensation for the casket.

We have now reached the fifth act; but a Hindu play is not so soon disposed of. The visit of Vasantasena, promised in the last act, now takes place, in spite of an impending storm. Imitating the fabricated message, which Charudatta had sent her, relative to the loss of the casket, she tells him, that having staked the necklace he had sent her, at play, and lost it, she had come to make him compensation; and presents him the aforesaid casket of jewels. Charudatta then learns how she became possessed of it; and the storm having meantime increased, Vasantasena yields to Charudatta's invitation, that she would pass the night at his house.

The next act represents Vasantasena preparing to proceed, in Charudatta's litter, to the public flower garden, *Pushpakaranda*, whither Charudatta has already repaired. Before leaving the house, Vasantasena sees the child of Charudatta, drawing his earthen *toy cart*, and weeping for a golden one, such as he had seen in the possession of a playmate, the child of a rich landholder. Vasantasena takes off her jewels, and putting them into the child's earthen cart, bids his nurse take him to buy a golden cart, from the sale of the jewels. This

incident has an important connexion with the catastrophe of the piece, and gives it the name of *The Toy Cart.*

While Vasantasena is getting ready to repair in Charudatta's litter to the public flower garden, the litter of her old but detested suitor, Samst'hanaka, the Rajah's brother-in-law, passes by, on his way to the same spot. The driver leaves the carriage for a moment on the stage, to go and assist a peasant, whose wagon he had forced into a slough. While he is off the stage, Vasantasena hastily enters, mistakes the litter of the Rajah's brother-in-law, for that of Charudatta, which she supposed to be in attendance, gets into it, and draws the curtain. The driver, *St'hávaraka*, now returns, and not knowing that Vasantasena is in the vehicle, drives on to the flower garden.

At this juncture, Aryaka, the aspirer to the throne, having escaped from prison, by the aid of Servillaka, whom we left engaging in his relief, appears upon the stage, followed by officers in pursuit at a distance. Charudatta's litter at this moment, designed to take Vasantasena to the flower garden, comes in; and Aryaka adroitly enters it, undistinguished by the driver, who believes it to be the lady that enters, and thus drives off to the flower garden, with the fugitive state-prisoner and pretender to the throne, concealed in the vehicle.

On the way to the garden, the vehicle is arrested by two captains of the guard, one of whom, however, *Chandanaka*, is friendly to Aryaka's cause. Chandanaka undertakes to search the litter, and reports to *Viraka*, his comrade, that it contains the lady Vasantasena. His comrade, however, who is hostile to the cause of Aryaka, has his suspicions awakened, and insists upon searching the litter himself. This Chandanaka will not let him do, and an affray takes place between them, in which Viraka being worsted, flies to the palace to denounce Chandanaka. After he is gone, the latter gives Aryaka a sword; and Aryaka drives off, promising friendship and protection to Chandanaka, in the event of his own success. Chandanaka retires to collect his friends and relatives, in order to go to court, to meet the accusation of Viraka.

The seventh act introduces Charudatta and his friend Maitreya, arrived at the flower garden, and anxiously awaiting the approach of Vasantasena. Charudatta's carriage arrives, and Maitreya going to assist the lady in alighting, finds, to his astonishment, that it contains not the lady, but the fugitive Aryaka. He implores the protection of Charudatta, who

(bound by duty to a suppliant) accords it, and removes the fetters from Aryaka's feet. By this action, of course, he lays Aryaka under infinite obligations. Deeming it, however, unsafe, after such a transaction, to remain on the spot, he gives up the appointment to meet Vasantasena, and goes home.

The eighth act opens with the appearance of our old friend, the Samvahaka, or joint-kneader, now transformed into a Budhist, or medicant devotee, who enters the flower garden. The Rajah's brother, the abandoned Samst'hanaka, with his attendant, follows shortly after, and wantonly maltreats the poor Budhist, who takes refuge from his blows, in the recesses of the garden. Presently the carriage of Samst'hanaka comes on, into which, as we have already seen, Vasantasena had inadvertently thrown herself. She is now, therefore, in the presence of her old pursuer, Samst'hanaka, whose passion for her she returns by the most decided aversion. Samst'hanaka approaches her with expressions of respect, but she spurns him with her foot. This treatment converts his passion into deadly hatred, and he resolves to destroy her. He first endeavors to persuade his tutor, and then the driver of the carriage, St'havaraka, to kill her; they both, however, refuse to execute the cruel act, and leave him. Stung by the continued scorn of the lady, he seizes and strangles her himself, and leaves her for dead. His tutor returning, and finding the cruel deed accomplished, forswears the friendship of Samst'hanaka, and flies to attach himself to the cause of Aryaka. Samst'hanaka, after covering the body of Vasantasena with leaves, goes off to court, to denounce Charudatta for having murdered her, in order to get possession of her wealth. The poor Budhist, who has been concealed in the recesses of the garden, now comes in, and accidentally discovers the lady; who, not having been wholly suffocated, revives by his assistance, and is conducted by him to a neighboring convent.

The ninth act opens with the hall of justice, in which a court is held. Samst'hanaka appears and denounces Charudatta, for having murdered Vasantasena. While this trial is proceeding, Viraka, the captain of the watch above mentioned, enters the court, and lays his complaint against Chandanaka for the assault. From Viraka's complaint, it appears, that Vasantasena had been reported to be in the carriage of Charudatta, shortly before her assassination. As Charudatta had already, in the course of the trial, denied any knowledge, where

she was, the fact thus disclosed awakens suspicion against him. This suspicion is confirmed by another unfortunate occurrence. It will be recollected that Vasantasena had filled the earthen toy cart of Charudatta's child with jewels, to enable him to buy a golden one. The child's mother, however, refuses to permit the child to keep the jewels, and gives them to Maitreya to take back to Vasantasena. While on the way to perform this errand, Maitreya enters the court, and, having there learned the state of things, falls into a controversy, and finally into an affray, with the accuser of Charudatta, Samst'hanaka, the king's brother. In the personal struggle between them, Vasantasena's jewels drop from Maitreya's girdle. That lady's mother, who is present in court, as a witness, recognises the jewels as her daughter's. This last point of circumstantial evidence, is regarded by the court as proving Charudatta's guilt, and he is accordingly convicted. Being a Brahman he is not liable, by the Hindu law, to capital punishment. It is the duty, however, of the Rajah to pronounce the sentence, and he, in violation of the law, and of the sacred rights of the Brahmans, orders Charudatta to be impaled.

At the beginning of the tenth act we have the preparations for the execution of Charudatta, who is conducted towards the scaffold by two executioners, whose demeanor is very much in the style of that of the grave-diggers in Hamlet. The fatal procession passes under the windows of Samst'hanaka's palace. His servant, St'havaraka, the driver aforesaid, who had refused to kill Vasantasena, and who had seen his master do it, and is now confined by his master to prevent his appearing in court, hears the proclamation, announcing Charudatta's guilt and sentence. He determines to attempt to save him; and, unable to burst the door of his apartment, leaps from the window. He appears before the executioners, and the assembled crowd, declares the innocence of Charudatta, and the guilt of his master, Samst'hanaka. The crowd, with whom Charudatta is a favorite, joyfully believe his testimony; but Samst'hanaka succeeds in casting suspicion on his servant, as a runaway slave, and the preparations for the execution draw to a close. At this critical moment, the mendicant devotee comes forward, leading in the lady Vasantasena herself. The executioners refuse, of course, to take the life of Charudatta, for having murdered her. Thus restored to each other, Charudatta avows his purpose of making Vasantasena his wife, the

Hindu law imposing no obligation of monogamy. At the same moment Servillaka appears on the scene, and communicates the intelligence, that the political revolution is completed, the Rajah killed, and Aryaka seated on the throne in his place. Samst'hanaka, arrested by the incensed people, is now dragged forward, in chains, but, by the magnanimity of Charudatta, is again set at liberty. Another trouble now presents itself. The wife of Charudatta, supposing her husband executed, prepares to burn herself, as becomes an affectionate Hindu widow. Fortunately, however, her design is discovered; and her husband and the other *dramatis personæ*, repairing to the funeral pyre, which is already kindled, prevent the execution of her purpose. The happy wife is of course overjoyed at finding her husband alive, and restored by political changes to prosperity and power, and kindly embraces Vasantasena as a sister. The new king, Aryaka, requiting his obligations to Charudatta, raises Vasantasena to the rank of his kinswoman, and Servillaka, throwing a veil over her, elevates her from the place of a courtezan, to that of a Brahman's wife; and thus the piece ends.

Such is the story of *The Toy Cart;* and the reader who has attentively perused the foregoing sketch, will feel that it is full of incidents, judiciously combined. Almost every occurrence, however slight, is important in the business of the piece. The unities of time and place are neglected; but that of action is admirably preserved; and the translator justly remarks, that 'the connexion of the two plots is much better maintained, than in the play we usually refer to, as a happy specimen of such a combination, *The Spanish Friar*.'

It is, of course, unfair to look, in the translation, for a specimen of the style of the original. 'The music of the Sanscrit composition,' says Mr Wilson, 'must be ever inadequately represented by any other tongue.' We may add, that in no composition is it more completely out of the question, to convey an idea of style, in a translation, than in popular drama, painting scenes of real life, in a distant region, and at a remote period of time. *The Toy Cart* is unquestionably a performance of great antiquity. Many points of manners, touched upon in the course of the play, appear, from Mr Wilson's quotations of the Sanscrit commentary, to be now obscure, even to the Hindus. Whoever will ask himself the question, how Shakspeare would probably read, one or two thousand

years hence, literally translated into the language that may then be current in Calcutta, may judge of the disadvantage to which a Sanscrit play, written at least a thousand years ago, is read in a literal English version, at the present day.

It is time, however, to say something of the other specimen of the Hindu theatre, presented us by Mr Wilson. It is entitled *Vikrama and Urvasi*, or *The Hero and the Nymph*, and is comprised in five acts. This play is the production of the renowned bard of ancient India, Calidasa, one of whose dramas, 'Sacontalá,' as we have before observed, is already so well known to the world, in the version of Sir William Jones.* At the time he published the translation of 'Sacontalá,' that play and the present were supposed to be the only dramatic productions of the 'Indian Shakespeare.' Mr Wilson, however, mentions the present drama, as one of the *three* attributed to Calidasa.

The common opinion makes Calidasa the chief of the nine poets who flourished at the court of Vicramaditya, whose death, fifty-six years before our Savior, makes an epoch in Indian history. This corresponds pretty nearly with the age of Lucretius at Rome, who died the day that Virgil was born, and to this coincidence there is a beautiful allusion, in Mr Grant's 'Poem on the Restoration of Learning in the East,' in the following lines;—

> 'Hail, happy years! when every lyre was strung,
> And every clime with mirth and music rung.
> While Asia's voice her Calidasa blest,
> Hark, kindred spirits answered from the West.
> There all his lofty notes Lucretius gave,
> And epic transports burst on Mincio's wave;
> While roved the matin bee o'er sweetest flowers,
> And all Hymettus bloomed in Tibur's bowers.
> Oh, could some god have rent the veil away,
> And joined in one the masters of the lay!'

It ought to be observed, however, that Mr Bentley, who places the reign of Vicramaditya in the eleventh century, finds a poet Calidasa in the same period, and thus robs the bard of a full half of his two thousand years. We profess not a sufficient acquaintance with the subject to give an opinion of the

*'Sacontalá' was republished in Boston, some years since, in a periodical work entitled *The Emerald.*

importance of these doubts, as to the antiquity of Hindu literature. It is somewhat strange that such a doubt should be started. The only man, into whose head a similar doubt ever entered with respect to classical literature, Father Hardouin, was immediately reputed, *quoad hoc*, insane. No one ever took the trouble to refute the suggestion. Mr Bentley's sentiments were offered to the world in the 'Asiatic Researches,' * and rest partly on astronomical calculations. It is a matter of just surprise, that the series of the historical and other literature of the Hindus should not instantly present the means of refuting, or establishing, so important a suggestion.

Our limits do not allow us to introduce an analysis of the play of Calidasa, of which Mr Wilson has afforded us a translation. This we the less regret, as the play of 'Sacontalá' affords an adequate specimen of the poetry of its author. It is not, like *The Toy Cart*, a scene from real life, but is borrowed from the mythology of India; and its personages are partly derived from the divinities and demigods of the Hindu Pantheon. The commencement of the first act may serve as a sample of the performance, and particularly of the manner of the translator, Mr Wilson. The scene is laid on the top of the Himálaya mountains.

'*Enter in the Air a Troop of Apsarasas or Nymphs of Heaven.*

Nymphs. Help, help, if any friend be nigh,
To aid the daughters of the sky.

Enter Purúravas † *in a heavenly car driven by his Charioteer.*

Pur. Suspend your cries, in me behold a friend,
Purúravas, returning from the sphere
Of the wide glancing sun; command my aid,
And tell me what you dread.

Rembhá. A demon's violence.

Pur. What violence presumes the fiend to offer.

Menaká. Great king, it thus has chanced; we measured back
Our steps from an assembly of the Gods
Held in *Kuvera's* ‡ hall—before us stepped
The graceful *Urvasi*, the Nymph whose charms
Defeated *Indra's* stratagems, and shamed

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* *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. viii.

† *Purúravas* is a king of high descent, being sprung by his mother *Ilá* from the sun, and his father *Budha* from the moon, being the grandson of the latter, and great grandson of the former.

‡ The god of riches.

The loveliness of *Sri* *—the brightest ornament
Of heaven: when on our path the haughty *Dánava*
Késí, the monarch of the golden city †
Sprang fierce and bore the struggling nymph away.

Pur. Which path pursued the wretch?

Sahajanyá. 'Tis yonder.

Pur. Banish your fears.
I go to rescue and restore your friend.

Rembhá. The act is worthy of your high descent.

Pur. Where wait you my return?

Rembhá. Here—on this peak
The towering *Hemakúta.*‡

Pur. (*To the Charioteer.*) Bend our course
To yonder point, and urge the rapid steeds
To swiftest flight—'tis done; before the car
Like vollied dust the scattering clouds divide;
The whirling wheel deceives the dazzled eye,
And double round the axle seems to circle;
The waving chowrie on the steed's broad brow
Points backward, motionless as in a picture;
And backward streams the banner from the breeze
We meet—immovable.—We should outstrip
The flight of *Vainatéya*, § and must surely
O'ertake the ravisher. [*Exeunt.*

Rembhá. Now sisters on, and blithely seek
The golden mountain's glittering peak;
Secure the king extracts the dart,
That rankles in each anxious heart.

Menaká. We need not fear; his arm can quell
The mightiest of the sons of hell.
What makes he here—but aid to bring
From mortal realms to *Swerga's* king;
And is not to his valor given
Command o'er all the hosts of heaven? (*they proceed.*

Rembhá. Joy, sisters, joy, the king advances;
High o'er yon ridgy rampart dances
The deer-emblazoned banner—See
The heavenly car rolls on; 'tis he.

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* The wife of Vishnu, goddess of prosperity and beauty.
† *Hiranyapur*, is the name in the text.
‡ The Golden, or Snowy Peak.
§ Garura the son of Vinatá.

ART. V.—1. *A Statistical and Commercial History of the Kingdom of Guatemala in Spanish America, containing important Particulars relative to its Productions, Manufactures, Customs, &c. with an Account of its Conquest by the Spaniards, and a Narrative of the principal Events down to the present Time.* By D. DOMINGO JUARROS. Translated by J. BAILY. 8vo. pp. 520. London. 1823.

2. *Constitucion de la Republica Federal de Centro-América, dada por la Asamblea Nacional Constituyente en 22 de Noviembre de* 1824. Guatemala. 1825.

3. *Constitucion del Estado del Salvador.* S. Salvador. 1824.

4. *Constitucion Politica del Estado de Nicaragua, decretada y sancionada por la Asambléa Constituyente en el Año de* 1826. Guatemala. 1826.

5. *Mensage del* C. MANUEL JOSE' ARCE, *Presidente de la Republica de Centro-América, al Congreso Federal.* Guatemala. 1826.

6. *Discursos de* JOSE' DEL VALLE, *en el Congreso Federal de Centro-América de* 1826. Guatemala.

7. *El Liberal. El Indicador. El Centinela del Salvador. Redactor General.* [Newspapers printed in Central America.]

8. *Proyecto de Reforma del Sistema de Hacienda y Ereccion de un Banco Nacional de Centro-América,* por J. M. R. [S. JUAN MANUEL RODRIGUEZ.] Guatemala. 1827.

9. *Manifiestos y Decretos del Gefe del Estado de Guatemala y del Presidente de Centro-América; Cartas de los Gobiernos del Salvador, de Honduras, Nicaragua y Costa Rica, &c. &c.* 1826–7.

THE ancient kingdom of Guatemala, now the Republic of Central America, the least known of the great political fragments of the Spanish empire in the West, is by no means the least important. Destitute of commercial relations with the United States, and the maritime powers of Europe, and less distinguished than other portions of Spanish America, by the possession of abundant mines of gold or silver, it remained, until the period of its independence, in comparative obscurity.

Long after the stormy course of the revolution had begun to convulse Colombia, Buenos Ayres, Chile, and Peru, consigning them to the ravages of hostile invasion, or the scarcely more tolerable effects of civil discord, Guatemala continued tranquilly subject to the dominion of the mother country. Even the disturbances in the contiguous government of Mexico, failed to interrupt its repose, or produce any manifestation of the revolutionary spirit among its inhabitants. Guatemala appeared to be overlooked in the all-absorbing interest, awakened by the career of its more powerful neighbor, in whose fate its own was inevitably involved.

Such was the situation of Central America, when the act for acknowledging the national existence of the new republics, that proud testimony of our country's public justice and political magnanimity, was passed, with the unanimous approbation of the people. But those circumstances, which induced the Council of the Indies, to give Guatemala a separate government, influenced the inhabitants in their choice of a political system, when the yoke of colonial servitude was finally broken. They desired that independence as a nation, which they had always enjoyed in substance as a province, and which their population, geographical extent, resources, and local position, gave them reasonable pretensions to demand. Fortunate in one respect, beyond most of their compatriots, they have had no foreign armies to struggle against, for the achievement of their freedom; and, although nearly the last to raise the standard of independence, they have been among the first to complete the organization of constitutional forms of government. Availing ourselves of the information contained in the publications, enumerated at the head of this article, we shall present our readers with a brief account of the past and present condition of the new republic.

As regulated before the revolution, Guatemala comprised most of the isthmus, which unites North and South America, stretching along from Yucatan and Tabasco to Veragua, with the Atlantic ocean on one side, and the Pacific on the other. The Republic of Central America is intended to cover the same territory, and for the purposes of the confederation is divided into the five states of Guatemala, Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica. To these the province of Chiapas properly belongs, and has been united, we believe, since the adoption of the federal constitution by the

other states. It needs only the bare inspection of a map to show how favorably this region is situated, in a geographical point of view, for cultivating commercial intercourse, either with other parts of America, or with the nations of both Asia and Europe. Although the seacoast on the Atlantic side is insalubrious, like that of Mexico, and subject also at certain seasons of the year to violent storms, yet it is accessible on each sea by means of numerous harbors; and rivers, communicating with the interior of the country, intersect it in every direction. Whilst Guatemala lay buried in the darkness of Spanish colonial administration, the advantages of its position, although known to the world, were held of little account, because it required the intervention of a revolution to create the possibility of converting them to any useful purpose. Its revenues hardly sufficed to defray the expenses of its provincial government. The Spanish king, * who neither knew where Honduras was, nor what were his own possessions there, probably knew still less of Guatemala; and his successors, bred in equal imbecility and ignorance with himself, might never have heard of its existence, but for the superior excellence of the cocoa produced in Soconusco, which was gathered to be made into chocolate for the especial use of the royal table. And although in Guatemala we discover fewer traces of the horrid tyranny, which the Spaniards exercised over many parts of America, yet the single fact, that so fine a country remained until lately with its resources unappreciated, and almost unknown, speaks volumes against the barbarous maxims of misrule, to which its prosperity was relentlessly sacrificed. Guided by the principles, and stimulated by the invigorating spirit of liberty, we may, perhaps, hope to see Central America one day become the point of union for the commerce of of both oceans.

Next to the position of Guatemala, the most remarkable of its natural features is the number of its volcanoes. Of these the volcano of Ometep is worthy of note, for its situation upon an island in the great lake of Nicaragua. That of Tajamulco, in the old province of Quezaltenango, is subject to frequent eruptions, notwithstanding which there is a considerable village at its base. Near the village of Masaya, in Nicaragua, is the volcano called Nindiri, which discharged a torrent of lava into

* Siècle de Louis XIV, ch. 17.

the lake of Masaya, in 1775, destroying the fish in the lake, and heating the lands adjacent to its course, so that the cattle pasturing on them perished. Not far from the village is an extinct volcano, called *Infierno de Masaya* by the *Conquistadores*, in whose time it was the most remarkable one in the kingdom of Guatemala. If the historians of that day may be credited, the crater of this volcano was constantly filled with molten lava, or with metallic substances in a state of fusion, which frequently boiled up, and emitted a brilliant light, illuminating the country for miles around, and distinctly visible twentyfive leagues off at sea. But these volcanoes are now all insignificant, compared with those in the neighborhood of the city of Guatemala.

The site of the capital, it should be premised, has been twice changed. Originally it was built on the spot called Ciudad Vieja, from whence it was removed in 1541, about a league to Old Guatemala, and in 1776 was finally established at New Guatemala. These successive removals were the consequence of disastrous earthquakes, and volcanic eruptions, which frequently occurred in the tract where the old cities were founded. Ciudad Vieja stood at the foot of a lofty mountain, called Volcan de Agua, northeast of which is Old Guatemala. This mountain is of a conical shape, covered with a fertile soil, and surrounded by villages, and valleys producing the most luxuriant crops. Standing on its summit, the spectator can embrace at one view the most sublime and splendid prospect in nature. Near at hand are the mountains of Pacaya, and Volcan de Fuego, amid rich farms and numerous hamlets, the city of Guatemala, the village and beautiful lake of Amatitan, and a country remarkably picturesque in its features. Farther off may be seen the Atlantic ocean on the north, the Pacific on the south, and on each hand a vast extent of land from the city of San Salvador to the plains of Chiapa. Every thing attractive and delightful, which the bounty of nature affords, is profusely lavished over this charming region, which yet is visited by a curse that renders all its blessings unavailing. It forms the roof of a range of subterraneous vaults, teeming with pent up fires, which often convulse the earth, and occasionally burst forth in most terrific explosions.

At the summit of the mountain, called Volcan de Agua, is a kind of crater, although no tradition exists of its having ever emitted fire. But in the morning of September 11, 1541,

after long continued rains, and eruptions from the Volcan de Fuego, accompanied by violent shocks of earthquake, an immense torrent of water rushed down from the crater, forcing before it enormous fragments of the mountain, which overwhelmed the ill-fated town of Ciudad Vieja, and buried many of its inhabitants under the ruins of their dwellings. Their removal to the site of Old Guatemala afforded them but a short respite from calamity. Besides being visited, from time to time, by dreadful epidemics, which raged with fatal malignity, the city was again and again half destroyed by earthquakes, attending volcanic eruptions from the mountains of Volcan de Fuego and Pacaya, between which it stood. Each of these mountains is divided into three peaks at its summit, having several openings. Earthquakes occurring every week for a year or two at a time; vast clouds of ashes and smoke that obscured the sun and rendered artificial light necessary in the city at midday; fire pouring forth incessantly for months together; showers of heated stones;—such are some of the horrors, to which the vicinity of the volcanoes of Guatemala is subject. On one occasion, in the year 1664, the crater of Pacaya vomited forth a pillar of flame so enormous that the city, at the distance of seven leagues, was illuminated at dead of night by a light scarcely inferior to that of noon day. It was one of these tremendous convulsions of nature, continuing at short intervals throughout the latter half of the year 1773, that completely destroyed the city of Old Guatemala, and compelled the inhabitants to abandon their homes, that they might escape the repetition of the terrible catastrophe.

Previous to the Spanish conquest, Guatemala was peopled by various nations of Indians, whose descendants still compose the great mass of its population. No less than twenty-six different languages are enumerated, as peculiar to the various tribes dwelling in this region. The predominant people were a tribe of the same Toltecas, who subjugated Mexico, and extended their conquests far into Guatemala, subduing the Chichimecas, the primitive inhabitants of the country.

It requires careful and repeated perusal of the prolix and confused statements of Juarros, thrown together with scarce any pretensions to method or connexion, to obtain a correct idea of the aboriginal history of Guatemala, and its subsequent political vicissitudes. But from his scattered details we may

gather that, according to the Indian traditions, a large body of of the Toltecas left Tula, in Mexico, under the guidance of Nimaquiche, in quest of less crowded settlements, and, after various wanderings, established themselves near the lake of Atitan. Nimaquiche, having died previously to this, was succeeded by his son Acxopil, who caused his tribe and country to be distinguished by the name of Quiche, in honor of his father.* He divided his conquests into three parts, fixing his own capital at Utatlan, as the head of the Quiches. To his first son, Jiutemal, he gave the kingdom of the Kachiqueles, or Guatemala; and on his younger son, Acxiquat, he bestowed that of the Zutugiles, or Atitan. This partition subsisted, after many alterations of more or less extent, until the conquest of Mexico by Cortez, when a prince, named Tecum Umam, reigned in Utatlan.

Our author relates these facts on the authority of manuscript histories, by caciques of the Quiche, Kachiquel, and other Indians, who, like the son of Montezuma in Mexico, and the Inca Garcilasso in Peru, busied themselves after they were made acquainted with the Spanish language, in the melancholy duty of recording and preserving the traditions, whether fabulous or true, of their ancient victories, and their departed grandeur and independence. Our readers would not thank us for our pains, if we should attempt to narrate the petty wars and civil vicissitudes, of which the history is thus obtained. The absurd story related by several of the Indian caciques, ascribing the origin of their race to the dispersed ten tribes of Israel, would shake our faith in the whole of the early traditional history of Guatemala, were not the main facts confirmed by other evidence less capable of error and distortion, than mere scattered traditions.

Guatemala was subdued by Pedro de Alvarado, acting under commission from Cortez. He left Mexico on this expedition in 1523, accompanied by three hundred Spaniards, and a large body of auxiliary Mexicans, Tlascaltecas and Cholutecas, having the tried officers, Pedro de Portocarrero and Hernando de Chaves, as second in command. They could not effect the subjugation of the country without many sanguinary battles, in which, it is true, most of the loss was on the

* The name of *Nimaquiche* is analogous to that of Charlemagne, signifying *Great Quiche.*

side of the Indians, but the Spaniards themselves did not escape unharmed. The chief part of these engagements occurred in the districts of Suchiltepeque and Quezaltenango, where the Indians still preserve a lively recollection of their ancient disasters. A river flows into the Pacific, through these two provinces, called Siguila in the beginning of its course, which at the close is changed to Zamalá. An intermediate part of it bears the name of Xiquigel, which signifies *the river of blood,* It was in the neighborhood of this stream that the Quiche Indians made their most resolute stand. They killed great numbers of the Mexican and Tlascaltecan allies; and attacked the Spaniards with the fury of desperation. Immense bodies of them pressed around the Castilian cavalry, their bravest even clinging to the legs of the horses, and endeavoring to drag them and their riders to the ground by main force. But the mailed Spaniards (Teules, or divinities, as the unfortunate Indians termed them) opened a fire of musketry upon the dense multitudes around them, and inflicted the most dreadful slaughter upon the half-clad Quiches. A series of six of these desperate actions was fought in a short space of time, and the waters of the Zamalá, reddened by the carnage of the victors and vanquished, acquired the melancholy name of 'the River of Blood.'

A succession of similar battles ensued, before Alvarado was able to break the resolution, and dissolve the union of the Quiches. And when their king, Tecum Umam, was slain in battle, and their best and bravest had fallen by his side, they had recourse to a stratagem, only to be matched in vigor and dignity by a similar effort in our own times. They decoyed the Spaniards, under pretext of submission, into the city of Utatlan, the court of their princes, abounding in sumptuous edifices, hardly surpassed in splendor, according to the concurring testimony of writers, by the Indian palaces and castles of Mexico and Cusco; a city so populous, that *it is said* seventy thousand combatants were drawn from it to oppose the Spaniards. It was a walled city, having but two points of approach, one by a causeway, the other by a narrow flight of steps; and the buildings stood high and compact. The Quiches devoted this their principal city to the flames, in order to destroy the Spaniards lodged within it; and but for the untimely treachery of the Indians of another tribe, Alvarado and his followers would have been buried beneath the smoking ruins of Utatlan.

But the genius of the Spaniards prevailed; and Alvarado added victory to victory, until he was completely master of the country. Owing to the peaceful reception he met with from the Kachiquel tribe, after he had subdued the Quiches, he had it in his power to establish his government at Guatemala, in 1524, calling his capital, Santiago de los Caballeros de Guatemala. Having fixed his headquarters here, he proceeded, with greater facility, in subjugating the remaining tribes, who yielded, one after another, to the universal ascendancy of the Spanish arms.

To enter into the condition, or character, of the aboriginal inhabitants of Guatemala is beyond our purpose. That they, like the Mexicans and Peruvians, had attained to partial civilization; nay, that a people had gone before them, of no contemptible degree of refinement, is sufficiently evinced by the vestiges, which remain of their permanent structures. Near the village of Palenque, in the province of Chiapa, are the ruins of what must once have been an opulent city; the capital, perhaps, of an empire, whose very name is lost to history. 'This metropolis,' says Juarros, 'concealed for ages in the midst of a vast desert, remained unknown until the middle of the eighteenth century, when some Spaniards, having penetrated the dreary solitude, found themselves, to their great astonishment, within sight of the remains of what had once been a superb city, six leagues in circumference; the solidity of its edifices, the stateliness of its palaces, and the magnificence of its public works, were not surpassed in importance by its vast extent; temples, altars, deities, sculptures, and ornamental stones, bear testimony to its great antiquity.' He afterwards mentions the remains of an aqueduct here, of sufficient dimensions for a man to walk upright in it; and other like ruins are to be seen near Ocosingo, in the same district.

The celebrated circus, and other structures in the valley of Copan, in the state of Honduras, are, in part, undoubtedly of later date, because they abound with sculptured figures in the Spanish costume. The circus, so called, consisted of a circular space surrounded by stone pyramids, about six yards high, having in its centre an altar, or elevated place of sacrifice. Near it, suspended between two small pyramids, swung a hammock containing two human figures with the Indian dress, all constructed of stone. In the same valley is the cave of Tibulca, hollowed out of the base of a hill, in the form of a temple,

adorned with columns, and other architectural ornaments. In the district of Solola, we read of the great city of Utatlan, already mentioned; and of other ruins of cities elsewhere; such as Patinamit, near the village of Tecpanguatemala; and Mixco, in the valley of Xilotepeque. And the vestiges and foundations of many large fortresses are still to be seen in the province of Quezaltenango. Of all these buildings, the palaces and castles of Utatlan, appear to have been the most remarkable, especially the grand alcazar of the kings of Quiche, having three hundred and seventy-six paces' length in front, and a depth of seven hundred and twenty-eight, and constructed of hewn stone. After making all reasonable allowance for the exaggerations of Torquemada, Fuentes, and other Spanish writers, enough will remain to show, that the Indians of Guatemala had risen to no inconsiderable height of power and refinement.

Under the government of the *Conquistadores*, and their successors, the native inhabitants, exchanging the condition of independent tribes, for that of a subdued, an inferior, and a depressed race, lost much of their original force of character. As Guatemala, however, was an agricultural, not a mining country, its primitive inhabitants were not subjected to those excesses of grinding despotism, which disgraced the conduct of the Spaniards in Peru and New Granada. Their spirits were not broken here, nor their numbers swept off, by the horrible cruelties of the *mita*. Oppression fell upon them, when it came at all, in the mild form of agricultural labor. And as the Indians of Guatemala had less cause to complain of the whites, than the tribes of their race in other parts of Spanish America, so the Creoles suffered less from the misrule of the mother country, and its greedy emissaries. The government was nominally placed under that of Mexico; but the captain-general of Guatemala, did not acknowledge a very close dependence upon the viceroy of New Spain. To this, and to the peculiar occupations, and spirit of the people, it is owing, that the kingdom of Guatemala was almost the last to embrace the cause of liberty.

But whilst an obstinate struggle for independence was convulsing the neighboring provinces of Venezuela, it is not to be supposed, that the inhabitants of Guatemala were entirely tranquil. Still, the Spanish rule, pressing less heavily upon them, than upon other regions of America more accessible to its in-

fluence, or more stimulating to its cupidity, they had not the same urgent inducement to draw the sword, which actuated the Colombians; nor, if they had set the example of armed resistance to the mother country, could she so readily have made them feel the extremity of her vengeance. Previously to 1821, men of intelligence and influence had been gradually preparing the minds of the inhabitants for a declaration of independence; and in September of that year the decisive step was taken, contemporaneously with the revolutionary movements in Mexico. Unfortunately, however, for Guatemala, the usurper, Iturbide, resolved to make it a part of his empire; and by combined deceit and violence, gained over most of the towns in the province. But Salvador, and part of Nicaragua, refused to submit from the beginning; and when the downfal of the usurper left the other districts free to act, they resumed their original purpose of forming an independent republic, as at present organized. A constituent assembly was immediately called together, which completed the constitution of government for the confederated states, November 22, 1824. Of the five states, Salvador established its constitution first, in June, 1824; Costa Rica followed in January, 1825; Guatemala in October, 1825; Honduras in December, 1825; and lastly, Nicaragua, in April, 1826.

Central America, it is well known, adopted, like Mexico, the political system of the United States, as a model in the formation of its constitutions. A comparison of the two systems, however, while it demonstrates the closeness of the imitation, discloses many remarkable discrepancies, which will best appear, from a brief exposition of the constitution of the confederacy, and that of some one of the individual states.

The federal constitution is not preceded by a declaration of rights, or general principles, but commences by defining the nation, its territory, government and religion, and the conditions of citizenship. It expressly reserves to each state all the power, which it does not confer upon the federal authorities, as the basis of its political system. It establishes the catholic religion, to the exclusion of the public exercise of every other. In respect to citizenship, its provisions are very peculiar, inasmuch as it pronounces every inhabitant of the republic free, and that none are slaves, who claim protection from its laws; none citizens, who traffic in slaves. Every person, past the age of eighteen, or married, is declared a citizen, provided he

exercises any useful profession, or has any known means of subsistence; but the privilege is lost by the acceptance of hereditary titles, or pensions from a foreign country, or by being convicted of an infamous crime; and it is suspended during an indictment for such a crime, or by being proved a fraudulent debtor, by notorious profligacy of conduct, by physical or moral incapacity, or by living in the condition of a domestic servant.

For the purposes of elections, each state is divided into *popular juntas*, *districts*, and *departments*. Each popular junta, consists of not less than two hundred and fifty, nor more than twentyfive hundred inhabitants, who choose a primary elector for every two hundred and fifty inhabitants. The primary electors from every popular junta in a district, form the *district junta*, who choose a district elector for every ten primary electors. The district electors of a department united compose the junta of the department; and these last juntas elect the senators and representatives, and the supreme executive and judicial authorities of the republic.

The legislative power resides in a Congress, composed of representatives, elected annually, in the ratio of one to every twelve district electors, that is, one to every thirty thousand inhabitants. For every three representatives, one substitute also is elected. This body assembles annually the first day of March, continuing in cession three months; and to it belongs, in addition to the powers vested in the Congress of the United States, express authority to regulate education, to declare war and make peace, to ratify treaties negotiated by the executive, and express authority to construct great roads and canals of internal communication. It belongs to the Senate to sanction (*sancionar*) or reject all laws passed by the Congress, which, when thus passed and sanctioned, it is the duty of the executive instantly to promulgate.

The senate consists of two members and one substitute for each state, elected annually by thirds, to whom it belongs to give or deny sanction to laws, to watch over the integrity of the constitution, to advise the executive authority, to propose a triple list to the president for his nomination, of the principal civil and military officers of the republic, and to declare when there is cause for the impeachment of the public servants.

The president is elected for the period of four years, and exercises the executive power as usually understood in this

country, excepting the right of a *veto* upon laws, and the other qualifications of his authority, before mentioned. The Supreme Court, composed of either five or seven members, to be elected every two years, but capable of perpetual reëlection, in addition to the ordinary powers of such a tribunal, constitutes a high court of impeachment upon information of the senate.

After these provisions for the organization of the government, there follow in the constitution sundry guaranties of personal freedom, as they are termed, and limitations of the legislative authority, in which the fundamental principles of liberty are embodied. Such is the frame of government for the whole republic. Some peculiarities of the state constitutions deserve to be mentioned.

The federal constitution delineates the outline of the form of government to be adopted by the several states, by which means great uniformity is secured, and the constitution of one sufficiently explains those of the rest. We take that of Salvador, the first that was finished, for an example. The legislative body, called a Congress, consists of not less than nine, nor more than twenty-one deputies, elected to serve two years, whose acts are subject to the revision of a representative council, elected for three years; the executive power residing in a governor, denominated supreme chief (*gefe supremo*), whose term of service is four years. Each department is governed by an intendant, appointed by the supreme chief. The constitution of the other states is substantially the same, all of them following the model set, and the general outline prescribed, in the constitution of the whole republic.

Some of the provisions in these systems of government are sufficiently singular, and suggest several useful topics of reflection. We pass on, however, to the subject of the actual condition of Central America, and the progress which the government has made, since the accomplishment of its republican organization. Its foreign relations present nothing of moment for consideration; but internally the unsettled state of the country contradicts the favorable presages, drawn from the bloodless commencement of its career of independence. The general confidence entertained in the character of the president, Manuel José Arce, gave strength and extensive currency to those anticipations of prosperity. But the end has by no means corresponded to the beginning.

The patriots of Guatemala seem, like those in all the South American governments, but with less of plausible reason, than most of their brethren in the other republics can allege, to have proceeded on principles radically erroneous, in their financial affairs. The revenue of Central America arises from maritime duties, from the monopoly of tobacco and gunpowder, and from the post-office. These funds, managed as before the revolution, did not yield enough to cover the estimated expenses of the first year, by eight hundred thousand dollars. Instead of improving the established sources of public revenue, so as to draw from them enough for the public exigencies; or if that could not be done, manfully facing the difficulty, and providing fixed means to meet it permanently; the government resorted to the ruinous expedient of contracting a loan for seven millions and a half, which will prove a serious embarrassment to the infant republic. It is said, indeed, that for the sake of conciliating the popular good will, other productive taxes were inconsiderately abolished at the time of the revolution; the plain ultimate good of the country being sacrificed to promote the purposes of the moment. Nothing could have been more grossly ill judged. At the crisis of the revolution, the finances might have been placed upon a sure foundation, amid the numerous other fundamental changes, which the condition of the people underwent; and any judicious regulations respecting the revenue would easily have passed into the fabric of the government, along with the great mass of political innovations effected at the adoption of the constitution. Least of all ought any of the existing sources of revenue, to which the people were familiarized by long use, to have been abandoned for the destructive substitute of a foreign loan. The violation of these self-evident maxims of political economy must either involve the republic in acts of bad faith, lead to political convulsions, or compel the government to resort to burthensome contributions to replenish the treasury; either of which is greatly to be deprecated. Honduras and Nicaragua, it is represented, are unable to subsist upon their own resources; and can ill afford to yield a contingent for the expenses of the general government, which must fall therefore upon Costa Rica, Salvador, and Guatemala with redoubled weight. It is reasonable to anticipate, from such a state of things, the same disorders which financial embarrassments have produced in other parts of Spanish America.

Unfortunately, too, the resources of Central America are not of such a nature, that she can easily and successfully contend with pecuniary difficulties. It is true, that her government was more economical, until recently, than those of her sister republics, and was enabled to meet the national exigencies with a smaller amount of expenditure. It is true, also, that the resources of the country, if they could be called forth, are not inconsiderable. But the extreme unhealthiness of the northeastern coasts, the badness of the roads, and the absence of water communication capable, at present, of affording convenient means of intercourse with the interior, have depressed the commerce of Central America. Its maritime revenue, for the first year, was not estimated to exceed three hundred thousand dollars. Until a better system can be introduced, the country must, of necessity, continue poor, with little commerce, no manufactures, and scarcely more agriculture than the wants of the people require to supply their home consumption.

Extraordinary advantages, it is well known, have been anticipated for Central America, by the construction of an *Oceanic Canal*, uniting the Atlantic and Pacific seas through the lake of Nicaragua. The idiom of exaggeration, so peculiar to the Spanish tongue, has been racked by the Guatemaltecans for terms of magnificent description, in depicting the beneficial consequences that are to flow from this celebrated project. We fear the time is far distant, when the boasted utility of the canal of Nicaragua will be realized. It is quite certain, at all events, that this canal will not soon be made. The success of the state of New York, in extending her noble canal through a tract of country, more favorable for the purpose, perhaps, than any other in America, has given encouragement to wild speculations on the subject of canals. Especially has it induced our brethren of the South to believe, that no undertaking is too arduous or expensive for the enterprise of North Americans. We read, for instance, in a piece published in Guatemala, exhorting the government to patronize the canal of Nicaragua, such a sentence as the following; 'The United States of the North have entertained *the project of opening a communication between the two oceans, by a canal of a thousand leagues*, connecting the waters of the Columbia and Mississippi rivers; and we tremble at the idea of cutting through

a plain of five leagues!'* A project, truly, which we imagine it would stagger the bold enthusiasm even of Captain Symmes to conceive. And yet to raise a stock for a canal over the Rocky Mountains, and for the canal of Nicaragua, on the conditions proposed by the government of Central America, would, we apprehend, be equally practicable. The public expectation having been unduly raised, relative to this matter, by the partial contract made by the government of Central America with Mr Beneski in behalf of Mr Palmer of New York, we deem some explanation of the circumstance proper here, that the credit of our country may not suffer among those, who, from ignorance of the precise nature of our political institutions, do not rightly distinguish between the acts of the nation, and of its individual citizens.

By a resolution passed June 25th, 1825, the Congress of Central America voted, that the canal of Nicaragua should be opened for the vessels of all neutral and friendly nations, and solicited proposals for the undertaking, which were to be rendered to the Executive. Proposals were accordingly made by an agent for the Messrs Barclay of London, and another for Mr Palmer of New York, which resulted in a contract with the latter, concluded in June, 1826. When the question whether this contract should be ratified, came before the Congress, it encountered much opposition; and strong reasons were urged against its ratification by José del Valle, a deputy of distinguished talents, who had been high in station under Iturbide, and was an unsuccessful candidate for the office of first president of the republic. He alleged, that it was premature to contract for the construction of the canal, before it had been ascertained to be practicable; that no surveys had been made of the river San Juan, the lake of Nicaragua, or of the land between that and the Pacific; that all the plans and charts of this region were inaccurate and defective; that however useful such a canal might be, if feasible, yet that the present time was altogether unsuitable for the undertaking; that it was extremely ill advised to have the canal, and with

*'Los Estados Unidos del Norte han ensayado el proyecto de la comunicacion de los mares por un canal de mas de mil leguas, uniendo las ramificaciones de Colombia y el Misisipi; y nosotros temblamos para cortar un plano de cinco leguas!' *El Liberal* (de Guatemala), Mayo 17 de 1826.

it the command of all the resources of the country, in the hands of foreigners; and that, besides, the government had no precise information of the credit or circumstances of the contracting house. If a navigable ship canal should be constructed, he conceived that, being the readiest road to India, it would tempt some foreign power, Great Britain for instance, or an enemy of Great Britain, to seize on Nicaragua, and occupy the fortifications at the mouth of its canal, as a fit position for another Elsinore or Gibraltar. Central America itself was in no settled condition; disputes concerning boundary was still pending with Mexico on the one hand, and Colombia on the other; and serious disturbances existed in the very state of Nicaragua, where the excavations were to be made. He, therefore, urged the Congress to wait until the requisite surveys and calculations could be made, and not to leap into the contract blindfold, but rather, if the project, on satisfactory examination, should be found practicable, to reserve the benefit of it for the republic itself, or its own citizens.

Notwithstanding the cogency of these reasons, the contract was ratified, but clogged at the same time with such onerous conditions, as would almost create a belief that the government did not feel very anxious to have it fulfilled. By the proposals originally presented to the president, a privilege was claimed of navigating the canal by steamboats for thirtyfive years; the contractor was to have one half of the proceeds of the tolls for fifteen years after the capital invested should have been reïmbursed; and the capital invested was immediately to be charged upon the republic as a debt, payable at all events by the people, if the project should fail to prove profitable to the undertakers. The enterprise, even upon these terms, would have been very hazardous, because the cost being converted into a loan, might very possibly reduce the nation to bankruptcy, and thus ruin the contractors. But in Palmer's contract, the privilege for steamboats was limited to twenty years; and half the tolls for seven years only, instead of fifteen, was conceded. The republic, moreover, incurred no responsibility for the capital invested, but, on the contrary, immediately on the completion of the canal, was to receive one third of the tolls, leaving but two thirds as a fund to reimburse the contractors.

In fact, they made themselves entirely dependant on the government, which might at any time resume the grant, by

refunding the principal sum laid out, with ten per cent. interest and one half the tolls for seven years. Add to this, that two hundred thousand dollars were to be forthwith advanced, to be expended in the construction of fortifications, and the contractors remained subject to be called upon for further advances, without any limitation as to the amount, or any security for repayment but the remote prospect of uncertain profit. These unanswerable objections proved fatal to the enterprise; because no capitalists did, or could, consider it anything less than extravagant improvidence to adventure in a speculation loaded with such conditions. Had the contract for the canal been made on the terms proposed by the firm of Barclay, and had it been thrown into the English market, when the mania for mining and other joint stock enterprises was at flood, this stock *might* have been subscribed for, at least with such chance of success as other bubbles of the day enjoyed. But we do not believe, that even the daring speculators of that infatuated period could have imparted credit and stability to the stock, on the conditions of the contract as finally concluded.

Having entered so fully into the preceding topics, we shall abstain from relating minutely the circumstances of the unhappy civil dissensions, which have continued to agitate Central America for the past year. This will be the less necessary, because the newspapers have from time to time contained intelligence of the events as they occurred. But the origin of the disturbances not being so generally known, and many misapprehensions having gone abroad in consequence, respecting the motives of the contending parties, we shall simply state the commencement of the troubles, as we find it explained in the papers before us, without vouching for the integrity, either of the government or of its opponents.

The inhabitants of Salvador have long been jealous, it seems, that a strong *central* party existed in Guatemala, the capital at the same time of the most powerful of the confederated states, and of the confederacy itself. They charged the president with having digested a plan of changing the government from the federal to the central form. Even during the session of the first congress, in March, 1826, the Salvadoreños indicated the jealousy in question, by representing to the Congress the necessity of transferring its sessions, and the seat of the executive government, to some place distant at least forty leagues from Guatemala. Petitions to the same effect came

from the towns of Aguachapam, and Metapan, in the state of Salvador. The regular session of Congress closed in June; and in August following, the senate, exercising the discretion conferred upon it by the constitution,* appointed an extraordinary session of the congress to be holden at Guatemala, the established seat of government, on the first day of October ensuing, to deliberate upon various important subjects demanding immediate attention. At the time fixed for the meeting, only sixteen members attended. As twenty-one were required by the constitution to constitute a quorum; the members convened could not of course legally transact any business, but such as related to their regular organization. In the discharge of this duty, they examined and discussed the reasons assigned by the absent members for not attending, and took measures for procuring their presence.

It soon became apparent, that the members from Salvador designed to refuse attendance at all events. One of them, Marcellino Mendez, sent in a memorial, in which he signified his determination not to attend, unless the Congress was convened at some other place, denied that the decree of the senate set forth any sufficient cause for convoking the Congress, and complained, that among the subjects for its consideration, they had omitted to insert the question, left undecided by the preceding Congress, whether the seat of government should be removed. This document was justly regarded as a kind of public declaration of the feelings of the people of Salvador, whose unfriendly sentiments towards the Guatemaltecans (whether justly conceived or not, we do not judge) were otherwise sufficiently known. The result of the whole was, that the legislature of the state of Guatemala authorized the levy of a body of militia, under the name of defenders of the constitution.

Meanwhile the members of the Congress had continued their preparatory sessions, until October tenth, when the president of the republic issued a decree, ordering the convocation of an extraordinary congress at Cojutepeque, in the state of Salvador, to consist of two delegates for every thirty thousand inhabitants, and to be invested with unlimited authority to provide for the national necessities, and preserve the public tranquillity. This

* *Constitucion de Centro-America*, T. vi, s. 2, art. 101. 'Convocará al Congreso en casos extraordinarios.'

decree was immediately declared unconstitutional and void, by the Supreme Court; and being communicated to the regular Congress, they also voted that it was an act of arbitrary power on the part of the president, and that they could not observe it, either as individuals or as public functionaries.

Guatemala, on the one hand, yielded a qualified submission to the president's decree, and proceeded to elect delegates for the extraordinary congress. Salvador, on the other hand, took the lead in opposing it; and had she confined her opposition to the constitutional means of resistance, the affair might have terminated without bloodshed. But various events occurred, having a tendency to exasperate the minds of all concerned, and the breath of party spirit fanned the flame of discord, till it broke forth into a civil war. Early in 1827, the government of Salvador levied troops, and caused them to be gradually concentrated upon points convenient for invading the territory of Guatemala. This measure was the signal for actual hostilities. The Guatemaltecans considering themselves threatened with an attack from the Salvadoreaños, prepared for the worst. After various intermediate movements, the troops of Salvador marched upon the city of Guatemala, amounting to twelve or fourteen hundred in number, and headed by Nicolas Raoul, Isidoro Saget, and Cleto Ordoñez. An engagement ensued in the neighborhood of the capital, which resulted in the defeat and dispersion of the invading force, and the complete triumph of the Guatemaltecans. Such was the origin of the unfortunate dissensions, which have agitated the new republic, and the present effects and future consequences of which, may prove disastrous to its prosperity. We sincerely hope, however, for that entire reëstablishment of the constitutional government, and that permanent restoration of peace and good order to the nation, which the latest accounts encourage us to expect.

ART. VI. *Specimens of Polish Poets; with Notes and Observations on the Literature of Poland.* By JOHN BOWRING. London. 1827. 12mo. pp. 227.

THOUGH we noticed Mr Bowring's Servian translations in our last number, we cannot resist the temptation of bringing him again before our readers; and we have more reasons for doing this than the mere wish to praise him. This however is, we confess, a strong one; for the writer who can move gracefully under the restraints of a foreign idiom, and give us the spirit of foreign poets, without the second-hand air of translations, must possess a rare talent. We have even suspected, that Mr Bowring can do more than this; that he can sometimes, like our Stuart, raise his portraits to the dignity of pictures, by throwing into them an expression of mind and character, which nature had neglected to give them. A man of such powers must do some violence to his own ambition, by condescending to the office of translator. It is true, he is repaid by admiration; but it must be remembered, that he was obliged to create the taste, which he is now gratifying. We had before occasionally seen some of the wild flowers, which grew under the leaden skies of the north of Europe, and as there was known to be no lack of misery in those regions, it was supposed, of course, that there must be poetry also; but no one had thought of a polar expedition to collect it, and we believe that Mr Bowring may claim the ground by the right of discovery, as well as successful cultivation. We remember well, that when he gave us his beautiful specimens from Russia, and from Servia (a country which might almost have been blotted from the map without our knowing it), we were almost as much taken by surprise, as by the ode, which Major Denham brought from the court of his colored majesty of Bornou.

But a better reason for noticing Mr Bowring is, that he is aiding the cause of philanthropy. By making the nations acquainted with each other's efforts in the department of imagination, he is creating in them a reciprocal interest, which at present nothing else could do. Commerce does not tend so much as might be expected, to remove the prejudices, which lead men to strife; for they have not yet learned, that the gain of one nation is not necessarily loss to another. Science seems

to have put on a martial aspect; for who does not know what a tempest the name of *quadrant*, or *compound blow-pipe*, has awakened? But the works of imagination are welcomed every where, without jealousy, censorship, or suspicion. Nations seem to have a bowing rivalship with each other in doing homage to foreign genius. The Frenchman devours the novels of his natural enemy, and groans in admiration of Young; and England welcomes painters from America, without upbraiding them for their unnatural rebellion fifty years ago. These mutual courtesies augur well, and such sympathies may serve, in the absence of better, to bring men together, to give them common interests and pleasures, and to make them delight in these harmless displays of power, as the Greenlanders are said to fight out their quarrels, without savage meetings in the field of blood.

Certain grave men may think we attribute too much to the imagination; but truly, if national dissensions derive their strength from the imagination, we do not see why that power should not heal as well as destroy, nor why the same imagination of honor, which can muster thousands to danger, should not be able, if rightly directed, to keep them quiet at home. When a land is lighted up by the universal fire of poetic imagination in all its valleys and hills, it is no longer foreign, nor its people strangers to any other. We know and share their sentiments and feelings, and cannot feel at enmity with them. This may hereafter be the case with all the nations, and we think Mr Bowring is aiding to bring about the result, when this sword of the breast, if not beat quite into a ploughshare, shall at least be made an instrument for extending liberty, humanity, and happiness, and for breaking down the bars and boundaries, which now separate men from each other, as if their nature and real interests were not the same, as if man might have substantial reasons for not being at peace with man.

Perhaps we must hope more humbly than this; we trust, then, that by making the nations acquainted with each other's poetry, Mr Bowring is aiding the cause of freedom. Poetry naturally speaks the language of freedom, and it cannot, however *laureated*, lisp the courtly phrase without blushing; it is much more at home when bearing free sentiments from kingdom to kingdom, and stretching through them all that electric chain, from which, touch it in any part of the world, the same fire sparkles, and the same shock is given. No small portion of men feel that they are oppressed; some, like the Poles, by

tyrants without; others, by tyrants within; and they take courage when they hear their own strong feelings expressed in the languages of different lands. Certainly a mention, like that of Poland in "The Pleasures of Hope," must be reviving to a suffering people; it gives them a pledge, that millions of hearts are on their side. Thus every Pole, who desires to be free, grows bold when he hears poets, if not politicians, say, that the second Holy Alliance is no better than the first; that their pretence of putting down anarchy is the same, which Catharine made for dismembering Poland; and that it is quite too much for their patience, to see a gallant nation destroyed by a profligate old woman, aided by an Austrian devotee, and a Prussian hero, which last name will cease to stand so high, when it pleases the world to open its eyes.

We have neither room nor materials, at present, for a history of Polish literature. The Poles (so called from *Pole*, a plain, which is a word descriptive of their soil) are the best descendants of the ancient Sarmatians. This was a name given to the vast and shifting population of northern Europe, which was continually rising with a swing, like that of the ocean, against the bounds of the Roman empire. We know nothing of their attempts at poetry, and are not disposed to lament the loss. If it be true, as was said of them, that their architecture was inferior to that of the beaver, we could not expect to find the sister arts in a very exalted state. But in later ages, the nation sustained a proud character; it was called the rampart of the christian world; the people were full of romantic daring, and exercised their courage against the Turks on one side, and the barbarous Russians on the other. A Polish army under Sobieski, drove the former from the gates of Vienna in 1683; and in the preceding century, Stephen Bathori bombarded the great Muscovite city of Moscow, as we are assured by Captain Dalgetty, though he was not present on that occasion. So late as the seventeenth century, a Czar was carried prisoner to Warsaw, and the son of a Polish king placed on the Russian throne, at least as firmly as Henry of England on that of France. As the poets are a race, who love to sun themselves in their country's glory, it might be expected that they would celebrate these memorable deeds; but other circumstances were unfavorable to their existence. Possibly this very renown of the Poles for courage, prevented some nation from doing them the favor, for which England was indebted to the

Normans, who, in atonement for their intrusions, gave flexibility to her language, and romance to her poetical inspirations. The literature of Poland suffered under an invasion of another kind. When christianity was introduced, its teachers were generally foreigners. By their influence, the Latin was made the prevailing language, while the Polish became vulgar; and as they were the only writers, scarcely anything was published in the native tongue. This despotism lasted till the sixteenth century, when Rey of Naglowic, and Kochanowski, gave the language the ascendancy and form which it now retains. It by no means deserved to be thus neglected; Schaffarik compares its sounds to the vibrations of a guitar. Mr Bowring tells us, that it is the most polished of the Sclavonian dialects, but when written, the difficulty of accommodating twenty-four Latin letters to thirty-six Sclavonian sounds, gives it an uninviting aspect, and the accent always falling on the penultimate syllable, forms a stumblingblock in the way of versification.

But though its language was thus depressed, Poland was not behindhand in improvement. Kochanowski, of whose writings specimens are given, lived in the sixteenth century; and, excepting Chaucer, what distinguished name could England boast before that time? Wyatt and Surrey were poets, it is true; but no one would think of giving their works to a foreigner, among a few specimens of English poetry. In the sixteenth century, almost every considerable town in Poland had its printing press. The Zaluskan library, lately removed to Petersburg, contains more than twenty thousand works in this language alone; and the poets are found in an unbroken line, from the time of Sigismund Augustus, the patron of Kochanowski, down to the present day. We cannot help wishing, that the plan of placing Sir Philip Sidney on the throne of Poland, had been less a dream of romance. The character of the English Bayard was precisely fitted to charm such a people; it might possibly have added elegance to their literature, and grace to their stern virtues; and, if he could not have given a happier turn to the destiny of the nation, he would at least have been a magnificent subject for their heroes to imitate, and their bards to praise.

Some may think, that the misfortunes of a country are more quickening to poetry, than its triumphs; and it it is sometimes true, that the fountains of inspiration, which run low in the prosperous summer of a nation, are filled to overflowing by

the storm. But time must first soften the painful recollections; poets do not find their materials in the raw chilness of the new-made grave, nor the blackness of the recent ruin. One of the living poets of Poland has appealed to the feelings of his countrymen with great power; but they must be heart-sick, while they remember by what a series of low villany they were undone; it would have been less humiliating to fall a sacrifice to the fame of some illustrious destroyer, than to sink under the plotting knavery of emperors and kings. We are glad to be informed, that misfortunes have not broken their literary spirit; three universities, beside innumerable other literary institutions, are sending knowledge through the country, and may give them an intellectual existence when the outline of their territory shall be forgotten.

It is doubtful whether their present sovereigns, if they could avoid it, would allow them even this. The three millions, who were thrown into the hands of Austria by the partition, were not tortured with attempts to break down their national distinctions; the Austrian sovereign oppressed them in a more characteristic way, by plunder and taxation. The Emperor went so far as to rob the churches of their gold and silver, and even to despoil of their ornaments the royal tombs at Cracow. This individual has not yet made any attempts to prevent the advance of knowledge; but as his views with respect to literature are known to resemble those of Jack Cade, it cannot be expected to flourish under his administration. Nearly two millions were subjected to the Prussians, whose blows at the national existence were more direct; they decreed that the German language should supersede the Polish; and thus their despotism, though less rapacious, was more grating to the Poles, because more humbling to their pride. But the Prussians professed to respect property; and when the statue of their king was erected in a Polish city, '*Suum cui*' was engraved on the pedestal; an excellent rule, if not intended wholly for the benefit of others. But the effect of the Russian government on Poland is by far the most important; it extends directly to a million and a half; and three millions and a half are included in the Russian kingdom of Poland. The Russians have not harassed the Poles with new political institutions, but as Russian civilization is confined to the higher orders, like a Corinthian capital surmounting a shapeless block, or the laced hat of an African monarch exalted above no other

drapery than that of nature, it cannot be supposed, that the communication of the Poles with the brutal and ignorant officers and soldiery sent among them, will have any propitious effect on their intellectual character. Surely no man can wonder, that the Poles, ground to the dust by the various burdens of oppression, should have sprung with one heart, to the service of Napoleon. The moment there was a glimpse of hope, that he might restore their country, eighty thousand Poles engaged in his service; they were last in the disastrous retreat from Moscow, and clung to his broken fortunes when the rest of his allies had left him; for though he did not prove a benefactor, nor friend, he was their avenger; and therefore they cheered him onward in the 'blaze of his fame,' and mourned for him when he had fallen.

We must not look for anything very national in the specimens before us. It would be pleasant, certainly, to see a nation's character reflected in its poetry; but it is no more to be expected, than in that of individuals, where few will do the writer the kindness to believe, that his life is as pure as his song. The national poetry does not seem to depend much on the history and manners. The greater historical events will be duly commemorated, and the natural scenery will enter the service in the capacity of metaphor; but the stream of inspiration cannot retain all the images, that may have colored its waters as it flows, nor are poets, after all, the men most seriously affected by the condition of their country. In a rude age, like that of the Troubadours, when poetry is meant directly for the audience, and must charm at a first hearing, or not at all, poetry may give an exact idea of the manners and taste; but not so, when the general refinement requires more labor to please, and at the same time furnishes a supply of various materials for the poet, beside opening paths to fame, which do not require him to watch the attention of an audience, or flatter its vanity. Without pretending to give a summary character of Polish poetry, we should say that it was not remarkably national; but this may be explained by the fact, that the glory of Poland was on the wane before the age of inspiration began. It is plaintive and thoughtful, sometimes powerful and inspiring; less characteristic than the Servian, less imposing than the Russian; but by no means destitute of interest and beauty.

We give the following lines from the patriarch of their poets, Kochanowski, who died in 1584.

'Sweet sleep! sure, man might learn to die from thee,
Who dost unravel all death's mystery;
Come spread thy balmy influence o'er my soul,
And let it soar, beyond the world's control,
Up to the realms where morning has its birth,
Down to the abyss whence darkness wraps the earth,
Where time has piled its everlasting snows,
Where parched by sunbeams not a fountain flows;
O let it count each bright and wandering star,
Or chase its mazy pilgrimage afar;
Sit in the centre, while each circling sphere
Pours its aërial music on the ear;
Drink of the o'erflowing cup of joy and peace,
While the tired body sleeps in weariness;
No dreams to hang upon its mortal breath;—
And so—undying—let it taste of death.' p. 55.

Zimorowicz lived in the polemical reign of Sigismund the Third, and died in 1629, at the early age of twenty-five; literature was at that time neglected for monkish Latin, and considering the prevailing intellectual darkness and depravity of taste, we cannot help being struck with his writings. Apart from their simplicity and beauty, we may admire them as night-blooming flowers. The following song is finely expressive of the jealous fears and sorrows of a lover

'I saw thee from my casement high,
And watched thy speaking countenance;
With silent step thou glidedst by,
And didst not cast a hurried glance
Upon my mean abode nor me.

Then misery smote me;—but for Heaven
I should have fallen scathed and dead,
I blame thee not,—thou art forgiven;
I yet may hear thy gentle tread,
When evening shall o'ermantle thee.

The evening came,—then mantling night;
I waited till the full moon towered
High in the heaven.—My longing sight
Perceived thee not;—the damp mists lowered;
In vain I sought thee anxiously.

Didst thou upon some privileged leaf
My name record, and to the wind
Commit it,—bid it charm my grief,
Bear some sweet influence to my mind,
And set me from despairing free?

Where are the strains of music now,—
The song, the dance that morn and eve
Were heard about my house,—when low
And sweet thy voice was wont to heave
Soft sighs and gentle thoughts for me.

'T is past, 't is past—and in my heart
Is sorrow,—silence in my ear;
The vain world's wonted smiles depart;
Joy and the springtide of the year,
Fond youth! are scattered speedily.

Thou hast not said, Farewell! No sleep
Shall close my mourning eye—the night
Is gloomy now! Go, minstrel, weep!
For I shall weep—and sorrow's blight,
That scathes my heart, shall visit thee.' pp. 86, 87.

We select a few verses from another of his songs, that well represents the graceful importunity of love.

'It is not gold that I entreat,
I would not have thy riches, sweet!
I supplicate no gems from thee,
I want no rings of brilliancy;—
But give me, give me, lovely maid!
The rosemary wreath that crowns thy head.

When thou didst plant those flow'rets, thou
Didst pledge the wreath to bind my brow;—
The wreath is woven; now convey
The wreath to me, as thou didst say;
Come, give me, give me, lovely maid!
The rosemary wreath that crowns thy head.

'Twill fade ere long,—the summer sky
Will blast its bloom—its flowers will die;
Though suns be cool, and winds should sleep,
Soon autumn's chill will o'er it creep.
Come, give me, give me, lovely maid!
The rosemary wreath that crowns thy head.

O is it not a praise, a bliss,
For such a trifling gift as this,—
A few frail flowers that soon must die,
To find a friend—eternally?
Then give me, give me, lovely maid!
The rosemary wreath that crowns thy head.'
pp. 90, 92.

Sarbiewski is so well known, by his name Casimir, for his Latin poetry, that we pass to more modern writers. Of these, Niemcewicz is distinguished as a historian and tragedian, as well as poet. He is perhaps still remembered in some parts of this country, as the companion in exile of Kosciusko. After his return from America, he published a Life of Washington. Mr Bowring has given some eloquent specimens of his prose writing. We could do no justice to his poetry by an extract, and we regret that the length of the specimens prevents us from inserting the whole of one of them. But we must hasten to Casimir Brodzinski, also a living poet, and a man of striking genius; whose works must have great power in his own land, where their tragic talent and perfect simplicity make them accessible and interesting to all, the humble as well as high, and the patriotic feeling, which bursts out everywhere, must, like the Swiss *Ranz des Vaches*, go to the hearts of men, who are enduring all the miseries of banishment, in their own country. Brodzinski's patriotism is not mere language, but a deep and burning passion; his works are not hung with black, like mourning-pieces, but the remembrance of his country's wrongs gives a solemn energy to every sentiment. We do not know whether he is old or young; possibly he may remember the short but brilliant existence of his country's freedom; he may have 'sat by its cradle, and followed it to the grave;' and though it would seem, that nothing less than a miracle can revive it, we doubt not, that if the changes of the world ever afford a gleam of hope, he will raise a trumpet-call to his countrymen, to which every heart will reply. The first specimen of his poetry alludes to the celebrated 'Polish Legion,' the remnant of Kosciusko's army, which cut its way to Italy to join the French republican forces, and afterwards served so faithfully in the campaigns of Napoleon. 'The Legionist' is a dialogue between a young Polish soldier, and an old Italian, who welcomes him as a stranger. The careless desolation of the Pole, the sorrowful revenge that swallows up every other feeling, his indifference to the luxurious climate and the perfect and ruined monuments of art, are finely contrasted with the gentle courtesy and indolent epicureanism of the Italian, who is quite unable to comprehend a character so young and so determined. It closes thus;

'Nought to me
But the harsh clarion's clang is harmony;

That only can awake my country's sleep;
That let me hear when sinking in the deep
Dull cave of long forgetfulness. If e'er
Age should call back the blighted wanderer
To his own home; how sweet beneath the shade
Of the pale lime-tree—on the green turf laid--
To mingle with my country's sorrow, thought
Of triumphs by her exiled children bought.
Our cities are in ashes; from the block
Our youths ne'er chiseled gods; yet on the rock
By the way-side our heroes' tombs we see,
Uttering their deeds to time and history.

THE ITALIAN.

Thou fair-haired youth! these tones, so sad and stern,
Become not life's gay spring. Let old men mourn,
But thou, be joyful. Let thy country be
In God's high hand—the King of kings is he;
But thou, the black-eyed, sweet-voiced maiden take,
Forget thy griefs, thy gloomy cares forsake;
Round her thy children and thy home shall bloom,
For all the world is love and virtue's *home*.

THE POLE.

Nay! I have shed hot tears for her I love;
Nought but my country could our hearts remove.
Whene'er I close my pilgrimage, I' ll bear
To my old sire my sword—my heart to her.
One common land has bound us;—this our vow,—
"Freedom and unchanged faith,"—I swear it now!

He spoke—the Ukrainian *Dumas* met his ear;
On the dark hills the Polish ranks appear;
And like an arrow with his steed he sped,
While Rome's old burgher wondering bent his head.'

pp. 180—182.

The next specimen, 'Wieslaw,' is decidedly the most interesting in the book. It gives us a picture of the Polish peasantry, who, judging from this, bear some resemblance to the Scotch in their general simplicity, and occasional shrewdness; above all, in their religious feeling. The heroine is a maiden, who was lost to her parents, when Poland was laid waste, and was found and brought up in a distant village. An old peasant suspects that he has discovered her parentage, and though she left her home in very early childhood, he resolves to ascertain it by taking her to her native place, without however communicating his suspicions to her. The troubled recollections that dawn

upon her mind, in a region which she thinks she sees for the first time, remind us of Bertram at Ellangowan; the effect of the village bells is admirably described. She is sad and thoughtful during the journey, but as they come near the village,

'What joy, what gladness lights Halina's eye!
Why talks she now so gay and sportively!
They cross the planks—the brush-wood maze they thread,
The sheep and shepherds play upon the mead;
She listened to the artless pipe; her ear
Appeared enchanted. Was it that her dear
And now far dearer Wieslaw, had portrayed
This scene when singing to the enamored maid?
John watched her looks intensely.—Was the scene
One where her early infant steps had been?
Now rose the village steeple to the view;
The vesper-bells pealed loudly o'er the dew;
They fell upon their knees in that sweet place;
The sun-set rays glanced on Halina's face,
And she looked like an angel. Every vein
Thrilled with the awakened thoughts of youth again,
And longings which could find no words. The bell
Had burst the long-locked portals of the cell
Of memory; and mysterious visitings
And melancholy joy, and shadowy things
Flitted across her soul, and flushed her cheek
Where tear-drops gathered. To a mountain peak
They came; the village burst upon their view,
They saw the shepherds lead their cattle through
The narrow bridge; the ploughman gaily sped
From labor's cares to labor's cheerful bed.
The village like a garden reared its head,
Where many a cottage-sheltering orchard spread;
The smoke rose 'midst the trees; the village spire
Towered meekly, yet in seeming reverence, higher
Than the high trees. The yew-trees in their gloom
Hung pensive over many a peasant's tomb;
And still the bells were pealing, which had tolled
O'er generations mouldering and enrolled
In death's long records. While they looked, old John
Bent on his stick and said, "Look, maiden, on
Our village; doth it please thee? Wieslaw's cot
Is nigh at hand." She heard, but answered not;
Her looks were fixed upon one only spot;—
Her bosom heaved, her lips were dried, her eye
Spoke the deep reverie's intensity.

Remembrance of some joy had bound her soul;
She breathed not, but moved on;—a cottage wall
Soon caught her eye, and near, a cross appeared;
'Twas ivy-clad and crumbling;—for 't was reared
In the old time;—a willow-tree—a sod,
Where the gay children of the village trod
On holidays, were there. She could no more;
She dropped o'erpowered upon the grassy floor,
And cried, "O God! O God!—'t was here, 't was here
I lived! Where is my mother? Tell me, where?
If she be dead, I 'll seek her grave, and weep
My orphan soul away to rouse from sleep
Her blessed form.—'T was here I played of old;—
'T was here I gathered flowers; but I behold
My mother's cot no longer,—thought flies o'er
Its memory;—but that cot exists no more."'

pp. 214—216.

This extract is a long one, but we trust that none of our readers will wish it shorter. The longer specimens are better than the lyrics for giving an idea of the poetry in general. We cannot help wishing, that Mr Bowring had acquainted us with his own sentiments, as to the various character of his originals; the few extracts he affords may mislead us in our judgment of the whole; at least they are not numerous enough to sustain a decided opinion. The metopes would not give us much idea of the Parthenon, unless we knew their place and proportion. Mr Bowring has little of the book-making propensity about him; but it is not our business to find fault with what is generally a virtue. He is now employed, we understand, on a history of the literature of Bohemia, which is intended to embrace *Specimens of the Popular Songs of the Moravians, Sclavonians, Bulgarians, and other Sclavonic Races.* This work promises to be one of much interest. The author relies not on materials gathered at second hand. Warmed with a genuine enthusiasm, he travels in the countries themselves, and plucks his flowers fresh from their native stems. Translations of Finnish, Laplandish, and Esthonia poetry will follow in due time. We heartily wish him success in his perambulations amidst these novel fields of imaginative literature, which he has hitherto explored with so much credit to himself, and so much benefit to the reading world.

ART. VII. *Speeches in Congress, as published in the Newspapers;* 1826, 1827.

THE range of the human mind is almost infinite, but the particular departments to which it may be directed, especially in most branches of literature, will sooner or later be filled, and no resort remain but to repetition. Some critics have asserted, for instance, that epic poems, which would be read, can no longer be produced. Homer, Virgil, Milton, Tasso, and Camoens, without citing more recent names, have exhausted the process. Tragedy also has no field untouched, and though the French, with their crowds of theatre-going idlers, now and then sustain a new one for a few nights, by the aid of an occasional political allusion, which seriously alarms the court and the police of that volatile nation, it falls into oblivion with the modes of the season. Even comedy, which perhaps has more numerous combinations, in the proportion that the ridiculous bears to the terrific in human character, yet even every principal comic emotion, pursuit, situation, or trick, has been exhausted in the many thousands of comedies, which Spain, France, and England have produced, without taking into the account other nations ancient and modern. The result is, that formal epics are abandoned for irregular lyrical narratives, while tragedy and comedy have given way to melodrame and pantomime.

Forensic oratory and parliamentary debating seem to be quite as much exhausted; the great masterpieces of Greece, Rome, and England, together with some specimens in our country, have gone over all the great topics, exhibited all the masterly resorts of rhetoric, and nothing remains to make a debate endurable, but the accidental occurrence of some really powerful, momentary excitement; which, however, is too often attempted to be raised by the mere feverish turbulence of partisans, while their insipid commonplaces, and mock attempts at dignity that neither they nor the subject possess, occasion their harangues to fall stale, flat, and unprofitable, on a tired, disgusted audience.

The evil, though carried to greater extent with us, is not confined to our country. The abuse is very great in England, and the public there seem equally tired of it; and as the ministers in that country have a seat in one or the other house, it

falls with oppressive weight upon them. Indeed, we recollect a few years since, when a great many changes had been rung on the same question, though under the form of a different motion, being prolonged through many nights, that the Lord Chancellor seriously insinuated, that there seemed to be a determination to incapacitate his majesty's ministers for performing their duty during the day, by harassing them every night with a debate. There is an opinion on this topic, expressed in a posthumous letter of Lord Byron, which is by no means confined to him. After briefly describing, with admirable discrimination, some of the chief contemporary speakers, he concludes; 'But among all these, good, bad, and indifferent, I never heard the speech which was not too long for the auditors, and not very intelligible, except here and there. The whole thing is a grand deception, and as tedious and tiresome as may be, to those who must be often present.'

Yet the aristocratic and arrogant habits of the British parliament keep down the evil in part; it is only a chosen few, who have fought their way through many a combat, whom the majority will yawn at with forbearance. If a man unknown to fame, a mere prosing, jury-confounding arguer, or vain, tiresome country gentleman, or conceited cit, should attempt a display, he would be coughed and scraped down; and all these classes, which dilate with impunity among us, would be compressed into silence.

Though to some we may appear to write with too much frankness, we apprehend that a majority of the nation will agree with us, and would be glad to have the proposition established; that, speeches in Congress have increased, are increasing, and ought to be diminished. The House of Representatives are the natural, immediate guardians of the people,—but who are to guard the guardians? Undoubtedly there is more than one member of that important body, who would be startled at a charge of abuse against it. They indeed have their professed censors and tribunes, who are perpetually imputing corruption and abuses to other branches of the government. They are constantly smelling and winking, and on the eve of detecting some enormity. From the excessive salaries of the secretaries—(we must save our feelings by speaking strait forward in a parenthesis—the despicable, parsimonious stipend paid to the highest labor, and most intense anxiety, not equalling the gains of mediocrity in many of the ordinary

professions of life), from these splendid emoluments, down to the moderate, decent remuneration of the clerks, no winter escapes without some magnificent attempt at reduction, some huge effort at economy. Now we really believe our government in all its branches to be freer from abuses, than any other in the world; and this arises from our having no ancient malpractices consecrated by time, no privileges radicated beyond the power of extraction; and, besides, to its being subject to a publicity the most unsparing and uncontrolled. Yet we are equally of opinion, that in the abuses which do creep in, by far the largest and the most costly proportion is to be found in the legislative branch; in the department occupied by the guardians and representatives of the people's rights.

We allude not now to the paltry considerations of their daily pay, of their expenses of printing, &c. &c., but to the evils produced by this pestilent abuse of debating. We ask the nation to judge between their representatives and us poor critics; we ask men conversant with public affairs, to look back for a few sessions, and see how many great measures of national importance have been delayed, or are still postponed, by this vile prurience for debate. And if these questions are too general to be felt, we come to suffering individuals, with real or imaginary claims, who have journeyed from distant parts of the Union, wasted month after month in expectancy, and at last have been put off to another and another session, because there was no time for investigation!

This evil has gradually gained upon the Senate, until it is almost as much infected as the other house; and the course is still more unwise in them. Surely they may disdain the poor display, the ignoble triumph of common disputation. When the smallness of their number, the independence, the bodies and interests represented, and the functions of which they constitutionally partake, are considered, we think it no exaggeration to say, that they are the most respectable parliamentary house in any government. True it is, a temporary shade has passed over them, but this, like other shadows, will leave no mark. If, then, this body would relinquish the superfluity of debate, their greater progress in public business would be a salutary check on the other house, and goad them to a more punctual and efficient discharge of public duty.

If any person should think these remarks unfounded, and

that this abuse of what Bentham would call *speechification*, does not exist, we refer him to the speeches of the members for any one session; he will see that they themselves are conscious of their offences, and that three out of four begin with an excuse, or some attempt to excite commiseration by complaints of ill health, but that their sense of public duty is so strong, that they will speak, though they sink under the effort. It would be something gained, if ill health could be considered as an excuse, or enforced as a disqualification. There is no aristocratic remedy, as in England, of scraping and coughing; but they connive at and bear each other out, having the same object in view; and there is no intrepid reformer to take the part of the nation, and ask them, Why do ye so?

The obvious remedy for the evil would be found by not publishing the speeches *in extenso*. Because, in most cases, it is not the effect of the speech in the house, that the debater thinks or cares about. His object is to get his speech into the newspaper, and besides its circulation in that shape, the printer, for a trifling fee, breaks up his endless columns into a dingy, pamphlet page; and these precious missives the member despatches to sundry of his constituents, who stare with pleasure at the efforts of their representative, and have their pride gratified in receiving a communication '*free*.' Were the postage demanded, most of them would be inhumed in the dead-letter office, and come back to that bourne, the general post office, whence they proceeded. If only the substance of the speech was given, the real arguments of the speaker stated, as there would be the three grains of wheat in the five bushels of chaff, a most salutary corrective would be applied, and the editor besides enabled to devote a large part of his paper to useful and entertaining miscellanies, and his readers would get a much clearer insight into public affairs.

But the printers also are partly interested in the abuse, as this great repository of words furnishes them matter, without the pains of selecting or originating more valuable materials; and, besides, the same types undergoing the easy evolution of change of column, and broken up into little octavo or duodecimo squads, are paid for by the garrulous member, for the purpose of being distributed as we have before mentioned; and this fictitious new edition gives its emolument. But the journal, by becoming more valuable, would in the end gain more by giving the abstract we have recommended, fairly stating all

the arguments, and omitting merely the excuses, the declamation, and the sad inanity of faded commonplaces. The public unquestionably would be better instructed, their passions would be less excited, and they would understand more clearly, and judge more wisely of the chief topics of national concern. In this manner one column would condense and rectify the bewildering confusion, that now spreads over four; while the journal would become brighter, more varied, more edifying, more valuable. The very appearance would be worth the alteration. We appeal to nine out of ten of the subscribers, to the metropolitan journals, during, and for some time after, a session of Congress; we ask them with what emotions they see those wide, folio pages of a desolating debate, unbroken, unvaried as a wild heath or interminable prairie, with no apparent resting-place, or object in relief, whether they are not glad to thank misery for a change, and hail with delight the appearance of one of those treaties in which '*Eho-che-nunga, the Madman*,' or '*Sho-mon-e-ka-sa, the Prairie Wolf*,' assents to the exterminating progress of civilization.

We repeat it, the common routine of parliamentary speaking is no longer tolerable. The forms of oratory are as much used and worn, as the epic, the tragic, or the comic. The evil we deplore is increasing; the nation must set their faces against it, insist on having their business attended to, and not trifled with in debates. There will still be ample space left in the caucus, or in the courts of the country. There, in serving as jurymen, from which none are exempt, we may submit to the hammerers, and splitters, and spinners, who satisfy litigants that they earn their fees by laboring in their vocation, and as quiet citizens be resigned to our fate, when our turn comes to hear law, justice, and equity 'so bethumped with words.' But the same individuals must not transfer the same habits into the halls of congress. Nothing, however, short of a general rising in public feeling, will intimidate the offenders, and produce a reform; because, though there are some who have a better sense of the matter, there are many among them, who, it would seem, from their simplicity, confined reading, and a social intercourse limited to very narrow circles, really think they are making a pretty display, and are quite unaware how jejune, tedious, and rediculous these harangues appear to persons of larger experience. Let them inquire of some one who is willing to tell them the truth, and they will be astonished

to learn, like Molière's Bourgeois Gentilhomme, that in these labored discussions they have been most sadly prosing all the time.

We have already hinted at some mechanical checks, which it is in the power of the printers to interpose in behalf of the nation. But we have an idea, that whenever some original mind with adequate talent and sagacity, takes up this subject, that a great and favorable change may be produced by striking out an entirely different course, and M'Adamizing the worn-out, jolting path. We cannot go further now than throw out the hint, from the fear of being tiresome, a quality, which reviewers should bear in mind is not confined to speaking; and also from our plan being as yet imperfectly conceived; and because we may possibly be in a situation to attain the glory of introducing it ourselves. However, to put those whose eyes are still bandaged in the right direction to grope for it, we will refer them to the study of Franklin, who fortunately could not make a speech, yet not only enjoyed great influence from his wisdom, but produced most powerful effects on assemblies by the mode of illustration he adopted. Let them reflect on this subject, and see if they cannot invent a new style of persuasion, introduce a very eloquent if not oratorical method, and cause the abandonment of effete, exhausted practice. If none of them will take advantage of these suggestions, we shall be half tempted, from patriotic motives, to make the reformation ourselves; and, should we succeed, we should wish no higher claim to gratitude, than to have it inscribed on our tablet,—*He reformed the congressional mode of debating, so that it was compressed into one fourth of the space it formerly occupied.*

ART. VIII. *Lettres sur l'Angleterre;* par le BARON DE STAEL-HOLSTEIN. 8vo. pp. 428. Paris. 1825.

THE author of this work is the son of the celebrated female writer, with whose name we have so often had occasion to adorn our pages, and whose premature loss we so lately regretted. With her illustrious title, he seems also to have inherited some of her most valuable qualities, and exhibits already

the elevation of thought and feeling, the attachment to literary pursuits, and the generous passion for liberty, that so honorably distinguished the daughter of Necker. Avoiding the frivolous and merely sensual pursuits, that exclusively occupy the attention of the greater part of the young European nobility, he devotes his life and ample fortune to the cultivation of science and letters, and the encouragement of every project that tends to diffuse knowledge, promote civilization, and improve the condition of society. We may venture to add (if it be not indelicate to mention the name of a lady, who has not yet voluntarily introduced herself to the public), that his sister, the Duchess of Broglie, is not less distinguished by all the accomplishments and virtues that grace the walks of private life in its highest and most polished circles. It is known that Madame de Staël bestowed much attention upon the education of her children, and was fortunate enough to obtain the aid of one of the most eminent German scholars, Baron A. W. de Schlegel, in the direction of their studies. The success, which has attended her efforts, does great honor to her judgment and maternal affection, and in general to the intellectual and moral character of all the parties. While we regard with strong disapprobation the European system of hereditary magistracies, we cannot but view the lineal transmission of the real nobility of nature, namely, preëminence in worth and talent, as one of the most agreeable spectacles which the moral world affords. It seems to relieve, in some degree, the distress with which every benevolent mind must be affected, by observing how much immorality and even gross depravity are almost unavoidably produced by the influence, that vicious parents necessarily exercise over the character of their offspring.

Baron de Staël was advantageously known to the literary world, before the publication of the present work, by several political pamphlets, and by an edition of the works of Necker, with a life by himself. The 'Letters on England' are, we believe, the first independent essay of much extent that has proceeded from his pen. Without pretending to the character of an elaborate and standard production, it has nevertheless merits of a high order, and affords a fair promise of what may be expected from the maturer labors of the author, should he continue—as we trust he will, and as his illustrious mother and grandfather did before him—to cultivate the field of letters with increasing

zeal and assiduity, as he advances in years. The present work is in substance a series of political and philosophical essays on the theory and practice of the British government; and belongs of course to a class of writings, which, when executed with a talent corresponding to their importance, rise above the level of ordinary travels. The author displays throughout a thorough and intimate acquaintance with his subject, as well as a wide investigation of others that are naturally connected with it, together with the rare endowments of a power of original thought, and a truly liberal and philosophic temper. The style is pure, unaffected, and simply elegant. It has little or none of the warm poetical coloring that illuminated, sometimes to excess, the pages of the author of Corinna. The genius of the son may perhaps, in this respect, be different from that of the mother; or he may possibly have considered an attempt at rhetorical beauty of language, as inconsistent with the sober discussion of the gravest subjects, which forms the staple of the work, and may reserve his flights of fancy and his 'words that burn,' for future and more suitable occasions.

It would be superfluous to enlarge at this time of day, upon the intense interest that attaches itself to every well conducted inquiry into the principles of the British constitution, the great model of all the forms of free government, including our own, that have been established within the last half century in Europe and America. It is also not a little extraordinary, considering the extreme importance of the subject, as a theme of philosophical examination, that it should be still not only not exhausted, but we may almost say, unattempted. The essay of Delolme is the only one that has acquired any considerable notoriety; and this, although it has been found useful on the continent, as a sort of directory to mere external points, is entirely superficial, and is in fact a work of jurisprudence, rather than of politics. During the last fifty years, the attention of the British public has been constantly occupied by the controversies between different parties repecting the spirit and principles of the Constitution; but notwithstanding the large supply of cultivated talent that seems in that country prepared to meet, and even anticipate every demand that can be made upon it, no duly qualified pen has undertaken to settle, or rather to prevent these debates, by establishing beyond dispute the elementary truths of political science, as exemplified and

practised in England. This is one of the striking proofs of the neglect into which the great subject of moral philosophy, in all its departments, has now fallen, in the country of Bacon and Locke; and of the extent to which the whole mass of British intellect is occupied, in ministering to the pursuits and pleasures of merely practical life. Baron de Staël has not attempted to supply the deficiency alluded to, but has selected a few of the most interesting questions connected with the subject, which he successively discusses, each in several letters. These are the *state of property*, and its influence on the welfare of the nation; the *state of the press;* and finally the effect of the *public assemblies* of various kinds that are constantly meeting for political objects, including the two houses of Parliament among the number. In connexion with this last point, the author examines the question of *parliamentary reform*, and the peculiar opinions of the Whigs and Radicals respecting it. We shall briefly review his remarks upon each of these topics, interspersing occasionally such observations of our own, as may be suggested by them.

In one or two letters, which serve as a sort of introduction to the rest, Baron de Staël touches on the difficulties that attend an inquiry into the principles of the British government, and notices particularly the singular fact alluded to above, of the exclusively practical character that distinguishes all the debates and other political discussions of every description, written or verbal. We are tempted to quote a part of his remarks on this head, as they tend to confirm our own opinion, and illustrate what we think a curious feature in the present moral aspect of the mother country. Our author contrasts, in this respect, the habits of the British statesmen with those of the French, who are perhaps too much accustomed to indulge in general inquiries, especially in connexion with the practical despatch of business.

'Our philosophical writers and speakers,' says the Baron, 'rise to loftier heights of speculation, and lay down general principles with much more precision than those of England. I was one day reading some of our late pamphlets, most remarkable for vigor and expansion of thought, with Sir James Mackintosh, whose philosophical reputation is too well established to require any aid from my pen, and I took the occasion to inquire what impression they made upon him. "They are admirably done," replied he, "but in our country *we take all this for granted.*" In fact, what

is still problematical with us, is reduced to axioms with the English; and they employ in acting, the time which we spend in demonstrating or teaching. This is an immense advantage which they have over us, for axioms or settled principles may be turned to account by any one; while very few persons are able to understand a demonstration, and profit by the truth which results from it. If a shipmaster were obliged, before he could take an altitude, to settle the principles of trigonometry and astronomy employed in that operation, and make them out to the satisfaction of his men, instead of using rules that are previously prepared, he would very probably run his vessel ashore. Now political forms, and the habits created by them, are the rules of the science of government. They should doubtless be constructed on sound theoretical principles; but when this has once been done, it is a loss of time to be always engaged in tracing them to their sources. Nevertheless, the respect for existing forms may be carried too far, and without meaning to deny the superiority of the English over us in this respect, it is certain that they fall, to a greater or less extent, into this error.

I was a witness myself of something of the kind that occurred in a debate in the House of Commons, in the year 1822, upon a motion made by Mr Canning to allow the Catholic Peers to take their seats in the House of Lords, from which, as is well known, they have been excluded ever since the real or pretended Popish Plot. This motion succeeded with the Commons, but failed in the House of Peers, after a very remarkable discussion. I had the good fortune to be present on this occasion, and have rarely enjoyed a higher intellectual entertainment. All the principal Peers of both parties, including the Lord Chancellor, Lord Liverpool, Lords Grey, Holland, Grenville, and others, took a part in the debate. The avowed object of the motion was to prepare the way for the emancipation of the Catholics; and this was the ground on which it was sustained by its friends and attacked by its enemies. It was therefore, as I thought, natural to expect that the debate would have turned, in a great measure, on general principles. Instead of this, they were not mentioned; nobody once thought of such a thing. The immediate practical effects of the measure proposed, occupied exclusively the attention of the orators and of the public. It may be said, no doubt, that the general principles belonging to the inquiry had been exhausted by seventeen years of continual discussion; and also that it was the policy of the friends of the motion to limit the range of the debate as much as possible; but after making all proper allowance for these circumstances, I cannot but think that my remark is in the main correct.

Lord Holland exhibited on this occasion the union of close rea-

soning and warm feeling, that belongs, as it were, by consanguinity, to the nephew of Fox. But in this speech, which, as I am told, approached very near to the most successful efforts of his illustrious uncle, his only object was to establish, by reference to the history of the period, the absurdity of the evidence on which a decision had been taken against the Catholic Peers. Though familiar with the highest questions in political and moral philosophy, he never once thought of touching upon them in debate. The Lord Chancellor's speech was not less remarkable in this respect. The proposition on which he founded his conclusions, was simply this. If the Protestant religion cease to be the dominant one in Great Britain, the Catholic will of course become so. It was easy to see, by the energy and warmth of his manner, that he was perfectly sincere in the opinion. This profound lawyer, who had grown gray in the practical business of legislation and administration, had never once conceived the notion, that it was possible for a government to exist without an established religion.

Suppose now the same question to be debated in one of the French Chambers; and there cannot be a doubt that the leading topics would be, liberty of conscience, the nature of the relation between Church and State, and the general principles that recommend religious toleration. It is equally certain, that under circumstances at all favorable, the public feeling would be strongly engaged; and thus far the advantage is perhaps on our side. But these discussions, however able, would have produced only a transient effect. The question might have been carried; but whenever the tide of public opinion or of ministerial influence should have happened to set the other way, it would have been lost again with equal promptitude. In England old opinions are more firmly established, and attempts at innovation are met by a stronger resistance; but when a victory is once gained, it is gained forever.'

Our readers, we think, will be struck with the general correctness, in point of fact, of these remarks, upon the style of parliamentary discussion in England. The debate that took place last spring in the House of Commons, upon the same question of Catholic emancipation, afforded another singular exemplification of their substantial truth. There was certainly no want of ability in the principal speakers on both sides. Mr Canning, Sir John Copley (the present Lord Chancellor), and Mr Peel are orators and statesmen, of whom any country might well be proud; and their speeches on this occasion were not inferior to their just renown; but were still con-

ceived in all respects on the common model of British eloquence. No attempt was made by any one to settle the general principles of toleration and of the natural relation between religion and government, or to arrive at a decision of the question by the aid of any great elementary truth, of which the admission should supersede all controversies about minor points. The debate turned wholly upon the direct and practical effects likely to result from the adoption or rejection of the measure proposed. The tone of discussion corresponded with the substance; and instead of putting on the serious air which would probably accompany a more regular examination of the theory of these great points, the orators indulged with perfect freedom in bursts of petulence, and in sallies of pleasantry, approaching to buffoonery. Mr Canning and Sir John Copley nearly came to a personal altercation; and the former entertained his audience with much excellent wit about the Pope's bulls, which were supposed to be roaming at large about the country, to the great danger of His Majesty's loyal subjects, but which he was not afraid to take by the horns. Rapturous cheers, accompanied by hearty and unanimous laughter, attested the success of this appeal to the good nature of a British Senate; and a stranger who had entered the hall at the moment, would hardly have suspected, from the aspect of the audience, the nature of the question in debate. The Catos of the House might perhaps have repeated with more than equal propriety, the sarcastic remark of their Roman prototype upon Cicero—*Quàm ridiculum habemus Consulem!*

But these are accidental matters of little moment, and we cordially agree with our author in approving the practical character of the debates in the British parliament, and preferring it to the more scientific and theoretical one which marks those of the French chambers. It is in fact impossible to discuss general principles with impartiality and coolness, in connexion with practical questions, involving immediate interests of great importance; and the effect of attempting it is merely to vitiate the public opinion respecting the principles, without altering in any way the decision of the point in dispute. It is possible, for instance, that the present mode of electing the president of the United States, may be susceptible of improvement; but it is evident, that in order to be decided upon its merits, the question should be considered without reference to the circumstances of any particular contest, or to the preference

that individuals may feel for any particular candidate for the office. Whenever it may be taken up, as it has been twice in the short period of our political history, under the excitement of a recent election, it will of course be decided, as it was in both those cases, by the momentary party feelings and interests of the members of Congress; and it will be fortunate for the country, if the decisions made under such circumstances shall always be, as on the second occasion, against innovation.

But while we agree with our author in his preference for a practical and matter-of-fact style of parliamentary debate, we also think with him, that the leading British orators, and we may add, those of our our country, might recur with advantage, more frequently than they do, to general principles, not as questions to be discussed, but as axioms or settled elementary truths. To acquire a familiarity with the theory of political science, is (or should be) a part of the discipline of practical statesmen; and if all or most of those who assume this character, were as fully prepared for the discharge of its duties as might be wished, the most important principles would be agreed upon among them by common consent. Unfortunately, the aids necessary for the acquisition of such an education are almost wholly wanting both in England and the United States. The science of government, and even history, which forms its natural complement, are nearly overlooked in the usual routine of collegiate and professional studies; and most of our statesmen enter the halls of Congress and of the state legislatures, unprovided with any other notions on the great subjects of politics, ethics, political economy, and history, ancient and modern, excepting such as they have picked up by chance in their leisure reading. How then can they recur with precision and certainty, upon each particular question, to the appropriate general truth, which ought to govern the debate, and would in most cases supersede it? Lord Holland may be, as Baron de Staël assures us that he is, familiar with moral and political philosophy, and may avoid recurring to principles from habit or compliance with the prevalent taste; but with most practical statesmen, the reason lies in their want of acquaintance with the principles.

This defect can only be remedied by a change in our system of public education; and we are happy to perceive a pretty strong tendency towards an improvement of this kind, already exhibiting itself in several parts of our country. The

professorships of political economy lately established in some of our colleges will effect much real good; and we cannot but hope that our venerable Alma Mater at Cambridge will not, in this respect, fall behind her younger sisters. The magnificent donation of Mr Gore will afford the means of establishing one or two foundations; and we should be highly gratified to see a part of it appropriated in this way. It is really singular that while we have had double and triple professorships for most of the branches of physical science, and for dead languages, of less direct utility, we have had only half a one for the vast field of politics, and ethics, and political economy, and none at all for history. Of these subjects, the last is left entirely to the tutors, and less insisted on than any other branch of study. We make not these remarks in the spirit of cavil, but in that of friendly suggestion; and we trust that they will be received as proceeding from warm friends and sincere well-wishers of the College. But we have much matter and little space before us, and must hurry away from these interesting topics.

The state of property in England, and its influence on the political and economical condition of the people, are treated by our author at considerable length. We hardly know how to dispose of this vast subject in two or three paragraphs; but must nevertheless be indulged in a few hasty notes. This is almost the only point upon which the opinions of M. de Staël differ decidedly from those which prevail in England. He is a declared partisan of the system of an equal division of estates among all the children upon the death of the proprietor; while the law of primogeniture, by which all real estates pass to the eldest son, is established in England, as our readers are aware, to a greater extent than in any other part of the world. This principle is in fact in the mother country, the *common law* that regulates the descent of landed property; while in most other countries, as for instance in Spain, it forms an exception, though one of extensive application, to the general rule. In Spain, landed estates are equally distributed among the children of the proprietor, excepting when they are tied up by an entail, or, as it is called there, a *mayorazgo;* but as this is uniformly the case with the immense possessions of the grandees, and as those of the clergy are unalienable, it follows that nearly the whole of the land is kept out of the common market, as in England.

It is generally acknowledged that the Spanish grandees are intellectually and morally the most degraded and imbecile body of nobility in Europe; while the British aristocracy, whatever may be their defects, are commonly reckoned, as a class, superior to any other. Our author touches this point, and endeavors to account for the difference. 'In England,' he observes, 'nobility, far from being exclusively hereditary, is accessible to every one who is worthy of it, and is open to all on the principle of fair competition. The public opinion of a free people is also more effective in stimulating the faculties than the soporific influence of hereditary wealth and fortune in destroying them.' The first of these reasons is, we think, of little weight. Nobility is not less accessible in other countries than it is in England. The king of Spain creates as many grandees and *Títulos de Castilla* as the king of Great Britain does marquesses and earls; and the only difference is, that in the former case, titles are generally obtained by mere intrigue, while in the latter they are more frequently the reward of actual merit.

The cause of this diversity is the power exercised in England by public opinion over the movements of the king and his ministers; so that this same wholesome control, which the Baron assigns as the second reason for the superiority of the British aristocracy, is in fact the only one. After all, we are inclined to think him (partially at least) mistaken in the fact; and if it be generally allowed that the British aristocracy, as a class, is superior to any other, it is, we apprehend, because it always regularly contains a large proportion of members who do not properly belong to it as such, but have been placed in it by the government (acting in obedience to public opinion), in acknowledgment of the eminent qualities which they had displayed in another. If at any given moment we survey the list of the British House of Lords for the time being, we shall find that most of the members of it, who are in any way distinguished for worth or talent, have either been created peers themselves, or were born and educated before their fathers had risen to rank and opulence. Within our time, for example, the late and the present Lord Chancellor, the two Liverpools, father and son, Lords Grey, Grenville, Redesdale, Lauderdale, Erskine, Thurlow, &c. were all titled commoners. The illustrious Wellesley family, though technically noble, was a poor and decayed branch of the Irish aristocracy. Lord Byron

came to his title and fortune by accident. In all these cases, the aristocratic principle had no room to operate; and we rather suppose, that on a fair examination, it would be found that the *bonâ fide* British nobility is not much better than that of the Continent. Do we see the descendants of Warwick and Marlborough leading on the British armies to victory? or those of Oxford and Bolingbroke preëminent in council or in parliament? Are the Shaftesburys, Verulams, and Boyles of our own day, like their illustrious ancestors,—the lights and benefactors of the age? Is it possible to point out a single person of this or any former period, who has felt the full influence of hereditary rank and fortune, and who is in any way distinguished for high intellectual and moral excellence? Should it even be practicable on an accurate research to indicate a few exceptions, the general rule will hardly, we think, be denied. The effect of the aristocratic principle, of which the law of primogeniture is the essential feature, upon the persons immediately subject to its influence, is, therefore, the same in England as it is elsewhere; that is, ruinous to every valuable quality of mind and heart; and the exception, which M. de Staël is disposed to make in favor of the British nobility, is, we fear, grounded either in personal partialities, or in a failure to discriminate between peers of new and old creation.

The economical effect of the law of primogeniture is another question on which the public opinion of Europe is much divided. Our author adopts decidedly the liberal sentiment; and holds that an equal division of estates among the children of the owner, has the happiest influence on the wealth of individuals and of the nation. He states some facts in regard to the extent to which the subdivision of the land has been carried in the neighborhood of his own castle of Copet in Switzerland, that we think curious.

'The estate of Copet is situated in a part of French Switzerland, which was prepared for liberty by the protestant religion, by the general diffusion of knowledge, and by the paternal, if not enlightened, government of Berne; and which now enjoys in quiet happiness the blessings of independence. The land around my estate is generally subdivided to such an extent, that *most of the farms contain less than an acre.* I can venture, notwithstanding, to affirm that no part of Europe exhibits an appearance of equal prosperity. Not only is there no excess of population, but the rate of wages is actually higher than in any other country on the

Continent. The benevolent can hardly find objects on which to exercise their charity; and the few distressed persons who gratefully receive such assistance as is offered them with kindness, would disdainfully refuse it if proposed with the least affectation of superiority. The poor exhibit no jealousy of the better fortunes of the rich, nor is there either base servility on the one side, or lofty arrogance on the other. No false pride deters any one from embracing any useful profession. All are independent and happy.'

This is indeed a charming picture, and it is the more remarkable, since the subdivision of the land has been pushed in this instance, to an extent which we should have thought unnatural and inconvenient. We see not, in fact how a family can subsist upon the product of less than an acre. The value of a peck of wheat a day is considered as the ordinary wages necessary for the support of a laborer in England; and if we make the large estimate of forty bushels of wheat to an acre, and allow nothing for seed for the next year, the number of pecks will still be only one hundred and sixty, which is less than half the quantity required. If the Baron's representation be strictly correct, it will necessarily follow that all these families have some other resource besides the cultivation of their little *peculium;* and in that case it is evident, that the division of estates has been carried to an inconvenient extent, since it counteracts the great and beneficial principle of the division of labor. Of ten or twelve neighboring families, it is better for the comfort and happiness of all, that a part should raise agricultural products for the common support, and the rest produce something else to be given in exchange for them, than that each should raise half its own grain, and also produce something else wherewith to purchase the other half, and such other articles as are wanted at the nearest market. We call this extreme subdivision of the land *unnatural*, as well as inconvenient; for when the estate of a deceased proprietor is so small, that, if divided among all his children, the portions would not be sufficiently large to support a family comfortably, it seems to us more natural that an arrangement should be made, by the effect of which one of the heirs should receive the land, and should pay to the rest an equivalent for their shares in money. Such, we believe, is the common mode of proceeding in this country, nor are we aware, notwithstanding the length of time that the law of equal partition has been in force among us,

that it has ever produced any inconvenience of the kind here specified.

We agree entirely with our author in regard to the economical operation of the two systems, and consider that of equal partition, as every way much more favorable to the wealth and happiness of society. The tendency of it is to bring more land into cultivation, and thus to increase the number of inhabitants on a given territory; while at the same time it improves their condition, economical and moral. The hereditary proprietor of a very large landed estate, like those that are found in all parts of the continent of Europe, is of course by the effect of his social position, education, and habits, a man of pleasure, rather than business. His affairs are badly managed by stewards and attorneys, and his immense resources are turned to no account. Such is the case with nearly all the Spanish grandees, most of whom, with whole provinces in their possession, are in want of money to pay their tradesmen and servants. When estates are managed in this way, large portions of them remain uncultivated; other tracts of great extent are converted into forests, parks, and pleasure grounds, and it is only upon the remainder that the industry of the people is really employed. Thus the number of agricultural laborers who would otherwise be kept at work, is greatly reduced, and population proportionally diminished. The few that find employment, having no property in the land, and lying wholly at the mercy of the owner, are generally found in a wretched condition; and in all the less improved parts of Europe, are in a state of actual slavery.

Such, we believe, to be the natural effect of this system, because we find it taking place almost universally wherever the system prevails. Strong moral and political causes may no doubt counteract its injurious influence, as they do in England; where the extraordinary activity with which the principle of liberty has inspired every branch of industry, has so far remedied the evils that result from the law of primogeniture, that the land, though held in very large estates, is better cultivated than in any other part of Europe; and where the actual cultivators, although they have only a temporary interest in the soil, are nevertheless nearly or quite as independent, enlightened, and moral, as the small freeholders of our own country. Every view that can be taken of the condition of man in all its varieties, brings us back to the conclusion that *liberty*, secured

and regulated by wise laws, is the exclusive principle of individual and national prosperity; and that where it has opportunity to work out its full effect, it is powerful enough to purge off almost every element of evil. The late Lord Londonderry, was accustomed to assure his continental brother ministers, in the effusions of diplomatic confidence, that he did not consider the liberal features of the British constitution, as the best parts of it. With all proper deference to his lordship's judgment, we must express the belief, that he was entirely mistaken on this point; that these principles are not only the best parts of that constitution, and the direct sources of all the good that is enjoyed under its protection, but that they are also the powerful antidotes which serve, in part, to correct the poison of certain other principles, more agreeable, perhaps, to Lord Londonderry's taste, but which, if left unchecked to their natural operation, would very soon depopulate, impoverish, and completely ruin the country. Without the general influence of freedom, Kent would very shortly be as Castile, and Liverpool as Cadiz, in spite of all the 'leather and prunella,' that grace the persons of the lords and their ladies, on a coronation day. This consideration brings us very naturally to the *state of the press*, which is the next great topic taken up by our author.

On this subject, as on all the others treated in the work, the opinions of M. de Staël, are decidedly liberal. He takes for granted the expediency of a free press, and indeed its absolute necessity to the existence of free government. His remarks on the character and circulation of the British periodical works, and of their value, as compared with those of France, will be found interesting by our readers.

'The periodical press is, in all countries, one of the most important results of modern civilization; but it nowhere forms so essential an ingredient in the organization of society, as in England and the United States. In other countries, the newpapers are a powerful engine, wielded alternately by the government, and the various political parties; but in the two just mentioned they are the indispensable agent for every species of social communication. There are few villages in England, where the newspaper is not regarded as a necessary of life; and I am assured, that in America, domestics often make it a condition in their engagement, that they shall be allowed to read such as are taken in by the family. [*Quære de hoc.*] But even in England,

the circle of readers is comparatively much larger than with us. It is computed that there are about a thousand circulating libraries in the kingdom, and more than three hundred book-clubs, a well imagined institution, that might be introduced with profit among us. The number of newspapers has quadrupled within forty years. In 1782, it was estimated at seventy-nine, and in 1821, in a report made to the House of Commons, at two hundred and eighty-four. With the exception of *The Observer*, a weekly paper, none of these journals (which are all much dearer than those of France) have as many subscribers as the *Constitutionel*, or the *Journal des Debats*. Even *The Times*, which has now a larger circulation than any other daily paper, does not print more than eight or ten thousand copies, but each passes through many more hands than with us. The writers in these journals, are obliged in consequence, to accommodate their language, in some degree, to the popular taste ; and often employ a familiar and even coarse phraseology, in order to please the lower classes. "When I took charge of *The North Briton*," said the noted John Wilkes, "I found it in the hands of Churchill and Lloyd, who were men of taste and wit. I soon saw that this would not answer ; and giving up all pretensions to elegance of style, I began to cry out with all my might, *Down with the Scotchman ! Down with the Scotchman !* In this way, I pretty soon despatched Lord Bute." In fact, the great power of a newspaper consists in the repetition of simple and familiar arguments. In England this power is immense, and is constantly increasing. It is the more formidable, in as much as the editors are generally dissatisfied with their position. There is in fact, no proportion between their standing in society, and the power they exercise. In the United States, their influence is still greater ; and such is the terror they inspire, that many persons are deterred by it, from engaging in political life. Though warmly attached to liberty, they apprehend either on their own account, or that of their friends, the torrent of invective, that is poured upon all public characters by the journals of the opposite party.

' The French are perhaps better fitted by their peculiar intellectual character, than almost any other nation, for the publication of newspapers, a branch of literature, that requires the power of quick observation, lively repartee, and rapid, perspicuous narrative. It is also certain, although our legislation on this subject is extremely vicious, and although we have enjoyed the liberty of the press only for a few short periods, that much talent has been exhibited among us, in this form. I seldom open one of our journals, without being struck with the elegance of the style, and the correctness of the reasoning ; and I have met with many Englishmen, who have also admitted their great merit,

with apparent surprise that a Frenchman should be able to do so well.

'But our editors have nevertheless adopted an unfortunate plan in conducting their papers, and have introduced the division of labor where it is not only useless, but injurious. With us the political and literary news is separated from the advertisements and law reports. Now very few persons can afford to subscribe for several different journals, although they may be all more or less interesting to the public; and it thus happens that each class of readers remains in ignorance of all such matters as do not come within the range of his own immediate pursuits. The provincial manufacturer is not informed of the progress of the arts at Paris and elsewhere; while the Parisian capitalist is unacquainted with the economical situation of the provinces. The decisions of our six and twenty Royal Tribunals are unknown to all but the officers of court, although a more extensive publication of them might very probably produce much practical benefit. A British newspaper, on the other hand, is a sort of *microcosm*, and displays, in miniature, a view of the whole circle of interesting contemporary events. You find there every day the debates in Parliament, reports of the proceedings in all the courts, not only such as are likely to excite particular curiosity, but in all cases, civil and criminal. Speeches delivered at political meetings and assemblies for various purposes, religious, philanthropic, and commercial, at the sessions of the East India Company, and of the Common Council of London, and other important corporations;—all are published in the newspapers. Through this channel, the government makes known the conditions of its contracts, the candidate for Parliament solicits the votes of the electors, and thanks his friends for their exertions; rivals, of all sorts, publish their respective pretensions. The births, marriages, and deaths of persons of any note, their arrivals and departures, the entertainments they give; in short, the most trifling circumstances of their lives are all known and printed. The whole kingdom seems to resemble the glass house of the Roman philosopher.

'Literature is, however, almost entirely excluded from the British newspapers, and, in my opinion, not without good reasons. Within the small compass afforded by a daily paper, literary criticism must be, of necessity, superficial and frivolous. If the critic aim at gravity, and attempt to sound the depths of thought, he becomes pedantic and stiff, and seems to be out of place, like a learned professor at a convivial party. Facts, and a very few reflections upon them, are what the British public requires, with reason, of the journalists. It looks to more extensive publications, appearing at longer intervals, such as the Edinburgh and Quarterly Reviews, for instruction in science and philosophy.'

There is much good sense in these observations, and we cordially assent to most of them. We rather doubt, however, the justice of the preference which M. de Staël gives to the English mode of conducting a newspaper, over the French. What is the model of a first-rate daily paper, is, we think, a question of high importance, and one which is not yet satisfactorily solved. Newspapers are, in fact, rather a late invention. They attracted but little attention, till within the last half-century, and it is hardly probable, that their form has already attained perfection. There is room to suppose, that experience will, in the course of years, suggest various improvements upon the now existing fashions. As at present advised, we incline to regard the French model as the best in use. We see not why the wholesome principle of the division of labor, should not have as good an effect in this department of industry, as it confessedly has in most others; nor do we understand very clearly the advantage that results from spreading out before the mass of readers, the endless columns of advertisements, which occupy more than half the space in a British newspaper, and three quarters in one of ours, and which the mass of readers most assuredly never think of looking at. If in each of our principal cities, as at Paris, a single journal were devoted exclusively to advertisements of all kinds, to the exclusion of other matter, and the usage of employing the political papers for this purpose, were abandoned, the expense of advertising would be greatly reduced, because it would then be only necessary to do it in one paper, instead of ten or twelve.

The present system leads to a great waste of capital; but a still more unfavorable effect resulting from it, is the excessive multiplication of newspapers, and the consequent degradation of the political and literary character of all. If the advertisements were published in a separate form, the political papers would depend wholly for success on the talent of their editors and writers. None could exist excepting such as were conducted by persons of respectable powers and good education, because no others would obtain readers. In this case, there would probably be in each of our chief cities, besides the advertising journal, at most two or three political ones, representing the views of different parties. These would all be well written, and enjoying the whole patronage which is now divided among a much greater number, would afford sufficient profits. At present, the quality of the literary and political matter is a

point of secondary concern, as respects the profits of the establishment, which result almost wholly from the advertisements. The necessary consequence is, that it is comparatively neglected in almost all the journals, both here and in England. In France, on the contrary, where the other system prevails, the best and most brilliant pens in the capital are engaged in providing matter for the daily papers. We could mention a writer who has, within a few months, been received into the French Academy, solely on account of the merit of his literary articles published in the *Journal des Debats.* Constant, Chateaubriand, Bonald, Kératry, Etienne, Michaud, Devaux, and others, who are either editors of journals, or habitual contributors to them, are among the first names in contemporary literature. In England, there are few if any examples of newspapers edited by persons of eminent literary reputation; and the writing in most of them is of a very ordinary stamp. It is rumored that *The Times* has fallen into the hands of the poet Moore; and if this be true, we may expect some improvement in the style, which has hitherto been extremely coarse.

As respects literary execution, we may claim perhaps in this country some advantage over the British. Our eminent statesmen and good writers have always been more in the habit of communicating with the public in this way, than theirs. With the exception of the letters of Junius, we recollect no series of valuable political articles that have ever appeared in England in this form; while our newspapers have been constantly enriched with the treasures of the first minds in the country, from the time of *Novanglus* and *Massachusettensis* down to that of Fisher Ames, and so on to the present day. Our editorial corps has also generally contained, with a large mixture of alloy, a considerable portion of truly precious metal. It comprises at this moment some of our most distinguished literary characters, and could lately boast, in addition to its present list, the name of the accomplished and lamented Haven, who for several years conducted *The Portsmouth Journal* with the highest credit to himself, and to the signal advantage of the public.

We cannot agree with Baron de Staël, in thinking that literary matter is better excluded from the daily papers. When good (as it must be of course, to be useful or agreeable anywhere, and as it is habitually in the French Journals), we are

of opinion that it is not only not out of place, but that its introduction has the happiest effect, both intellectual and moral. It conveys much valuable knowledge to many persons who are not accustomed to read books or formal reviews; and what is perhaps of still higher moment, it gives to the journals a tone of humanity, politeness, and civilization;—*Emollit mores, nec sinit esse feros.* It tempers the ferocious party spirit which is apt to embitter their whole substance, and makes them channels of something else besides hard words and angry feelings. For these reasons, we have seen with much satisfaction some of the most accredited papers in the country, such as the New-York American and the National Gazette, habitually filling a part of their columns with interesting and instructive selections from foreign publications of a literary cast. We shall be still better pleased when the state of the press and of the public patronage shall enable our editors to enlist in their service the ablest writers of our own country, and to present us with the rich original fruits of native genius. It is generally believed that the polish, good humor, and fine feeling of *The Spectator* had much effect in subduing the virulence of party spirit in Great Britain; and we have little doubt that an ample infusion of well written literary matter into the daily papers, would exercise an equally auspicious influence in this country, where, no one will deny, the corrective is at least as much wanted.

The immense size of the British newspapers, and their superiority in this respect over those of the continent, are constant themes of exultation and triumph with their editors; and many an excellent joke is daily cracked by them upon the puny and diminutive constitution of their foreign rivals. In point of fact, however, if we look into the reason of this difference, it does not appear to be greatly to the advantage of the British, as it is owing wholly to the enormous stamp duty imposed upon them by the government. This makes it impossible to sustain a paper upon the strength of the subscription money, and has led of necessity to the admission of advertisements, to the expansion of the size of the sheet, in order to make room for them, and to the comparative neglect of the literary and political execution of the matter, which, as we have shown above, naturally results from these circumstances. Thus these very features in an English journal, which Baron de Staël so ingeniously justifies in theory, and of which the

editors are so vain, are neither more nor less than badges of subjection to an unexampled and intolerable excess of taxation. With us, where there is no stamp duty, the same features are a mere imitation of the British usage, and this is one among many other singular cases (as for example, the general consumption of Portuguese and Spanish, instead of French wine), in which we continue voluntarily to wear the trammels of colonial dependence, while we are boasting so loudly of having shaken them entirely off. In order to effect the improvement we have suggested, it is only necessary for some enterprising editor in each of our great cities, who enjoys a good share of advertising patronage, (with the consent of his patrons, who would find a great economy in the change) to separate his establishment into two parts; one devoted exclusively to advertising, and the other to political and literary intelligence. Each, if judiciously conducted, must of course prosper. Of the other journals, the feebler would be soon discontinued; and the few that subsisted, would be compelled, in self-defence, to copy the new model, and would become exclusively political and literary. We freely offer the benefit of this plan (which would prove a mine of wealth, if skilfully reduced to practice) to any of our editorial friends, who may think proper to work upon it; and must now hasten to follow our author in his farthur speculations on the state of England.

The next topics to which he adverts, are the various *assemblies* that are held for *political purposes*, including the two Houses of Parliament. In common with these, he touches on the great question of *parliamentary reform*, and enters at some length into a developement of the respective opinions of the Whigs and Radicals concerning it. This inquiry closes the volume. Baron de Staël's observations on these subjects, which are generally very correct and judicious, are probably newer and more interesting to the French public than to us; since in most of the particulars he notices, our institutions and customs so nearly resemble those of England, that a description of the latter is merely a picture of what we see every day passing before our eyes. The most amusing passage is the account of a meeting held at Maidstone, in Kent, at which our author was present, and where the notorious Cobbett succeeded in defeating the Whigs upon their own ground. We recollect reading at the time, in the newspapers, a report of the proceedings, but have nevertheless been much entertained with the Baron's more succinct narrative, which is as follows.

'The meeting to which I allude;' says our author, 'was held in the county of Kent, one of the most extensive, wealthy, and populous in England. The inhabitants, in the pride of certain ancient privileges belonging to them as such, generally call themselves *the men of Kent.* The place of meeting was the city of Maidstone, thirty-five miles from London. I set off to attend it early in the morning in company with several wealthy Whig landholders, with whom I have the honor of being acquainted. We passed through a most flourishing tract of country. On the road, my companions were uniformly treated with the respect which is regularly paid by all classes in England to such noblemen as are at all distinguished for merit and talent. As we approached Maidstone, we encountered large numbers of freeholders and farmers repairing to the meeting, mostly on horseback; for with all the supposed distress of the country, there was hardly a farmer who did not keep one or two horses for his personal use. We alighted at the tavern, where we found a number of the most considerable persons of the county already in consultation on the subject of the meeting. A draft of a petition had been made the evening before, which set forth the distresses of the agricultural class, and demanded a reduction of the taxes, and the adoption of measures for raising the price of grain, and withal a *reform of Parliament,* as the only remedy for the standing diseases of the state. The draft appeared well fitted to satisfy the most democratic taste. It was fully discussed, and after several amendments had been made, it was agreed that it should be submitted the next day to the consideration of the meeting, when it was anticipated that it would be unanimously adopted.

'At the hour appointed, we repaired to the market-place. As it was a market-day, several thousands of persons were assembled, and the windows of the neighboring houses were all occupied. The tumult occasioned by the crowd, was mingled with the lowing of oxen, the bleating of sheep, and the confused movements of buyers and sellers. The people were pressing impatiently around several carts, which were to serve as stages for the speakers; and on one of which, two pine boards were placed crosswise to support the sheriff's arm-chair. Some of the spectators mounted upon the wheels, others ascended a ladder and remained upon it in a most uneasy position for the purpose of hearing a little better; so intense is the taste for political discussion that pervades even the lowest classes of the British nation. I remarked, however, that with one exception, the carts remained empty, no one even of those most eager to enjoy the pleasures of the day, thought of taking possession of them, although there was no authority, military or civil, to guard them. "For whom then are these places reserved?" said I to a person at my side. "For the *gentlemen,*"

replied he. Now who were these *gentlemen?* Persons who had a right to these reserved places by any special privilege,—who had any visible badge about them to attest their pretensions? Far from it. The public sentiment was the only criterion; and yet in the midst of this scene of confusion, there was a full understanding that the best places belonged to the Peers of the Realm, the Members of Parliament, the Justices of Peace, and other persons who were able, from their education and situation in life, to speak upon the business of the day, and who were collectively and concisely designated as the *gentlemen.* Scarcely had the *gentlemen* taken their places, and the sheriff opened the meeting, when the mob invaded the carts, and crowded upon and into them in such numbers, that the speakers had hardly room to move their arms.

'The sheriff stated the object of the meeting, and a member of Parliament representing the Whig interest of the county, then made a speech in which he enlarged upon the matter of the petition, and exposed in detail, the misconduct of the ministry, and the augmentation of the taxes occasioned by ruinous and impolitic wars. He was often interrupted by thunders of applause, from ten thousand hearers. The meeting appeared to be unanimous; but Sir Edward Knatchbull, the ministerial member for the county, though nearly alone of his opinion, thought it necessary to make some reply to the speech of his colleague. Accordingly, after a number of complimentary phrases, of which the English are as prodigal at this kind of meetings, as they are sparing in their courts of justice and in Parliament, he boldly undertook the defence of the ministers, who, here at least, were in a small minority. His speech was listened to without applause, but still with respect and attention; and the people, as they said, were rather pleased to hear him express himself in a frank and *manly* way, an epithet which to an English ear, is strongly indicative of esteem and approbation.

'The petition met with no opposition, and the sheriff was about to take the question, when a voice was heard from the most crowded of the carts, proposing an amendment. All eyes were now turned on this side, where a stout, gray-headed old man, with a bold, determined look, was urging himself forward from amongst his friends, and preparing to speak. This person was the notorious Cobbett. He was received with a general murmur of disapprobation. *Down with Cobbett! No Jacobins here!* was a pretty universal cry. One of the opposition lords proposed, nevertheless, that he should be allowed a hearing. "Is Cobbett a freeholder of the county?" was then inquired on all sides; "I am," replied he, in a firm tone. "In that case," said the sheriff, "you have a right to be heard, and it is my duty to keep order while you are

speaking." Cobbett then commenced his harangue, as nearly as I recollect, in the following manner;

"I see that you do not wish to hear me, and I shall therefore be brief; but I shall speak so plainly that every laboring man in this meeting will understand what I say, and, I hope, repeat it to his children. You are all crying out for *reform of Parliament*, as the only possible remedy for our political diseases. Now, who first proposed this remedy? Why, the Radicals, who for more than twenty years past, have been working day and night to recover the rights of which they have been robbed by a haughty aristocracy. What rewards have we had for it? Why, we have been insulted, imprisoned, some of us trampled under foot at Manchester; others compelled to quit the country. I was obliged to cross the ocean myself, and take refuge on Long Island, in the State of New York, to avoid a prosecution from Daddy Burdett. I have now come back, and what do I see? Why I see all the noblemen and gentlemen of this county, assembled here to promote this very *reform of Parliament*, which they drove me out of the kingdom for proposing. Most of them I know are Whigs, and I am willing to admit that their predecessors did some service at the time of the revolution of 1688, and that they are not quite so bad themselves as the Tories and the fund-holders; but (God knows) they are bad enough. They now declaim against corruption. Why then do they continue themselves to fatten on sinecures and pensions? Why are they preaching up a reform in Parliament, while they insist upon keeping their own rotten boroughs, under pretext that it would not answer to give them up unless the Tories will consent to do the same? This shameful traffic cannot last much longer, and I now forewarn you, gentlemen, that you must either resign your boroughs, or lose your estates," etc.

'While he was delivering this exordium, standards were carried about among the crowd, with hand-bills pasted on them, on which Cobbett's writings were advertised in large capitals. A low murmur of approbation now ran through the audience, and the speaker, perceiving that he had made an impression, artfully took advantage of it to recapitulate in a hasty manner, the various abuses of the administration in church and state. After this, assuming a more moderate tone, he proposed a reduction of the national debt, on the ground that it was but just that the public creditors should suffer a diminution of their own incomes, proportional to that which was sustained by all other classes in consequence of the fall in the price of grain, and the resumption of cash payments by the banks. Cobbett was followed by another of the Radical orators, who seconded the amendment in language somewhat nervous, though coarse and incorrect. Although the

measure proposed amounted to a national bankruptcy, the amendment was nevertheless carried by a large majority. The meeting was then dissolved, and the more respectable Whigs returned to their homes, not a little chagrined at having been defeated by a person of Cobbett's reputation and character.'

We look upon Cobbett as one of the remarkable men of the present time, and as affording a singular example of the extent of notoriety to which an individual may attain in England, under all possible disadvantages of birth and education, by the mere effect of talent and industry; and as showing on the other hand how completely the fruits of these valuable qualities may be lost, for want of a small infusion of *common honesty*. This we take to be the real defect in the character of Cobbett. As a prose writer, he has few superiors in the language. Though familiar and popular, he is generally pure and correct, and at times elegant; flowing and easy, but nevertheless nervous, pointed, and significant, and above all, thoroughly English. The great literary merit of his writings, and the facility with which he produces them, together with his indefatigable activity, would have made him an invaluable coadjutor to any party with which he might have chosen to connect himself; and would have carried him to the loftiest heights of social consideration. In defect of principle, a tolerable share of prudence and regard for consistency would have answered nearly the same purpose. It is now somewhere about thirty years since, under the name of *Peter Porcupine*, he first kindled his *Rush-light* in the benighted regions (as he then thought them) of Philadelphia. *Down with the Jacobins!* (the cry that is now raised against him) was then his own watchword; as it was about the same time that of Mr Canning, who was then just commencing his career in the same way, by the publication of a weekly paper, entitled *The Anti-Jacobin*. Canning's real talent was, perhaps, inferior to that of Cobbett; his activity and industry probably less,—they certainly could not be greater; his moral sensibility not keener than that of other persons; and his political consistency by no means proverbial; but possessing, nevertheless, a competent share of these useful qualities, he rose rapidly to the first places in the government, and finally to the highest of all, while poor Cobbett, after a long life of unremitted and exemplary labor, after publishing hundreds of volumes of the best and most popular composition in the language, finds himself at sixty years of age, precisely where he set out,

the editor of a weekly paper, without a friend and without a penny.

Examples of this kind serve, as the poet Claudian says of the fall of some overgrown villain of his time, 'to acquit the gods,' and show that moral distinctions are of more practical value than some are willing to admit. After starting as the advocate of social order, against revolution and Jacobinism, and at various times, in the subsequent course of his life, defending correct principles with great power and effect (as in his letters to Lord Castlereagh, upon the grounds of our late war with Great Britain), Cobbett has been gradually sinking, step by step, in self-respect and public consideration; and has been reduced, for some years past, to play the part of a sort of political buffoon, dealing out his paltry wit (now on the lees) at all parties and persons in succession, despised and laughed at by all, from Daddy Coke and Daddy Burdett (to use his own phraseology), down to his ancient yoke-fellow, but now sworn enemy, Hunt; but still writing on, *scribble, scribble, scribble*, as the Duke of Cumberland said to Gibbon, as busily and sometimes with as much power and freshness as ever, and constantly declaring himself, without reserve, *the cleverest man in England.*

The most amusing part of Cobbett's career, is his late attack upon the Protestant reformation. Our readers are probably aware, that he has published a series of letters on this subject, which make, when collected, two or three octavo volumes. These have succeeded wonderfully with all the good Catholics throughout Europe. O'Connell, the famous Irish orator, upon the strength of them, pronounced Cobbett to be a *fine animal.* The fanatical party in France have had the work translated, and extensively circulated in that country; and even the Spanish press has relaxed from its habitual sterility, in favor of this precious production. Nay, the Holy Father himself has condescended to patronize so pious an undertaking, and has paid (unless the newapapers are grossly mistaken) for fifty thousand copies out of his own pocket. Cobbett, patronized by the Pope, is a pleasant caricature. But we must take our leave of Cobbett, and proceed with our author.

Baron de Staël enters into a somewhat detailed examination of the sentiments of the two parties denominated Whigs and Radicals on the question of *parliamentary reform.* We have not

room to follow him in this, and the subject, though always important in theory, has for some years past been but little agitated in England, and has lost a great part of its immediate interest. The well known Jeremy Bentham is referred to by our author as his principal authority in regard to the Radical opinion. We believe that this philosopher is in fact acknowledged as the leader of the sect, and as entitled to the honor, whatever it may be, of having supplied them with something like a theory. As respects the character and pretensions of this person, we have thought, that with a good deal of natural talent and acquired information, he has the misfortune to labor under a partial aberration of intellect, which has grown upon him as he advanced in life. His first publications, though not of much importance, were judicious and well written. He afterwards engaged in inquiries of greater extent and interest, but as he went on prosecuting them, his understanding seems to have become confused, perhaps from too intense and exclusive application to study. He found himself incapable of bringing out his own ideas in an intelligible form, and committed his manuscripts to a clear-headed Genevan, named Dumont, who arranged and published them in French, and to whom we probably owe most of what there is valuable about them.

It seems at least but natural and fair to draw this conclusion, since the numerous works which Bentham has since published are entirely of a different stamp as respects both tone and substance. They are written in a strange and incomprehensible jargon. The matter of his later writings is also nearly or quite as extravagant as the manner; and his conduct is of a piece with both. Our readers doubtless recollect the pleasant account given by Captain Parry, in his work on the life of Lord Byron, of a visit which he made to Bentham at his residence in London, and of the would-be Solon's race through Fleet Street and Cornhill, which he ended, if we remember rightly, at Moorfields, from an instinctive consciousness, perhaps, that he should be more at home there than anywhere else. This little circumstance, like straws that show which way the wind blows, decided our opinion on the condition of his understanding, and explained at once how a person, who in the maturity and vigor of life was avowedly incapable of expressing his own thoughts in his native language, should feel himself called upon in his old age to reform the legislation of the whole civilized

world from China to Peru, and should actually enter into correspondence with most of the sovereigns and other rulers of the day upon the subject. With these impressions respecting his character, we should of course deem it unnecessary to examine in detail his political system, had we even the necessary space at our disposal.

We may remark, however, that it exhibits in many parts evident symptoms of a complete incoherence of ideas in the author. Thus our legislator thinks it necessary that in a perfectly free government, where all the magistrates are elective, measures should be taken for enabling each citizen to conceal his opinion on the public affairs, lest forsooth he should be called to account by—we are not informed whom. For the better effecting of this object, our modern Numa enters into a large dissertation upon the proper shape and constitution of a balloting box, and directs that the citizen, when he comes to the polls, shall be required to take an oath that he will regard every attempt to discover for which candidate he means to vote, as an act of oppression, and will not feel himself bound to give a true answer. How poor to this the wisdom of the Lockes, the Montesquieus, and the Madisons, whom Bentham thinks it his vocation to supersede. Baron de Staël pronounces these regulations to be *de grandes pauvretés*, or *much ado about nothing*. We should rather class them with what the Spaniards call *disparates* or *sheer nonsense*—the natural fruit of an unsound intellect. What do we mean by the freedom of speech and the press, if the citizen's lips are to be hermetically sealed, and his way of thinking an impenetrable mystery? Is it not the precise object of a free government, to give him the opportunity, as Tacitus has it, of thinking what he pleases, and saying what he thinks,—*sentire quæ velis, et quæ sentias dicere?* What would be the surprise of our people, who have now for two years past been publicly discussing, from one end of the Union to the other, the question for whom they shall vote as President two years hence, if they were told that it was essential to liberty that every man's opinion should be kept a profound secret! It is evident that Bentham's notions are not merely trifling and unstatesmanlike, but actually incoherent, and in gross violation of the laws of plain common sense.

The chief error of the partisans of parliamentary reform in England, both moderate and violent, many of whom were of course much wiser men than Jeremy Bentham, lay in at-

taching too much importance to mere external forms, and attending too little to the influence of the condition of the people upon the spirit and operations of the government. In consequence of this inattention, it so happened that many of the most intelligent and sagacious persons in Great Britain, kept up a constant alarm during the last half-century, respecting the increasing influence of the crown, when in fact the character of the government, by means of the constantly progressive diffusion of knowledge and wealth among the middling and lower classes, was growing from day to day more and more popular. We think we hazard nothing in asserting, that from the time of Mr Dunning's celebrated resolution, that 'the influence of the crown had increased, was increasing, and ought to be diminished,' up to the late introduction of the Whigs into the administration, the political weight of the aristocracy, including the crown, has been regularly decreasing, and that of the mass of the people increasing in the same proportion, or, in other words, that the circle of citizens who take an active share in the public affairs, has been constantly enlarging.

The Whigs were the virtual representatives of the popular interest, and though, as a party, regularly voted down in Parliament, their moral power was always advancing, until at length the ministry, without a formal change of persons, adopted their views, and established a system of policy, foreign and domestic, conformable to them, and opposite to those which were entertained by the pure aristocracy of England, in common with that of the Continent. Finally, upon the occurrence of the opening lately afforded by the retirement of Lord Liverpool, the last result of this change has been seen in the personal introduction of the Whigs into office, at a time when their party, as such, seemed to be extinct, and had almost ceased from any active opposition to the measures of government. The situation of the Whigs was similar to that of a ship beating up against a head wind, and apparently making but little way, or perhaps losing ground, but which is nevertheless carried on unconsciously by a favorable current, and finally reaches the port without well knowing how she got there.

Mr Canning, whose elevation and sudden death lately created so strong a sensation throughout the christian world, was the person marked out by circumstances to act as a sort of mediator between the two interests, and to smooth the passage from one system of policy to another. Accidental causes

had attached him in his youth to the aristocratic party, and to the person of Pitt, its great representative and champion. On the other hand, his commanding talents and lofty spirit, while they naturally led him to sympathize with all truly liberal notions, and enabled him to estimate correctly the value of new ideas, also qualified him, when occasion required, to deviate from the routine of preceding practice, and strike out an independent course for himself. The same traits of character which fitted him so well for a leader, probably rendered him in some degree less useful and agreeable as a mere coadjutor in the cabinet; and from his first entrance into public life, until the death of Lord Londonderry, he seems to have played, upon the whole, a subaltern and rather uncomfortable part. That event at once fixed him in his proper sphere, and had a powerful influence in giving, with the necessary promptitude, the new direction to the affairs of the country, which was absolutely essential to its future prosperity.

A more correct and liberal economical system had already been adopted by the cabinet; but the decisive measure required by the crisis was the immediate recognition of Spanish America. Had England hesitated upon this question, the Allies would have probably taken part with Spain. America might perhaps have been recovered by that power, and Great Britain would then have sunk very rapidly into a feeble appendage to the military powers of the continent. The moment was therefore in the highest degree critical. Of the two courses that lay before the government, one was recommended by routine, and aristocratic prejudice; the other, as we have said, was imperiously counselled by good policy and liberal feeling. The latter had been previously proposed and chiefly supported by the Whigs, and had the ministry consisted of statesmen of the ordinary stamp, like Lord Londonderry, men much under the influence of mere routine and existing connexions, the decisive blow would hardly have been struck. By an almost miraculous combination of events, it so happened that at this precise juncture, Lord Londonderry, in the vigor of life, and with the prospect of a long career before him, was suddenly called from the helm, and that Mr Canning, whom the delay of a few weeks longer would have removed for ever from the scene of action, was summoned to replace him.

His connexions with the aristocratic party gave him the necessary weight and favor with the crown, and his powerful

character, which placed him above routine and prejudice, enabled him to see the true policy of the country, although it came before him in the questionable shape of a Whig doctrine, and to act upon it with the requisite decision. There is an air of *fanfaronade* in the proud declaration made by this statesman in his famous speech on Portuguese affairs,—*that he had called a new nation into existence*; but we nevertheless regard it as in substance well founded in reference to Spanish America. That the policy adopted by England was the immediate cause that prevented, in fact, the interference of the continental powers, is generally admitted. Our proceedings had great weight in determining the course of England, and produced in this way a most powerful effect upon the general result; but without the concurrence of England, our influence alone might not have averted the danger. We mean not to say, that had the Allies actually interfered, the independence of Spanish America would have certainly been lost, but that it would doubtless have been jeoparded and necessarily contested for an indefinite period, during which our western continent would have been visited by a train of incalculable miseries, some part of which—we need not here inquire how large a one—would have fallen to our share. The coöperation of England and the United States was indispensable in order to give to this great movement in political affairs, the fortunate direction which it actually took. Each of these powers may therefore felicitate itself with justice upon having had the opportunity of rendering the most important services, at the critical moment of their national birth, to the rising republics of the South. This, we suppose, making due allowance for rhetorical exaggeration, and the warmth of extempore speaking, is the only meaning which we need to deduce from the aforesaid remark.

Our sister republics have not been backward in acknowledging their obligations to either power. 'It is agreeable,' says President Rivadavia (the most distinguished statesman whom this great struggle has yet brought into notice, and one who may well be compared with the soundest thinkers and most judicious practical politicians of any age or nation,) in his address to the Congress of Buenos Aires, in May, 1822, upon retiring from his place, as governor of that province; 'it is agreeable to witness the frank and noble policy of His Majesty the king of Great Britain. The similarity of opinion

and feeling, which we observe in the cabinets of London and Washington, will show to Spain that she cannot hope to contend single-handed with the free nations of the new world, and will perhaps introduce into her councils the moderation and wisdom, so necessary to her existence.' Nor are the statesmen of the South in any way jealous of the influence which it naturally belongs to our country to exercise upon the political system of the continent; 'This illustrious nation,' says another citizen of the same republic, writing in the year 1825, and alluding to the United States, 'this illustrious nation is naturally called upon to direct and lead on the march of all the free States of America.' The unity of political system in regard to these all-important subjects, which appears in the councils of the two great English nations on the two sides of the Atlantic, is a circumstance of happy omen, not merely for the Southern republics, but for their own mutual intercourse, which, we venture to hope, will not wear for ever the unnatural and repulsive form of fraternal hostility.

The recognition of Spanish America by the British government was, however, a decidedly Whig measure, both in form and principle. It marked at once the separation of the government from the despotic alliance of the continent of Europe, and its adhesion to the liberal system, which rules without dispute throughout that of America. The policy of England being thus entirely changed, it was not unnatural that a corresponding change should occur within no very distant period in the persons of the ministry. It was quite proper that the leading Whigs, who for twenty years before had been proposing the same measures which had now been adopted by the government, should share in the honor and satisfaction of carrying them into effect; and that the prime minister should avail himself of the first favorable occasion to introduce some of the most distinguished and unexceptionable individuals among them into the cabinet. Objections however would naturally occur to such a proceeding, and here again the powerful character of Mr Canning was one of the circumstances which were perhaps indispensable, and were certainly very efficacious in bringing about the desired result. We all know from recent experience in our own country, how tenaciously the personal sympathies and antipathies occasioned by party divisions are cherished long after the causes that created the parties have ceased to exist. Such men as Lord Chancellor

Eldon and the Duke of Wellington, who, although they had concurred in adopting the liberal measures recommended by Mr Canning, refused to serve under him for no better reason, apparently, than that he was the man who had proposed those measures, would have doubtless objected still more strongly to any association with professed Whigs. Few ministers could have ventured to take a stand in opposition to the weight of their names, and to the vast influence which they were supposed to possess in the nation; and nothing but the immense personal popularity which Mr Canning was conscious of enjoying, would have justified him in the attempt, or have rendered it successful.

With a manly confidence in the correctness of his principles, and the extent of his powers, which belongs only to an intellectual and moral character of the highest order, he resolutely took his ground, and maintained every inch of it, to the utter astonishment and consternation of his adversaries, and to the signal satisfaction of the friends of liberty throughout the world. The final result was a complete recomposition of the ministry on the most liberal principles, and with a large mixture of professedly Whig elements. So complete and well-founded was the new political edifice from the moment of its construction, that the death of its great architect, within a few weeks after, does not appear to have affected in any way its stability or probable duration. We look upon the new administration, although still under the direction of a nominal Tory, as in principle decidedly Whig, and we anticipate that such will be the coloring of the policy of England, under all changes in the persons of the ministers, for a long period to come. We incline to this opinion, because we consider a liberal policy as more congenial to the principles of the British constitution, as well as more suitable to the existing circumstances of the country, than the one which was pursued for thirty or forty years preceding, and has now been abandoned. The basis of the British constitution is in the main liberal, and the policy of the government had been generally such from the accession of the House of Brunswick (which was determined by the prevalence of the Whig party) up to the opening of our Revolution. From that period down to the close of the French Revolutionary war, the measures pursued, though suggested no doubt by accidental causes, rather than an absolute love of oppression and despotism,—though natural perhaps, and, at times, in some

degree justifiable,—were nevertheless throughout inimical to freedom. The circumstances that led to this deviation having changed, the British government has placed itself again upon its natural foundation; and this, precisely because it is the natural one, we think is likely to be permanent.

Having thus changed the direction of the policy of his country, and restored the principle of liberty to its natural ascendency in the cabinet, Mr Canning seems to have accomplished the object of his mission, and we deem it not unfortunate for his fame, and for the good of the world, that he has been withdrawn so early from the scene of action. When the course is given and the sails justly trimmed, a common head is able to steer the ship; and it sometimes happens that the high qualities which are so useful and necessary in extraordinary contingences, may be positively dangerous in transacting the common routine of business. 'There are some persons,' says the author of the Henriade, 'who shine in a secondary sphere, but lose their lustre when they rise to the highest.'

'Tel brille au second rang, qui s'éclipse au prémier.'

There are others, on the contrary,—and Mr Canning was probably of the number,—whose talents are fitted for great occasions, but who make less display in the conduct of the simple affairs of ordinary life. The ardent imagination and the bold, creative genius which enabled their possessor to invent new systems, and to grapple with questions of a grand and complicated nature, have no natural bearing upon matters of inferior interest. When a statesman, possessed of these transcendent qualities, flies at smaller game, he is apt to run into exaggeration, if not into error. Mr Canning's course on the Portuguese affairs was perhaps an example of both these results. His policy in regard to this subject was from the outset extremely questionable; and the mode, in which he treated it in the House of Commons, was highly injudicious, and justly gave umbrage to the principal powers of the continent. Had he lived, this question might perhaps have endangered the tranquillity of Europe, and consequently of the whole christian world; but under the more temperate and business-like management of his successors, it will probably be brought with ease to a quiet termination.

In like manner, the difference about the colonial trade between this country and the British West Indies, by the effect

of his flippant mode of writing and misapplied promptness and energy of action, was ripening pretty fast into a serious quarrel. This dispute too, we trust, will be speedily adjusted by the plain good sense and good temper, and, we hope we may add, liberal and amicable feeling of the present ministry. We repeat, therefore, that while we regret the premature death of Mr Canning, on account of the breach it necessarily makes in the social circle of his friends and connexions, while we experience a sentiment of gloom at the extinction of one of the most brilliant lights of the political sphere, we are satisfied that, as respects his own glory and the interest of the christian commonwealth, he had lived long enough, and that he now 'sleeps well.' He died, as it were, in the arms of victory, on the loftiest summit of social elevation that an Englishman can innocently reach. He had been made of late the instrument of great and lasting good to his country and mankind; and had shown, throughout his career, the highest qualities, intellectual and moral. His faults will be acknowledged by the candid, to be of those that accompany an ardent and generous character, and his name will be recorded, in spite of them, among the most illustrious in modern history.

We have been led imperceptibly into this digression upon the recent changes in the British Ministry, by the reflections which naturally result from the topics last treated of by M. de Staël. Having already exceeded our limits, we must now conclude by recommending his work to our readers, as a judicious, well-written, and dispassionate examination of some of the most important political questions of the day. If their sentiments are at all similar to ours, the name of the author will secure to his production a high degree of attention; and we conceive that we are bestowing sufficient commendation upon it, when we add, that those who peruse it with the expectations which that distinguished name may justly excite, will not be disappointed.

ART. IX. *The American Annual Register; for the Year 1825–6, or the Fiftieth Year of American Independence.* New York, G. & C. Carvill. 8vo. 1827.

WE looked forward to the appearance of this volume with interest, and are satisfied with its execution. It comes as near to the plan proposed of *An Annual Register*, as could be expected, under all the difficulties incident to a first essay. Some portions of it, indeed, appear to have been executed in haste; and several parts would bear an increased expansion and detail. The portion dedicated to the separate states, is somewhat meagre. It should be wholly omitted, or more elaborately wrought up. With adequate pains bestowed on this department, we are quite sure that it might be made equal in interest and value, to any portion of an American Annual Register. More than any other part, it would carry the recommendation of novelty, to most readers in this country. Almost every reader of newspapers, gather a general idea of national affairs; and some indistinct notion, at least, of what is going on in Europe. But let our readers search their memories at the end of the year, and see how good an account they can give of the events, which have taken place in each of the twenty-four states of this confederacy.

Let it not be said, that we know little of what is passing in our sister states, because there is little of importance to be known. Far from it. There is not a state in the union, whose internal administration is not a rich study for the American citizen, politician, and statesman; while many of the states stand before us in the aspect of republics growing up into a consequence, which must ultimately compare with that even of the Union. For this, and other reasons, we sincerely hope, that great diligence will be bestowed on that department of 'The American Register,' which is devoted to the affairs of the separate states. It will, in some respects, be the most difficult of execution. The requisite materials and means of information are not concentrated, as they are in reference to the general government, and the political affairs of the Union. But after they shall have been duly collected and condensed, we feel persuaded they will be found, in the judgment of all intelligent readers, to add highly to the value of 'The Register.' It is not to be inferred from these remarks, that the present volume con-

tains nothing in this way. A beginning is made, as ample, perhaps, as ought to have been expected, of a selection of notices, pertaining to the separate states; but this department will bear and reward all the diligence, with which it can be cultivated.

The strictly historical portion of the work falls, of course, into the two great divisions of domestic and foreign; and the former is necessarily chiefly devoted to the doings of the first session of the last congress. This part of the work (in some respects the most delicate, as it immediately involves questions of party politics), has been as satisfactorily executed, in reference to such questions, as the nature of things admits. The leaning towards the administration is obvious; but the arguments, adduced by those opposed to the measures of the administration, are, we think, fairly dealt by.

The course to be pursued, in a work making pretensions to historical dignity, in reference to questions of party politics, is not altogether easy to be settled. The frantic partiality of the violent newspapers, is, of course, to be avoided, not as being beneath the gravity of history, but as unworthy the order of beings, whom Providence has endowed with reason and speech. On the other hand, the nature and operation of what is called *impartiality*, in the historian of political occurrences, especially contemporaneous occurrences, require to be well understood, before it is too urgently recommended. A real, honest impartiality, which, without a shade of human weakness, in the form of favor or of enmity, should pronounce on men and things according to their true merit, would, no doubt, be a glorious quality in a historian. But such an impartiality is plainly not given to frail man, certainly not in reference to the political events, which are passing around us, and the prominent political characters of the day. He must have his *feelings*, in respect to these events and characters; and these feelings will bias his judgment.

There is indeed, a state of mind, which may sometimes exist in reference to contemporary political events, that of a cold indifference, or a strong aversion to both of two prominent parties, which would seem to promise something like impartiality, in forming and expressing judgments upon them. But even this promise is delusive. For, not to urge the rarity of the thing itself (it being next to impossible, that a precise equipoise even in indifference or aversion should exist), the result will be, that alternate injustice will be done to both parties. The

credit, which may occasionally be awarded to both, will be coldly measured out; and the censure, to which each in turn will perhaps be obnoxious, will not be emphatically expressed, from a fear of disturbing the stoical balance of assumed impartiality. If the feeling cherished toward the two parties be that of equal and decided hostility, manifold injustice will be done to one, or the other, or both. It is next to impossible, that both parties should be alike worthy of hatred; consequently, to hate them alike is itself an injury to the least odious. Besides this, a strong passion of hostility wholly unfits the mind to discourse on the acts of others. Take, for instance, the writings of Burke on the French revolution. He was certainly very impartial between the Girondists and the Jacobins; but the fervor of his feelings unfitted him to write the history of either, and especially to do any justice to the points, on which they were divided. It did fit him out with an apostolic mission, to rouse the fear and hatred of the world against both; but this is a very different vocation from that of the historian.

To illustrate more clearly our meaning, on the subject of impartiality in a writer on contemporary politics, we will instance the 'Life of Napoleon,' by Sir Walter Scott. Apart from literary execution, the main fault of this book is its claim to be impartial. We do not mean to set this down as a hypocritical and affected impartiality. We believe the eminent author designed to be impartial, and occasionally put himself under constraint to attain that end. It being, however, in the nature of things physically impossible for an Englishman, of the government side in politics, a person for twenty or thirty years employed in writing in reviews, magazines, registers, and newspapers, and separate works on the British and the government side of the question, to be *really* impartial; that is, to have no prepossession in favor of his own country, and no prejudice against its most dangerous enemy; the assumed character of impartiality can have no other result, than, that while it perhaps leads him to discredit some of the grosser and more atrocious calumnies, it will give additional weight to his unfavorable view of the entire character and policy of his hero. Take an example from what he says of Lafayette. We presume that Sir Walter Scott, considering that this country contains about one half of those, by whom his book was to be read, felt a strong desire to be impartial toward the man, who had lately passed, in wonderful triumph, throughout the American Continent. He does not, ac-

cordingly, speak of him in the terms, with which he was usually mentioned, and is still, when mentioned at all, by the political disciples of Mr Pitt,—terms of the bitterest hatred. He even speaks of him in something like the language of praise; but this serves only to give additional force to the sarcastic gentleness, with which he condemns his conduct at the most critical moment. We refer to the dreadful scene of the removal from Versailles. Lafayette, we are told, advanced at the head of 'his civic army, *slowly, but in good order*. The presence of this great force seemed to restore a portion of tranquillity, though no one seemed to know, with certainty, how it was likely to act. Lafayette had an audience of the king, explained the means he had adopted for the security of the palace, recommended to the inhabitants to go to rest, and unhappily set the example by retiring himself. Before doing so, however, he also visited the assembly, pledged himself for the safety of the royal family, and the tranquillity of the night, and, with some difficulty, prevailed on the president Mounier to adjourn the sitting which had been voted permanent. He thus took upon himself the responsibility for the quiet of the night. We are loath to bring into question the worth, honor, and fidelity of Lafayette; and we can therefore only lament, that weariness should have so far overcome him, at an important crisis, and that he should have trusted to others the execution of those precautions, which were most grossly neglected.' Now we shall make but one remark on this, which is followed up by more in the same strain. We give Sir Walter Scott credit, for 'being loath to bring into question the worth, honor, and fidelity of Lafayette.' He nevertheless does it; and this being the case, we, as friends to Lafayette, should like to have it done heartily; with all the warmth, which a failure at this 'important crisis' demands. If duty dictates, we would have the historian adopt the language of Sièyes, which was at least manly, in declaring for the death of Louis (an expression which has escaped Sir Walter in narrating the scene), and vote 'la mort—*sans phrase*.'

This digression, we hope, will not be thought unseasonable, in connexion with our notice of a historical survey of the political events of our own country and our own day. We have already stated, that, in narrating the domestic political history of the year, we think the editor of 'The Annual Register' has practised about the only impartiality, which is valuable, that of fairly

stating the arguments of those opposed to the measures, which he himself approves. In expressing this opinion, we do not, of course, in any degree, intend to offer ourselves as vouchers for the correctness of the single opinions or sentiments which he avows. In the literary execution of this part of 'The Register,' we are inclined to recommend less ample quotations from the speeches, made while measures are under discussion in Congress, and indeed from documents of any kind. Such documents as it may be proper to present entire, might advantageously be given in a smaller type in the Appendix. With respect to the debates, as an ample provision is now made for their entire publication, in a work exclusively dedicated to their preservation, their omission in the historical Register would be attended with no sacrifice to its readers, and would afford space for an ampler detail of matters of fact.

The execution of the portion of 'The Register,' which relates to foreign history, was not accompanied with the difficulty, growing out of the treatment of party questions, to which the domestic history was exposed. The pages devoted to the different foreign countries of America, and the old world, though varying in fulness of detail, are highly instructive. We apprehend there is no reader, however assiduous in reading or preserving his newspapers, who could go through these pages, without finding his recollections corrected, brought into order, and filled up. Of several of the countries, our newspapers give us but little intelligence. Of none of them do they give us a regular chain of intelligence. The nature of a newspaper would render this almost impossible, with the greatest diligence and care. Its columns must, in general, be engrossed with the news of the day. At subsequent and stated periods, to write the successive articles of intelligence; to sift out the truth; to furnish the requisite documentary information; and to throw the whole into a historical chapter, though obviously a work, to which the intelligent editor of a newspaper would come well prepared, is also a work of more labor and time, than he can reasonably be expected to bestow; and it is precisely the province of the writer of an Annual Register. We deem it no more than strict justice to say, that this department of 'The Annual Register' is much better filled, than the corresponding part of any English register, with which we are acquainted.

But we do not wish our readers to take our opinion of the

work on trust; and we shall therefore lay before them a more detailed account of the matter contained in it, and the mode in which it is treated.

The period at which its historical portion commences, is the fiftieth year of the Independence of the country; the beginning of the administration of the present chief magistrate, in some respects, starting under new auspices; and the opening of a new congress. These tangible points of departure at home, are met with sufficiently corresponding events of peculiarity, in the aspect of foreign affairs, to constitute altogether a marked epoch. It may be considered politically, as bringing to a full close, the revolutionary age at home, and the reign of the colonial system abroad. In the first and introductory chapter, the views apposite to this state of things are expressed, with no little originality and force. The successive events by which the change in foreign politics was brought about, particularly the severance of the different parts of Spanish and Portuguese America from political dependence on Europe; the councils of the continental alliance, in reference to these events; the policy of Great Britain and the United States, in regard to the intercourse of the remaining colonies of the former, are sketched with vigor. The last of these topics, the colonial dispute between the United States and Great Britain, has since grown up into a great question of controversy, which will undoubtedly receive an ample developement in the next volume of 'The Register.' We cannot but observe on the kind of fatality, which leads the citizens of the United States to make the controversies of the confederacy with foreign powers, a matter of domestic party politics. That this was done (and to the lasting reproach of our politics) in the controversies growing out of the French revolution, was ascribed to the infancy and consequent weakness of our own government, the newness of our institutions, and the want of a national feeling, sufficiently strong and peculiar to master all minor impulses. It was to be hoped, as it was unanimously and heartily predicted would be the case, that our foreign relations would never again be reproachfully made the topics of domestic division. After recapitulating the principles of the colonial policy of Great Britain, as far as they were then unfolded, the introductory chapter presents us with the visit of Lafayette, as a happy incident at the close of the revolutionary age, singular, even unparalleled, in its nature, and genial in its influence.

The political history of the year is related in the following chapters, from the second to the fifth inclusive. The first treats of the inauguration of the present chief magistrate, whose speech is given entire. The business transacted at the ensuing session of the senate, is then related; an account given of the formation of the opposition to the national administration; the rise and progress of the controversy relative to the Creek lands narrated, and a general survey taken of the position of Indian affairs. These topics, with the trials of Commodores Stuart and Porter, the measures of internal improvement pursued during the recess of congress, the progress of manufactures, and the extraordinary agitations of the commercial world, in the course of the summer, fill up the first chapter.

The next chapter introduces us to the proceedings of the nineteenth congress, and relates the proposal and discussion of the amendments of the constitution, brought forward in the two houses; of which, as is well known, the principal features were a division of the United States into as many districts, as the number of electors to be chosen, and the removal of the eventual decision of the election, from the House of Representatives. Could the former question have been presented alone, and discussed without any association with the state of parties, we are not sure that it would not have prevailed. A small majority of the House of Representatives voted against the resolution which related to this point. The objections to it were, either, in general, to all changes in the constitution, or grounded on the opinion that many of the alleged evils incident to the present system, would continue to flow from that proposed as a substitute. It is true, however, that a part of the opposition to the measure, proceeded on the principle, that it was an encroachment on the rights of the states. This argument was sustained, in a very able speech, by Mr Stevenson, of Virginia. The vote on the other proposed amendment, was strong in the affirmative (one hundred and twenty-three to sixty-four); and yet it is probable, that if the question had been pushed, in any tangible detail, it would have met with very slender support. To resolve, in the general, that the election of the president ought, in no case, to devolve on the House of Representatives, is to take a popular ground. To embody the principle of that resolution, in any specific measure, would be found very seriously to intrench on the delicate part of the equality guarantied, in some respects, to the states. Though the resolution

in favor of a system of districts was rejected, and that in favor of removing the eventual election from the House, sustained by a large majority of that body, yet when the latter resolution was referred to a committee of one from each state, that committee found themselves unable to agree on any report, and were discharged from the further consideration of the subject.

The next subject taken up in 'The Register,' is the Panamá mission; and the proceedings of the two houses upon this question are related in detail. The proposed extension of the judiciary system is then discussed, and with the subject of the finances, the appropriation bills, and the proposed relief of the revolutionary officers, completes the history of the session.

We are aware that an analysis so hasty as this, can give but an imperfect conception of the contents of this part of the volume. It may serve however, at least, to assist those who have not yet seen it, in forming a correct anticipation of its nature. A moment's reflection will be sufficient to produce a strong impression of the value of such a work in our political history, did we possess it in a complete series from the foundation of the government. While many good books, from the nature of their subjects, lose their value with time, and are scarcely thought of after the gloss of novelty is worn from the first edition, the volumes of a historical journal like this, will be prized, almost in proportion to their age. An American Annual Register, commencing with the Revolution, if such a thing could be conceived of in that day of poverty and tribulation, and continued down to the present time, would be positively invaluable to all, whom it imports to be acquainted with our political history.

Although it is, of course, not to be expected, that a contemporaneous narrative of events should possess the value or the interest belonging to a record of the past, yet we are persuaded that a great majority, even of those who consider themselves attentive observers of affairs, would find no little instruction in perusing the condensed narrative of the transactions even of the last congress, as related in the first part of this work.

With the sixth chapter begins, what may be called, in the strictest sense, the foreign history. The West Indies, British, Spanish, and Haytian, are treated in this chapter. The measures adopted by the British government, for the improvement

of the condition of the blacks, aud the proceedings relative to these measures in the islands, are described. The political position of Cuba is next briefly discussed ; and the remainder of the chapter devoted to a very excellent abstract of the proceedings connected with the French recognition of Hayti.

The seventh chapter passes in review the subjects of Mexico, Central America, Rio de la Plata, Chile, and Paraguai ; the eighth is dedicated to Colombia, Peru, and Bolivia ; and the ninth to Brazil. There is perhaps no range of subjects, of which we hear and read so much, to so little purpose, for want of a previous generalization of the main facts relative to so large a family of states. The sketches here given, are executed from good sources, and with commendable diligence. They contain information, curious certainly in itself, highly interesting to the political student, and of unequalled moment to the American statesman. It is too early to say, to what extent our politics will be affected by the emancipation of Portuguese and Spanish America ; but it is not too early to say, that there is no part of the political map of the world, which we of North America may find more temptation or necessity to study, than that which comprehends the regions, which lie to the south of us on this continent.

The succeeding chapters are devoted to Great Britain ; to France ; to Spain and Portugal ; to Russia and the other states of Europe ; and to Greece. They contain as much as the American reader will wish to take along with him, on these states, in order to form a correct and sufficient acquaintance with the political character and historical events of the times. We might refer, for a specimen of the kind and degree of information contained in these chapters, to the sketch of the origin and progress of the war between Russia and Persia.

The fifteenth chapter presents a condensed and satisfactory sketch of the Burmese war, from the origin of hostilities to the treaty of peace ; and the sixteenth, the last chapter of the historical portion of the work, is occupied with events on the western coast of Africa, among the Barbary powers, and in Egypt. Under this last head, are related, sufficiently in detail, the history and fortunes of the present tributary sovereign of that country, Mohammed Ali.

The fifty or sixty pages which follow, under the head of 'Local History and Domestic Occurrences,' form the part of 'The Register,' which is dedicated to the separate states. We have

already expressed the opinion, that greater extension could be advantageously given to this department. We have no doubt that when the first difficulties of organizing channels of information shall be overcome, this section of 'The Register' will become especially rich in matter and interest. It must be borne in mind, that some of the states, New York at least, numbers nearly half the population of the memorable thirteen, who fought the battles of our Independence; and that her resources, and her public works are, in no degree, below the proportion of her population. Nor can we be unmindful of the vast system of internal improvements now in active progress in Pennsylvania and Ohio, and projected in Massachusetts, in Maryland, and Virginia. The progress of manufactures, the legislative organization, the local controversies of the different states have something of interest. Few, if any of the topics which we have thus glanced at, are wholly omitted in the present volume. We name them only to strengthen the impression of the individual importance of the states, and the consequent expediency of giving to them all the space which can be spared from the other divisions of the work.

The other main portion of the work contains a selection of public documents, both foreign and domestic; a selection of important law cases follows these; and the volume closes with obituary notices of distinguished persons, who have died in the course of the year, particularly of Adams and Jefferson.

Such is a hasty analysis of the first volume of 'The American Annual Register,' a work essentially modelled on 'The Annual Register' of Dodsley, which was projected, and in its historical portion, for many years, written by Burke; and which, with a very fluctuating style of execution, and amidst several able rival publications, has maintained its rank to the present day. A work of the kind, in this country, has long been a *desideratum*, and has once or twice been attempted, and for a short time carried on. The plan of an Annual Register was submitted to the public four years ago, by a gentleman in Massachusetts, and having been necessarily relinquished by him, it has been revived, in New York, by the editor of the present work. To say that this work is everything that the public could expect in such an enterprise, and everything that the editor and his *collaborators* could make it, would be to say, that they are to learn nothing by experience; and by bringing

into system the numerous and disconnected parts of the organization, implied in such a work. We exhort them and their publishers to persevere, believing that a well conducted Annual Register will not only render an immediate and essential service to its readers in this country; but that those portions of it, which relate to domestic affairs (the largest part in general of the work) will, by affording a better vehicle of information than elsewhere exists, discharge a very important office to the cause of free institutions, by conveying to foreign countries an accurate and detailed statement of their operation here.

ART X.—*Academies of Arts; a Discourse delivered on Thursday, May* 3, 1827, *in the Chapel of Columbia College, before the National Academy of Design on its First Anniversary.* By SAMUEL F. B. MORSE, President of the Academy. New York. G. & C. Carvill. 8vo. pp. 60. 1827.

WE hope the name which this Society has assumed, may be found hereafter more appropriate than it appears now. A *National* Academy may be understood to mean a public institution, founded and supported by the nation, or a private association of the first artists of a country. This Academy is of neither of these kinds. It is simply a society of artists in the city of New York, organized for the purposes of exhibition and instruction. As such it is a respectable and praiseworthy beginning; and as we heartily wish success to such an undertaking, we regret the more that they have made so great a mistake in the selection of their name. To call themselves *National Academicians*, is making a claim of distinction which, we must say, is out of proportion to their merits. Nor do we think it is quite time for them to adopt the initials of their institution as a standing title. The N. A. would do very well in the catalogue of their own exhibitions, to distinguish the works of its members, but we find it affixed to their names in that of a private collection, given in a note to this discourse. This, though a trifle, seems to us very ill judged. The practice has been

tolerated only in Societies, which have established some reputation; and even in those cases, it is a vanity of which their members begin to be ashamed. What would be thought if Mr Stuart should choose to call himself National Portrait Painter, or Mr Allston should take the style of National Historical Painter, and write accordingly after their names, N. P. P. and N. H. P.? Yet they would but be claiming the rank which others yield to them; while the name of National Academician is as inappropriate to some of those, who have dignified themselves with it, as it is injudicious in its application to the best.

It is unjust, moreover, to the reputation of the country. A foreigner could not be much blamed for judging of the state of the arts in America by the National Academy established in the first city of the Union. Nor could he be expected to examine very carefully by what right such a name is borne by this Society. Yet the Academicians could not be willing, that their works should be thought by strangers among the highest efforts of American art. They have given themselves a name, which means, in the common use of language, the great institution of the United States for the arts of design. What may happen hereafter in this particular, we pretend not to foretell; but at present this new Academy comes somewhat short of deserving such a title.

Mr Morse's Discourse is short and appropriate to the occasion. It consists of a very brief sketch of the origin and constitution of the principal academies of arts in Europe, with remarks, chiefly contained in the notes, on the state and prospects of the arts in this country. We cannot agree with the author in all these remarks. Some of them seem tinctured with a degree of dissatisfaction and jealousy, for which we think there is no occasion. He complains bitterly of the practice of buying old pictures, as tending to the neglect of living merit; insists on the inexpediency of any but professed artists intermedling with the government or direction of academies; and deplores the hard fate of the American artist, who, after cultivating his art in foreign countries, returns to find his own so far behind him in taste, that he is doomed to starve in unmerited neglect.

This is all unreasonable and mischievous. We call upon facts to bear witness for us, when we say, that our artists suffer neither from the neglect nor the interference of others. Not

one of them, who could maintain any reputation in Europe (we mean well earned and tried reputation, and not that very precarious one of being a very promising young man), has lost it by a return to America. There is no undeserved preference for the works of old or foreign painters, and no want of patronage for those of our own. We do not pretend to know all the artists of the country, but we take such an interest in the arts, that we think we have heard of all the good ones; and, as far as our information extends, we say, that they have nothing to complain of. The source of the mistake and disappointment of others is this; our artists do but begin their education in Europe; they are sent there as soon as they discover the first symptoms of genius, and before it is well ascertained whether it is worth while for them to go. There they seem at first to be making prodigious advances (for in art, it is not the *premier* but the *dernier pas qui coute*), and, either from impatience or necessity, they hasten home to enjoy prematurely the fruits of their studies. In so doing they underrate the taste of the country, as it is natural enough they should, having left it before their own was formed. Besides, it is so much easier to learn to judge rightly than to paint well, that even with less opportunity, our judgment may at least have kept pace with the progress of their skill. A taste for the fine arts is but of recent, and has, therefore, been of very rapid growth among us. It is quite as likely, therefore, that the young artist, while learning his elements by a short stay in Europe, should fall behind, as surpass the taste of his countrymen; and it is equally natural, that if there be any interval of separation between them, he will consider himself most in advance.

But let him be assured, that his works are not tried here by a judgment formed only on what has been seen in America. That judgment is founded chiefly on the opinion of those, who have had opportunities of observation, at least as good as his own. The number of those, who have travelled in Europe to see and study the great works of art, has been rapidly increasing, and is now large. Our taste in these things is not of national origin. We have hitherto learned, and must long be content to learn, from older countries. A very few years, therefore, are sufficient to do away the difference between the taste of Europe and America. We have, in fact, made more progress in years, than other nations have in centuries, simply by adopting the fruits of their labors. It is very idle, then, for

any one to think, that by a few years' residence in Europe he can so get the start of us, that his merit cannot be understood here. It would be much more likely, that, led away by our admiration of foreign models, we should neglect the original beauties of the home-taught pupil of nature. We could give Mr Morse, in vindication of our taste, some illustrious examples among us, of those, who have labored long and patiently abroad, undazzled by their first success, and not content with the admiration of the ignorant, and who have not been disappointed or neglected on their return. Greater wealth, and more splendid distinctions, would have rewarded them in Europe, but nowhere could they have been more honored or valued than they are here. Nowhere could their works have been more eagerly sought at honorable prices. If these examples are too rare to encourage the desponding, let them at least believe, that in their profession, as well as in others, industry and perseverance will prevail; let them believe this, until they can find some examples of neglected merit to authorize their complaints. We have heard of starving and heart-broken genius in other countries, but there never was such a thing in this. The most liberal encouragement is offered to every hope of excellence, and that very liberality has, in many cases, by taking away the sting of necessity, destroyed the promise it would have fostered.

No artist can expect here the highest rewards of his art. He must seek them, if he is entitled to them, in the great capitals of Europe. We cannot make him a prince, or even a knight, nor endow him with 'personal nobility,' like those, whom Mr Morse mentions as examples of European munificence. But we can offer him all the country has to give; reputation, respect, and competency. If these will not satisfy him, he must take Mr Morse's advice, and not return. 'The American artist,' says he, 'may go abroad, but he must not return.' Before his foreign acquirements can be appreciated, he must go back to the point from which he started, take the public by the hand, and lead them on to the eminence he has attained. He may go abroad, and adorn other countries with his works, and the history of his own, with an imperishable name; but if he returns, it will be at the peril of his happiness and his life! Does any one believe this? Is there anything of fact that justifies it? We never heard of any who pined and died after this manner.

We should give a different advice to the young artist; we should counsel him, if he has the means, to go and faithfully study his art where it is most successfully practised; and not to be in haste to return for fear he should grow too wise to be understood. Let him not only study but practise in Europe. Merely drawing in an academy, and copying a few masterpieces, will not enable him to return with credit and success. Hundreds of students do these things, and do them well, who are never heard of as artists. He must labor long and hard, with the best means of improvement around him, if he hopes for distinction in his own country. And then he may return without fear of injustice. But one thing we repeat to him, and let him not forget it; no attainments which are not sufficient to support and raise him into notice in Europe, will save him from neglect at home. The mere student of foreign academies will not at once be hailed as a master on his return. If he were, it would more clearly prove that deficiency of taste of which Mr Morse complains, than even the neglect of real merit.

Something in the same spirit, Mr Morse deprecates the intervention of any but professed artists in the management of academies. We doubt whether he is right in this. We are inclined to look on this exclusion, as one cause of those bad effects, which he admits to have proceeded from ill-constituted academies. It tends to the formation of a school; which is little else than a system of errors and deviations from that imitation of general nature, which cannot be too exact even for ideal beauty; there is but one nature, and there can be but one true way of painting. Artists may differ, indeed, in their choice of subjects and circumstances; but independently of these, their peculiar manners are chiefly their peculiar defects. Yet it is exceedingly difficult, in the examination of nature, to overcome the prejudices of a favorite system of art. In the same scene, one painter will see nothing but light and shade, while to another it will seem full of color. Fuseli, no doubt, thought he was painting naturally, when he imitated humanity so abominably; and his students, if they had been confined to his instructions, would have learned to see in nature the contortions and extravagances of their master's imagination. But the fact, that the defects of great masters are apt to mislead learners, is as obviously true in painting, as in everything else. And it can hardly be doubted, that, if academies exercise any

influence, those under the sole direction of artists will be more likely to sanction and perpetuate their errors, than those which admit in their government connoisseurs, who may be, at least, more impartial judges of nature than her professed imitators. But even if this be not so, the exclusion is impolitic. Artists cannot establish themselves in defiance of that portion of the public, best qualified to judge of their works; nor hold themselves entirely independent of those, who support their exhibitions, and buy their pictures. It is essential to their success, that they should inspire others with a love of their art, and diffuse as widely as possible the taste necessary to enjoy it. These associations are highly useful in this way, if they are freely opened to all who are desirous of promoting their objects. But if the direction of them is, by the jealousy of artists, confined to their own number, others will soon be weary of their share in establishments, where taxation and representation are so little united. Where a taste for the arts is already widely diffused, such a system may have some advantages, but where the taste is to be created, a more liberal course would be more expedient. In this, as in other particulars, the difference of the two countries seems to have been overlooked when the Royal Academy is proposed as the proper model of such institutions in America.

There could be no danger here of the other directors interfering improperly with the peculiar province of the artists, and they might often be useful as mediators or umpires between contending parties. They would be the defence of the meritorious against any of their brethren, who might otherwise pervert the power and influence of the academy to selfish or party purposes. That such differences and oppression may exist in these institutions, is well enough proved by their history, particularly by that of the same Royal Academy, whose example is thought to sanction this exclusive system. There has been but very lately a revolt in this institution, which withdrew much talent from its exhibitions. What has been the result, we do not know, but it may be presumed to have been unfortunate for the seceders, however just might have been their complaints. Such occurrences might often be prevented by the intervention of disinterested directors; and when they happen, they lead to consequences much worse, than an occasional deviation from correct taste, even if that were to be feared from the admission of such mediators.

Mr Morse supports this exclusion by the example of other professions. But in this he confounds associations for the mere regulation of practice, with institutions for the promotion and improvement of art. Besides, the fine arts are things that we can live without, while unhappily law and physic are necessary evils. The arts, to flourish, or even to exist, must be made agreeable to others besides artists. Others must be taught to love and to judge of them, before they will afford a subsistence to those, who practise them; whereas, it requires no combination between doctor and patient to induce the latter to be sick; nor do clients quarrel and go to law because they love to hear the eloquence of their advocates. If the infirmities of mind and body, which support these two learned professions, needed encouragement by the establishment of academies for their developement, no doubt the practitioners would be too liberal to engross to themselves all their advantages. The clerical profession is a more analogous case; for its necessity, though great, is of a moral nature; and the clergy have always, where their power and influence were not secured by the strong arm of authority, called into their associations the pious and sober-minded of the laity.

As to the purchase of old paintings, which is another subject of long and vehement complaint in the Notes to this 'Discourse,' we must again differ from the author. 'No disease,' he says, 'has infected infant art so inveterate, and so retarding to the progress of taste, as this.' Many quotations are added to show the little chance there is of any genuine old pictures being procured now, and the bad effects of collecting them, even if they could be obtained. Mr Morse does indeed, among his censures, introduce this cautious salvo; that he 'would not by any means altogether condemn the collecting of pictures by the old masters;' but he clearly thinks it much better to employ living artists, and even without much regard to their merit. To this effect he cites twice with great applause, from Opie's 'Lectures,' one of he grossest absurdities that ever were uttered, namely, 'that he who employs the humblest artist in the humblest way of his art, contributes more to the advancement of national genius, than he who imports a thousand *chefs-d'œuvres*, the produce of a foreign land.' 'The correctness of this assertion,' adds Mr Morse, 'is abundantly proved by the practice of those noblemen and others, who stand first among the encouragers of art in England.' The examples

given of this practice, are the purchase by three noblemen of Allston's *Uriel* and *Jacob's Dream*, and of Leslie's *Saul and the Witch of Endor;* which, instead of being humble works of humble artists, are, two of them at least, among the finest pictures of modern times, and by artists who stand at the very head of their profession. When such pictures are neglected, because they are not old, or foreign, Mr Morse may well be indignant; but it is a very different question, whether it is expedient to buy the works of our own artists, simply because they are so. If good American paintings were left unsold, because others of less merit were bought, or for any other cause, we would join heartily in censuring such illiberality. But the fact is not so. The real want in America is not so much of good patrons, as of good painters; and we doubt very much whether Mr Morse could tell us of a single good, not comparatively but absolutely good artist in the country, who does not, or might not by industry, receive a compensation for his labors in full proportion to that gained by other professions. We know of no good pictures left unsold. And if it is supposed, that we ought here to be content with a less degree of merit, and buy pictures which could not be sold elsewhere, we think it is a great mistake. Why should we do so? It would improve neither the taste of the public, nor the skill of the artists, but degrade the one, and retard the other. To spend money in 'employing the humblest artist in the humblest way of his art,' is encouraging national genius, just as much as paying an honest pains-taking tinker for spoiling his work, is encouraging national ingenuity. If the artists could do better elsewhere, they would not stay here for the pleasure of complaining; if they could not, they have no cause to complain.

As to the genuineness of the imported pictures, we should not differ much from Mr Morse in his final results, though we think they depend but very slightly upon his long and grievous preamble of frauds and impostures. For he admits, after all, that there are many good pictures of old masters in the country, obtained in Europe from genuine sources, and that a fine picture still finds its way occasionally across the water, and is added to the collections of professed dealers. This is the true state of the case, and we put as little faith as he does in the undoubted originals, which are sent here by hundreds to be sold by auction. But Mr Morse writes on this subject under a great excitement, of which he has not very well examin-

ed the causes. When he speaks in person, indeed, it is chiefly of his apprehensions of what may happen; but we think his fears are quite unfounded. Let him look at the horrible lamentations and prophesyings of Barry, Opie, Shee, and Hoare, which he has quoted, and then consider that, so far from having become the receptacle of trash and counterfeits, England is hardly surpassed by any country in her treasures of ancient art. We are not much alarmed by the stories told in the notes of Mr Astley, and the 'officer of more wealth than judgment, that paid a fortune to a London dealer for a gallery of the works of the most reputed masters;' nor do we in the least believe the episode, contained in the same extract, of a starving English painter, who was taken up by a modern-antique factory at Amsterdam, and accidentally found by them to be such a genius, that they were obliged to seek inferior artists to paint Teniers and Wouvermans, while he was employed on pictures in his own manner, to be kept on hand for a future period. Such wholesale imposture cannot be carried on here; and as to the little misnomers that actually take place, they are not of consequence enough to make it worth while for any one to disturb his own tranquillity, or the innocent complacency of the purchasers.

The course of this business in our own city has been this. We have, in the first place, a few small collections of good, and, we believe, genuine, old paintings. Many of these were procured in Europe at a time, when such acquisitions were more easy than they are now. A few years ago we had two or three importations, and among them some good pictures (whether originals or not is of less consequence), which were bought at prices, probably not greater than they were intrinsically worth. The modern English paintings sold about as well as those which were called old. Both kinds were bought because they were thought good, without any great regard to their names. Perhaps there were some mistakes made in that particular; but not more than there would have been in buying as many works of our own artists. Since that time, there has been a flood of trash sent here for sale, too miserable to deceive any one; and it has been sold for prices as miserable, or carried away to a better market. All this time the works of our own artists have been taken up at their fair value; while, on the other hand, several fine old paintings, well authenticated as the works of masters, have, for want of pur-

chasers here, been sent to England for sale. We know of but one native production of great merit being lost to the country, because its value was not understood. The loss of these really fine pictures we regret, more than we should, that a whole generation of half-taught pretenders should be starved into some more useful employment.

Some of our remarks may seem harsh, but we make them from a sincere love of the arts. We would by no means be illiberal to our own artists, who give any promise of excellence; but there is no propriety in encouraging them in false taste or mediocrity. We would hold high the standard of taste; as high as it is in any place. We would not have the arts degraded even in favor of the artists. And so far are we from approving of anything, which is said to discourage the importation of old and foreign paintings, that we wish still greater facilities were afforded for it. If the old masters were, as we believe, better than the painters of our day, their works should be the models on which to form the public taste; and we would have as many of them as possible. And the same may be said of the modern paintings of foreign countries, so far as they are better than our own. We are not prepared to see the American system, as it is called, extended to literature or the arts. It would be the worst possible policy for the artists. Painting and sculpture are not among the necessaries of life. Much as they improve and adorn society, a taste for them is not even the necessary accompaniment of a high degree of civilization. That from the earliest recorded time, and in almost every nation, rude or refined, it should have been the occupation of a portion of the community to imitate the forms and colors of nature, shows some native propensity in the human mind favorable to the cultivation of these arts. But whether they shall flourish or decay by the intellectual and moral improvement of society, depends, as far as we know, on no fixed law of our nature. They are powerful means of such improvement, and not the necessary consequences of it. A taste for them must not be expected to grow without care and cultivation. And undoubtedly the best means of promoting such a taste, is the exhibition of those works, which show of how much these arts are capable. The better the specimens we see of what has been done, the more desirous we shall be to encourage their progress; and the greater interest we shall feel in the labors of our own artists.

The love of the arts is, moreover, greatly dependent on remote associations. No man can be thoroughly imbued with it, in our times, who has not seen the wonders they have wrought in times past. For ourselves, at least, we confess, that we should feel comparatively little enthusiasm for sculpture and painting, if we had seen none but their modern productions. They would lose much of the poetical influence which they exert over our minds. We attribute this, not so much to their inferiority in modern times, as to their associations with the history of the past. All painting and sculpture remind us, in some way, of those older works of which we can never think without delight. If Claude, Salvator, and Poussin were forgotten, landscape painting would be much degraded from the high place it now holds; and even historical composition owes much of its elevation to similar associations. Still more do sculpture, necessarily so simple in its forms and uniform in color, and architecture, the principles of which seem so little founded on nature, depend for their interest on the wonderful works, that have come down to us from a yet more remote period.

Without these secondary attractions, we fear that the fine arts would languish and die in these busy and practical days. We have lost many of those sources of excitement, which produced the masterpieces we admire and imitate. Nothing but the contests of the arena could have called out such counterparts of nature as the Fighting and Dying Gladiators, or clothed in such perfect human forms the ideal beauty of the Apollo and Antinous. It was not merely the opportunity of seeing the naked figure in all its variety of action; though that enabled the ancients, ignorant as they probably were of anatomy, to attain in their statues a correctness, which all the science of the moderns has failed to reach; but it was their perfect enthusiasm for athletic exercises, and for the full developement of the physical powers, which made their sculpture the wonder and despair of succeeding ages. So to the enthusiasm of a pompous religion, which no longer exercises its dominion over the imagination, we owe the masterpieces of historical composition in painting. Inanimate nature is still unchanged; and therefore landscape painting has failed less than any other, except portrait, which is the natural growth of busy and selfish society. But even landscape painting requires for

its perfection, like descriptive poetry, a secluded and contemplative life, which becomes every day more rare and difficult.

We cannot, therefore, join Mr Morse in his confident anticipations of the triumph of American artists over the most transcendent efforts of European genius, ancient or modern. That our country will equal the contemporaneous works of others, we are well inclined to believe; though we cannot but see, in our peculiar situation, peculiar disadvantages. But we can hardly hope that the masterpieces of ancient art are ever to be surpassed here or in Europe. The forms and occupations of society, are growing every day less favorable to the highest efforts of the imagination. We live in an age of utility. Everything which tends directly to improve the physical condition of man, and develope his reasoning and active powers, is cultivated with zeal and success. The most stubborn obstacles of nature are yielding to new and tremendous enginery. What were her impassable barriers, have become highways; and the fabled works of the giants are surpassed by the power of knowledge. Education is sent abroad into all classes of men, to make them feel their strength and use their reason. All this renders the world populous, prosperous, and happy; but it is at the expense of much that we love, and much that elevates and refines the feelings. In this cultivation of the reason, the imagination loses its power. Eloquence, poetry, painting, and sculpture, do not belong to such an age; they are already declining, and they must give way before the progress of popular education, science, and the useful arts. It may be, that when the great work about which the world is now occupied, is accomplished, a new school of art of proportionate grandeur, may arise; but we fear that its best days are past. We cannot but rejoice at this progress of society; still we must wish, that the good it brings might be purchased without so great a sacrifice. We would not withhold the light of knowledge, for fear it should dissipate the most poetical phantoms of the imagination; but we may be allowed to look back on their old haunts, laid open to the vulgar day, with some feelings of regret.

This influence of the age may be doubted, because the disposition to encourage the arts seems still to remain unimpaired in the public. But its earliest effects must not be looked for there; the mind of the artist is its first victim. It chills his enthusiasm, and discourages him from attempting, what per-

haps he might still perform. He works under the fear of a cold-blooded judgment, which represses that confidence, without which genius cannot work its wonders. To what else can it be attributed, that the princely prices which the works of the old schools still command, have not brought into competition with them modern productions of equal merit? When sums are paid for single and small pictures, which would be an independence to an artist, why is there not in all Europe, nay, why has there not been for more than a hundred years past, a single one whom we can place on a level with the old masters? The decay of eloquence is, perhaps, an even more striking example. Argument is almost all the oratory of our times. Premeditated appeals to feeling and passion have lost their power. Even the most popular assemblies must be convinced before they can be moved. We have grown cautious and suspicious, and are apt to distrust the orator, when he would win us to his side by any exhibition of emotion. We take pride in subduing our feelings to our reason. Every public speaker must feel this, and the consequence is, that our best public speaking is but a cold sort of argumentation. Accidental opportunities for great excitement still occur, but no one can now rely for success on the susceptibility of his audience. It is the same with poetry; it has almost ceased to be produced, and its popularity has sensibly declined, even in our short day. The last that has held any dominion over the public mind, owed much of its interest to the personal character of its author, with which all his works were colored. The practical and historical details of the Scotch novels have already eclipsed it.

There are, however, other causes, which have had their influence in degrading modern art. While the whole *costume* of the actual world has become less adapted to the arts, dramatic acting has been carried almost to perfection. The stage has been made so fascinating by its wonderful exhibitions of talent, that artists have either voluntarily chosen their models from it, or have by habit insensibly lost the power of distinguishing between true nature and these brilliant imitations. This effect is less observable here and in England, than in France and Italy, where it has sunk the art of painting into a gaudy puerility and affectation, of which we hardly know how to express our contempt. This cause has probably operated in fact less on English art, because the people are not so much attached and habituated to the theatre, as the French. But the English schools

of tragedy and acting, seem to us so much more natural than the French, that the fault is not so striking there, when it exists. That it is a fatal fault, is obvious; for it is copying a caricature instead of the original. Even the best acting can never be a true transcript of nature. The character and sentiments of the drama are poetical and exaggerated. It is in that, as in painting, necessary to color beyond nature to resemble her; and when that exaggerated copy is made the model for another, the departure from the original becomes too wide for the imagination to reconcile. It has been said, that the whole business of French society is *représenter;* it is the same with their historical painting; they aim to show, not how their characters would look and act, but how they should be *représentés*. That the Italians, surrounded by the masterpieces of the arts, which their own country has produced, should have followed in the same course, shows how difficult it is to resist the influence of the actual state of society; and that it degrades the mind of the artist, long before it quite corrupts the public taste, is proved by the fact, that the old Italian school is as much as ever admired, even in those countries where modern art is in the most deplorable state of degeneracy.

If these views are correct, there is more in them to stimulate than to discourage artists. They exhibit no insurmountable obstacles to their progress. The peculiar difficulties that beset them, are in themselves, and therefore within their control. They live in an age unpropitious to the developement of that high enthusiasm, which produces the greatest works of art, but, nevertheless, 'the fault is not in their stars, but in themselves, if they are underlings.' Great minds may resist even the pressure of the age; nay, to resist it, requires only a steady pursuit of acknowledged principles. If the artist will not be seduced by examples, which he cannot approve; if he will disregard the fashion of the day and the practice of his contemporaries; if he will confine himself to his profession, and so avoid the seductions of society, which would lead him away from the contemplation of nature, he may still redeem the reputation of his age and country, and place himself on as high an eminence, as he could have reached, if he had lived in the most favorable period. That this can be done, we think is about to be shown; as much talent and enthusiasm as can be brought to the work have now been employed, in our own community, in one noble effort, for years of patient and persevering labor.

That it should fail is impossible; but how much can be effected by such appliances in these degenerate days, is a question of deep interest to all among us who love the arts. We pretend not to guess how far this work is to rival those, which have been so long the standards of excellence; but of all the productions of art in the present age, we have no fear in predicting, that the greatest is behind and not far off.

The subject on which our artists most need to be admonished, is the cultivation of the mind. Their great deficiency is a want of vigorous and poetical conception. The mechanical process of drawing and coloring is often well done, but the mind seems not to contribute its share to the work. It is owing to this, that so many have failed to redeem the promise of their youth. From the number who have made good beginnings without instruction, it has been thought, that there was a peculiar talent for the arts in the Americans; but most of these were but examples of that mechanical ingenuity, which certainly is a general characteristic of the people. It may be difficult to convince the artist of this deficiency of mind; but let him place a landscape, for example, of almost any of the living painters by the side of one, of the old masters. He may find the drawing, coloring, and perspective as good, and perhaps better; but the difference between them is, that one is the work of the hand only, the other of the imagination; one shows, perhaps even with less skill in the execution, and often in spite of injury and decay, a fine creation of the mind; the other is a dull copy of what happened to be before the artist, or a composition of commonplace and unmeaning objects. The parts of one seem selected to fill the canvass with picturesque forms and colors, those of the other chosen for the ideas and feelings they are adapted to convey. The difference is like that between poetry, and mere musical verse.

It is natural that as excellence in composition declines, it should be replaced by mere ingenuity; but the attention that is now paid to execution in painting, seems to us to have acted also as a cause in degrading the art. Success in that is comparatively so easy, and satisfies so many minds, that the attention of the artist is drawn from the more laborious task of invention. The common course of study too, gives an undue importance to mere skill of hand. It is all that can be taught by a master, and those who study under distinguished artists, are apt to be content with what they learn of them. This is one bad

effect, which we may attribute to all academies. They can but teach the form and manner of the art, and they attach so much importance to them, and reward excellence in them with so much distinction, that the student forgets there is anything else to be acquired. The facilities for such acquisitions have become very great, but these will not make an artist. The fine arts are works of the imagination, and the skill of the hand and the eye, is but the means of communicating to others, those thoughts and feelings, which distinguish the artist from the artisan. The mere picture-maker is not above any other nice workman. Even in branches of the art which seem hardly to admit of much invention or exercise of mind, their power is still enough to make all the difference between good and bad. No uncultivated man, whatever be his manual dexterity, can paint a good portrait, or even make a good likeness. The mind of the artist shines out even through his copy of another's features.

Great artists have sometimes begun their labors without intellectual cultivation, but they have never produced their great works until they had overcome the disadvantage. Their paintings were not the results of knack, or of mere practice, but of study, observation, and reflection. Claude began to paint late, without education, and in the lowest rank of life ; but we read afterwards of his habit of walking in the fields, not merely to observe, but to explain philosophically to his friends, the beautiful appearances of nature, which he has preserved in his landscapes. Leonardo passed months in studying his unfinished picture of the *Supper*, without touching it.

While we speak thus cautiously about the present claims of our artists, we would by no means be thought indifferent to their success. We should be sorry, if anything we have said should in the least abate the liberality of the public towards them. They must be supported and encouraged now, or we can expect no improvement from them. All we mean in the way of caution is, that this encouragement be governed by discretion ; and that it be understood as a stimulus to future efforts, and not the reward of present excellence. We have endeavored to repress what seems to us a repining disposition, founded on an overestimate of their actual claims ; but we would not be understood to say, that their rewards are beyond their merits. We have felt the more urged to the remarks we have made, because we thought that complaints like

those contained in this 'Discourse,' coming from an artist of so much reputation and merit as Mr Morse, at the head of an institution which must exert a considerable influence on those within its immediate neighborhood, might have, if uncontradicted, a most discouraging effect on the younger artists. And we confess, too, that, as part of the public, we feel aggrieved at what we consider the injustice as well as the inexpediency of some of the remarks. Even since we began this article, we have seen new proofs, that the American artist has no cause to complain of a want of patronage, in the liberal prices paid in Boston for several works of a favorite artist of Philadelphia immediately on their arrival. Still we would urge on the public the necessity of a liberal and untiring encouragement of the arts. They are eminently useful to the community. They are an ornament at home and an honor abroad. They elevate and refine the national character, and may even in turn protect the country that has fostered them. They have saved cities from fire and pillage, and given a character of sacredness to the countries that honored them. Greece owes to her ancient arts, more than to any other cause, her still cherished hopes of independence. The strength of her citadel lies more in its architecture, than in its fortifications; and her lost gods have done better for her, than her generals.

But we hope it is superfluous to reason about the usefulness of the fine arts. We all feel and acknowledge the importance of a literature of our own, and the good influence of the arts is no less certain. Their effect on the reputation of a country is extensive, because they speak a common language equally intelligible to all nations. And though much more circumscribed in their operation than letters, they act more immediately on the character of a people. Painting, sculpture, and architecture are addressed to the whole mass of society; and being presented directly to the senses, the ideas which they are capable of conveying, lose nothing of their power in the transmission; while written language, at the best, can but excite in the imagination prepared by education to receive it, emotions resembling those of the author. Literature operates on the few who seek its power, while the arts mingle their influences with the objects and pursuits of daily life.

But as sources of pleasure, which, instead of degrading, elevate the mind, they make large demands on our gratitude and care. They occupy, in this way, a place so necessary to

be filled, that the nation, which can exist without them, must be, as the philosopher said of the man of solitude, much above or much below the common standard of humanity.

ART. XI.—*Letters and Memoirs relating to the War of American Independence, and the Capture of the German Troops at Saratoga.* By MADAME DE RIEDESEL. Translated from the Original German. New York. G. & C. Carvill. 12mo. pp. 323.

THE custom of employing mercenary troops in warfare is as ancient, perhaps, as the history of civilization. It is recognised among the laws of nations, and justified on the ground, that it is lawful for any sovereign, in combating his enemies, to use such means as he can command, both by the physical strength and the wealth of his dominions. These two together constitute the actual measure of his power, to the full extent of which he may exercise his legitimate authority, and repel hostilities. On the side of the mercenary it is alleged, that he has a right to enlist in the service of any country he chooses, provided he does it not to the injury of his own government, and particularly if he has its consent; and since, what is lawful for one is lawful for all, any sovereign may aid another with mercenary forces, if the soldiers who compose them engage voluntarily in the service. No little casuistry has been exercised by writers in discussing these topics, but into this labyrinth we are not about to enter, nor shall we inquire how far usage is borne out by strict principles of justice, or even by a sound policy.

It is quite certain that the British ministry, at the beginning of the American revolution, had no scruples on the subject, and that in Parliament they strenuously defended the course they adopted. The military operations of 1775 in the Colonies had been less successful, than was anticipated, and it was resolved to send over an army the ensuing year, that should quell all disturbances and speedily put an end to the contest. It was proposed to augment this force to fifty-five thousand men, but no more than twenty-five thousand regular English troops could be spared for this purpose. To make up the deficiency, the

ministers fell upon the expedient of employing mercenaries. In the month of January, 1776, an agent was despatched to Germany, who first made a treaty with the duke of Brunswic, in which it was stipulated, that four thousand three hundred Brunswic troops should be at the disposal of the British government for prosecuting the war in America. A few days afterwards, another treaty was concluded by the same agent with the Landgrave of Hesse, who agreed to furnish twelve thousand men. Similar treaties were also entered into with with the hereditary prince of Hesse, and the prince of Waldec. The whole amount of forces thus obtained in Germany, was somewhat over seventeen thousand men, all of whom, without much delay, were sent to America.

When these proceedings were laid before Parliament, they were censured with great severity by the opposition, both as showing an inability on the part of England to cope with her enemies, a thing not to be acknowledged, and as sanctioning a principle in warfare, which violated justice, and the good faith due from every government to its subjects. It was said, moreover, that the terms imposed on England were extremely unreasonable, and manifested a spirit of cupidity in the German princes, which it was disgraceful to tolerate. There was much truth in this charge. Seven guineas, as bounty or levy money, were to be paid for every soldier. The Duke of Brunswic was to receive, in addition, a stipend of fifteen thousand five hundred pounds sterling a year, and twice this sum for the two years after the term of the soldiers' service expired. The Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel was also to be paid one hundred and eight thousand pounds a year; and the other princes in the same proportion. These sums were exclusive of the wages of the troops, which were likewise to be paid by the British government.

The conduct of the German princes in these transactions has generally been reprobated by historians. They literally sold the sinews of their subjects, to be wasted in a foreign land, waging a war in which they could have no possible interest, and this for the unworthy consideration of a pecuniary recompense, which redounded to their personal benefit. It was a private bargain on their part, in which the moral agency and natural rights of the soldiers seem not to have been taken into the account. 'We have read of the humorist Sancho's wish,' said Lord Irnham in Parliament, 'that if he were

a prince, all his subjects should be blackamoors, as he could, by the sale of them, easily turn them into ready money; but that wish, however it may appear ridiculous and unbecoming a sovereign, is much more innocent than a prince's availing himself of his vassals for the purpose of sacrificing them in such a destructive war, where he has the additional crime of making them destroy much better and nobler beings than themselves.' A celebrated European writer observes, 'that it has not been uncommon for two nations to enter into compacts, by by which one should aid the other in furnishing troops or money in prosecuting a war, which either immediately or remotely affected them both,' but that 'it was reserved for an enlightened age to witness treaties, by which a sovereign condemned his subjects to pour out their blood in a foreign cause, solely for the purpose of increasing his personal wealth.' The Duke of Brunswic's case is said to admit of extenuation. He had lately taken the reins of government; he found the finances in an embarrassed condition, and the people impoverished; and he actually paid away all the money he received from Great Britain for the relief of his subjects.

The Brunswic troops were put in motion, within six weeks after the treaty was concluded, under the command of the Baron de Riedesel. They proceeded first to England, and then to Canada, where they were incorporated into the English army under General Burgoyne, with whom they were eventually captured at Saratoga. The little volume, which we are about to notice, consists of letters from General Riedesel to his wife, but chiefly of letters and memoirs written by herself, describing the principal events that happened to her and her husband during their seven years' residence in America. The volume was printed many years ago in Germany, and is now for the first time translated into English.

Madame de Riedesel early resolved to share her husband's fortunes in America; and as it was not convenient for her to depart with him, it was agreed that she should follow him to Quebec as soon as circumstances would permit. She left Wolfenbüttel, in Brunswic, on the fourteenth of May, 1776, and travelled in her own carriage by way of Brussels, Tournay, and St. Omer to Calais. Her children and servants were her only companions, and her chief confidence was placed in 'good old Rockel,' who had long been an appendage to her father's family, and had attained the post of forester.

Neither this old domestic, nor any of the party had been accustomed to travelling, and various cross accidents fell out to try the patience of our heroine. Innkeepers were rude, disobliging, and exorbitant in their demands. Robbers had recently infested some parts of the road, and this naturally caused alarm. But the journey was, on the whole, fortunate, and she arrived safely at Calais. We must not forget to mention, that she had three children, all daughters, namely; Gustava, who was four years and nine months old; Frederica, two years old; and Carolina, who was born ten weeks before she departed from Wolfenbüttel. Such a charge was enough to keep alive a deep anxiety in a mother's mind, and to require resolution and fortitude. But in these respects she proved herself adequte to the task she had undertaken. Her tenderness for her children, resolution in braving all difficulties, and habitual cheerfulness, were conspicuous from the beginning to the end of her wanderings.

By the following extract she appears not to have been exempt from the common lot of inexperienced travellers, that of being imposed upon by interested persons. This is a tax, which all must pay at one time or another of their lives, and it will be happy if they escape with as little real inconvenience as Madame de Riedesel, although they will not be likely to fall into a more odd or embarrassing train of incidents.

'On our landing at Dover, we received many congratulations, on having supported so well the fatigues of so long a voyage; but this cost money. I was accosted by more than thirty innkeepers, who all begged me to take lodgings at their houses. I gave the preference to a French hotel, and was much pleased with it. It was a splendid establishment, and particularly remarkable for its extreme cleanliness. The custom-house officers came to visit the baggage, which was rather an irksome business; but I was provided with letters for the collector, who, as soon as he was informed that the purpose of my voyage was to rejoin my husband in America, politely observed, that it would be very rude to vex the wife of a general, who had gone so far for the service of his king. This settled the matter. Having been obliged to leave my carriage at Calais, I found it necessary to take here a post-chaise for my journey to London—a mode of travelling, which is very expensive, as the transportation of the baggage is regulated according to its weight.

'I reached London on the evening of the 1st of June, and found many of my acquaintance there, among whom were Gener-

al Schlieffen, M. de Kurtzleben, and Count Taube. My husband had written to the latter, begging him to procure for me private lodgings; but, for fear I should not come, he had given himself no trouble about it, by which I might have had better and cheaper accommodations. I was, however, happy to see how much interest my husband had taken in my voyage, and how sure he was that I should keep my resolution, and I rejoiced so much the more that I did not yield to the apprehensions with which some persons endeavored to impress me.

'I must now mention a circumstance, which rendered my lodgings here rather disagreeable. I had trusted entirely to my landlord at Calais, to whom I had been recommended; but now I think that he abused my confidence, by sending over to England many things at my expense. He also advised me not to depart without being accompanied by some trusty man, because I should otherwise be exposed to great dangers; and he seemed to take much pains to procure such a person for me. He at length came with a well-dressed man, whom he introduced to me as a nobleman, a friend of his, who was willing to accompany me to London. I received him with great civility, and felt at a loss how to acknowledge his extreme politeness. In the carriage I begged him to take his seat next to me, and kept the children opposite to to me; thus endeavoring, by all means, to prevent them from being troublesome to him. He affected the manners of a man of much consequence, and ate at my table during the whole journey. I observed, however, that the servants at the inns were on free and easy terms with him; but I did not reflect much upon it, the obligation under which I thought I was to him, blinding me altogether. But I could not help feeling some astonishment when, at the hotel where we alighted, on our arrival in London, I was ushered into a miserable room in the fourth story, though I had asked for a good apartment, and had been assured by M. de Feronce, of Brunswic, that I should find splendid lodgings. I imagined that I could not have a better room because the house was already full, and general Schlieffen, and the other gentlemen who came to visit me, and, particularly, the ladies for whom the hereditary princess, now duchess of Brunswic, had given me letters of introduction, wondered that I was in so bad an abode. On the following day, the landlord came with an abashed air, and a most reverential demeanor, to ask me, whether I knew the man with whom I had arrived, and whom I had so particularly desired him to provide with good lodgings; (I had not thought proper to have him at my table in London.) I answered, that he was a nobleman, who, on the request of Mr Guilhaudin, my landlord at Calais, had been kind enough to accompany me on my

journey. "Ah!" cried the landlord, "that is one of his tricks. The man is a footman, a "valet de place," a rogue, through whom he is glad to promote his own interest. Seeing him sitting next to you in your carriage, when you arrived, I could not, I confess, believe that you were the lady you pretended to be, and thought that these rooms were good enough for you. But I see now, by the persons that visit you, how much I was mistaken, and I ask your pardon, madam, and beg that you will follow me into another apartment, for which you shall not pay more than for that which you now occupy, for I really wish to atone by all means for my error." I thanked my host, and requested him to rid me of my companion as soon as possible. I was, however, obliged first to pay him four or six guineas (I do not remember the exact sum) for his company. I could never forgive Mr Guilhaudin this trick; and he did not behave much better concerning my carriage. It was he who told me that it was prohibited to import carriages into England, and advised me to leave mine in his care. I was afterwards informed, that his purpose was to do with it, what he had already done with other vehicles entrusted to him, namely, to hire it to travellers on their way to Germany. But this I prevented, by soliciting of Lord North permission to bring it over to England, free from duties. The minister immediately complied with my request, and though this detained me a few days, I found it much to my convenience and comfort to have waited for my carriage.' pp. 64—68.

She remained in London only a few days, when she continued her journey to Bristol, at which port she intended to embark for Quebec in the first suitable vessel that should sail. Here she resided three or four months, prevented by various obstacles from taking her departure, till at length the season was far advanced. She then wrote for advice to Lord George Germaine, Secretary of State for America, who offered her a passage in a packet-ship, which was about to sail. Resolving to accept this offer, she went to Portsmouth for the purpose of taking passage, but here she was discouraged from entering upon a voyage to Canada, which was deemed hazardous on the approach of winter, and which at all events would be attended with infinite discomfort to a lady with three young children. The voyage was given up for the winter, and she returned to London, where she stayed till spring. She speaks cheerfully of the manner in which the time passed during this period, although she had been severely disappointed in not being able to join her husband as soon as she expected. Hours and days that might otherwise have been tedious, she beguiled

by devoted attention to her children. A circle of friends, in the first ranks of society, afforded her solace and rational amusement. She was introduced to the king and queen, who expressed a lively interest in her situation, and gave her some testimonies of their esteem.

In April she sailed for Quebec, where she arrived on the eleventh of June. General Riedesel was then with the army at Chambly, and his wife remained in Quebec only long enough to dine with lady Carleton, and then hastened onward to meet him. Before she landed, an express had been despatched to give him notice of her arrival.

'Upon reaching Chambly,' she writes, 'I saw several of our officers, and my coachman, whom my husband had left here. I ran towards the latter to inquire after Mr de Riedesel. "He is on his way to meet you," replied he, "between here and Berthieux;" (fifteen miles from Chambly.) I was not a little chagrined at my ill luck. However, General Carleton, who was one of the officers present, approached, and assured me that my husband would certainly be back, at the latest, on the following day. He then took leave of me and returned to Quebec, after having surrendered to General Burgoyne the command of the army. One of my husband's aids-de-camp remained with me, and the time, until the next day, seemed to me uncommonly long. Meanwhile my children, and the honest Rockel, watched on the road, in the hope that M. de Riedesel might yet arrive that evening; and, indeed, a chaise was at length seen advancing up the road, and a Canadian in it. I saw the vehicle stop, the traveller alight, run towards my children, and fold them in his arms. It was my husband! not having yet got rid of his fever, he wore (though it was summer) a blanket-coat or gown, with ribands, and the usual blue and red fringes, in the Canadian fashion. With my baby in my arms, I ran as quick as I could to join the beloved group. My joy was inexpressible, though I beheld with painful feelings the sickly and wearied looks of my poor husband. I found my two daughters bathed in tears; the eldest from joy to see her father again, and the second, because he wore a dress so different from that with which he is represented in the portrait she was wont to see, and from which she had conceived that he was as elegant as handsome. "No, no! this is an ugly papa," cried she in English, "my papa is pretty;" and she would not go to him. But as soon as he had thrown off his Candian coat, she jumped upon his neck.' pp. 124, 125.

We shall not pursue the thread of Madame de Riedsel's narrative, respecting the movements of the army under Bur-

goyne, from this period till the disasters of Saratoga, although it contains a few facts worthy to be recorded for their historical value, and is throughout spirited and entertaining. Some of her descriptions of what she experienced and witnessed, just before the surrender of the British army, are of too remarkable a cast to be omitted. They depict in strong colors the horrors and distresses of war, while they afford an eminent example of female resolution and endurance.

'While breakfasting with my husband, I heard that something was under contemplation. General Fraser, and, I believe, Generals Burgoyne and Phillips were to dine with me on that day. I remarked much movement in the camp. My husband told me it was a mere reconnoissance; and as this was frequent, I was not much alarmed at it. On my way homeward, I met a number of Indians armed with guns, and clad in their war dresses. Having asked them where they were going, they replied, "War, war," by which they meant they were about to fight. This made me very uneasy, and I had scarcely got home, before I heard reports of guns; and soon the fire became brisker, till at last the noise grew dreadful, upon which I was more dead than alive. About 3 o'clock in the afternoon, instead of guests whom I had expected to dine with me, I saw one of them, poor General Fraser, brought upon a hand-barrow, mortally wounded. The table, which was already prepared for dinner, was immediately removed and a bed placed in its stead for the General. I sat terrified and trembling in a corner. The noise grew more alarming, and I was in a continual agony and tremor, while thinking that my husband might soon also be brought in, wounded like General Fraser. That poor General said to the surgeon, "Tell me the truth; is there no hope?" His wound was exactly like that of Major Harnage; the ball had passed through his body, but unhappily for the General, he had that morning eaten a full breakfast, by which the stomach was distended, and the ball, as the surgeon remarked, passed directly through it. I heard often amidst his groans, such words as these, "*O bad ambition! poor General Burgoyne! poor Mistress Fraser.*"* Prayers were read, after which he desired that General Burgoyne should be requested to have him buried on the next day, at 6 o'clock in the evening, on a hill where a breastwork had been constructed. I knew not what to do; the entrance and all the rooms were full of sick, in consequence of the dysentery which prevailed in the camp. At length, towards evening, my husband came, and from

* 'In the original work, these words are in English, as here written.'

that moment my affliction was much soothed, and I breathed thanks to God. He dined with me and the aids-de-camp in great haste, in an open space in the rear of the house. We poor females had been told, that our troops had been victorious; but I well saw, by the melancholy countenance of my husband, that it was quite the contrary. On going away, he took me aside, to tell me everything went badly, and that I should prepare myself to depart, but without saying anything to any body. Under the pretence of removing the next day to my new lodgings, I ordered the baggage to be packed up. Lady Ackland's tent was near ours. She slept there, and spent the day in the camp. On a sudden, she received the news that her husband was mortally wounded and taken prisoner. She was much distressed; we endeavored to persuade her that the wound was not so dangerous, but advised her to ask permission to join her husband, to take care of him in his sickness. She was much attached to him, though he was rude and intemperate; yet he was a good officer. She was a lovely woman. I divided the night between her whom I wished to comfort, and my children who were asleep, but who, I feared, might disturb the poor dying General. He sent me several messages to beg my pardon for the trouble he thought he gave me. About 3 o'clock, I was informed that he could not live much longer, and as I did not wish to be present at his last struggle, I wrapped my children in blankets, and retired into the entrance hall. At 8 o'clock in the morning he expired.

'After he had been washed, he was wrapped in a sheet, and laid out. We then returned into the room, and had this melancholy spectacle before us the whole day. Many officers of my acquaintance were brought in wounded, and the cannonade continued. There was some talk of retreating, but I saw no indications of it. About 4 o'clock in the afternoon, I saw the house which had been built for me, in flames, from which I inferred that the enemy was near. We were informed, that General Burgoyne intended to comply with General Fraser's last request, and to have him buried at 6 o'clock, in the place which he had designated. This occasioned an useless delay, and contributed to our military misfortunes. At 6 o'clock, the corpse was removed, and we saw all the generals, with their retinues, on the hill, assisting at the funeral ceremony. The English chaplain, Mr Brudenel, officiated. Cannon balls flew around and above the assembled mourners. General Gates protested afterwards, that had he known what was going on, he would have stopped the fire immediately. Many cannon balls flew close by me, but my whole attention was engaged by the funeral scene, where I saw my husband exposed to imminent danger. This, indeed, was not a moment to be apprehensive for my own safety.' pp. 168—172.

The following events took place after the affair of Bemus's Heights, while the British army was retreating towards Saratoga.

About 2 o'clock, we heard again a report of muskets and cannon, and there was much alarm and bustle among our troops. My husband sent me word, that I should immediately retire into a house which was not far off. I got into my calash with my children, and when we were near the house, I saw, on the opposite bank of the Hudson, five or six men, who aimed at us with their guns. Without knowing what I did, I threw my children into the back part of the vehicle, and laid myself upon them. At the same moment the fellows fired, and broke the arm of a poor English soldier, who, stood behind us, and who, being already wounded, sought a shelter. Soon after our arrival, a terrible cannonade began, and the fire was principally directed against the house, where we had hoped to find a refuge, probably because the enemy inferred, from the great number of people who went towards it, that it was the headquarters of the generals, while, in reality, none were there except women and crippled soldiers. We were at last obliged to descend into the cellar, where I laid myself in a corner near the door. My children put their heads upon my knees. An abominable smell, the cries of the children, and my own anguish of mind, did not permit me to close my eyes, during the whole night. On the next morning, the cannonade begun anew, but in a different direction. I advised my fellow-sufferers to withdraw, for a while, from the cellar, in order to give time to clean it, for we should otherwise injure our health. On an inspection of our retreat, I discovered that there were three cellars, spacious and well vaulted. I suggested, that one of them should be appropriated to the use of the officers who were most severely wounded, the next to the females, and the third, which was nearest to the staircase, to all the rest of the company. We were just going down, when a new thunder of cannon threw us again into alarm. Many persons, who had no right to enter, threw themselves against the door. My children were already at the bottom of the staircase, and every one of us would probably have been crushed to death, had I not put myself before the entrance, and resisted the intruders. Eleven cannon balls passed through the house, and made a tremendous noise. A poor soldier, who was about to have a leg amputated, lost the other by one of these balls. All his comrades ran away at that moment, and when they returned, they found him in one corner of the room, in the agonies of death. I was myself in the deepest distress, not so much on account of my own dangers, as of those to which my husband was exposed, who, however, frequently sent me messa-

ges, inquiring after my health. Major Harnage's wife, a Mrs Reynell, the wife of the good lieutenant who had, on the preceding day, shared his soup with me, the wife of the commissary, and myself, were the only officers' wives at present with the army. We sat together, deploring our situation, when somebody having entered, all my companions exchanged looks of deep sorrow, whispering at the same time to one another. I immediately suspected that my husband had been killed. I shrieked aloud; but was immediately told that nothing had happened to my husband, and was given to understand, by a sidelong glance, that the lieutenant had been killed. His wife was soon called out, and found that the lieutenant was yet alive, though one of his arms had been shot off, near the shoulder, by a cannon ball. We heard his groans and lamentations during the whole night, which were dreadfully reëchoed through the vaulted cellars; and in the morning he expired. My husband came to visit me, during the night, which served to diminish my sadness and dejection, in some degree. On the next morning, we thought of making our cellar a more convenient residence. Major Harnage and his wife, and Mrs Reynell, took possession of one corner, and transformed it into a kind of closet, by means of a curtain. I was also to have a similar retreat; but I preferred to remain near the door, that I might escape more easily in case of fire. I had straw put under my mattresses, and on these I laid myself with my children; and my female servants slept near us. Opposite to us were three officers, who, though wounded, were determined not to remain behind, if the army retreated. One of them was Captain Green, aid-de-camp to General Phillips, and a very amiable and worthy gentleman. All three swore they would not depart without me, in case of a sudden retreat, and that each of them would take one of my children on his horse. One of my husband's horses was constantly in readiness for myself. M. de Riedesel thought often of sending me to the American camp, to save me from danger; but I declared that nothing would be more painful to me, than to live on good terms with those with whom he was fighting; upon which he consented that I should continue to follow the army. However, the apprehension that he might have marched away, repeatedly intruded itself into my mind; and, I crept up the staircase, more than once, to confirm or dispel my fears, and when I saw our soldiers near their watch-fires, I became more calm, and could even have slept.' pp. 179–183.

After Burgoyne's surrender, the British and German troops were all marched to Cambridge, and General Riedesel and his lady accompanied them. Here they resided a full year very 'quietly and happily,' as our author writes, till Novem-

ber, 1778, when the convention troops were ordered by Congress to be transferred to Charlottesville in Virginia. This journey of more than six hundred miles at the opening of winter, was attended with great inconvenience to Madame de Riedesel and her children. The weather was very cold, and the roads in some places were blocked up with snow; their accommodations were frequently bad, and, to fill up the catalogue of evils, the people whom they met on the way were sometimes hardhearted and uncivil. They felt an antipathy to the German troops, who had come into a foreign land to espouse a quarrel in which they had no concern; and perhaps it was not unnatural that this feeling should be indulged towards the family of their general, among a people suffering under the calamities of war, and not accustomed to subdue strong emotions, or to inculcate humanity and kindness as a habit. There can be no apology, however, for the incivilities practised on some occasions, and we have no reason to think Madame de Riedesel's complaints exaggerated or unjust. From Cambridge to New Jersey she travelled under the protection of Colonel Robert Troup, an officer in the American army. We transcribe the following extract from the original of Colonel Troup's letter to General Gates, dated at Sussex Court House, New Jersey.

'We had the happiness of reaching Sussex the day before yesterday in the afternoon. You cannot conceive the difficulties we have met with on the road. The people, in almost every house we stopped at, seemed to take pleasure in making our stay as uncomfortable as possible. I am sorry to add, that the women were very impolite to Madame de Riedesel. They could not banish from their minds the notions they have imbibed of the cruelties, which our prisoners have received. Some were afraid of being plundered by us, and others of being killed. One young girl, who had been lately married, cried and gnashed her teeth near two hours, because I requested her to let Madame de Riedesel sleep in her bedroom, where she had a few gowns, pots, and trammels. Indeed such has been the incivility of all ranks and degrees to us, that I have suffered the most painful anxiety ever since I left Cambridge. Madame de Riedesel, the General, and his family have shown me every mark of complaisance and respect. They and the children were very well a few minutes ago, when they set off for Easton. The militia guard, that escorted the General's baggage from Hartford to the York line, broke open some of the boxes and plundered them.'

At last they arrived in Charlottesville, after a fatiguing

journey of nearly three months, in the midst of winter. General Riedesel had gone forward with the troops, and provided lodgings for his family. This was about the middle of February, 1779, and they stayed in Charlottesville till near the close of the year, when the officers of the convention troops proceeded to New York to be exchanged. They had been in captivity more than two years. Indeed the exchange did not actually take place till the autumn following. In the mean time Madame de Riedesel presented her husband with a fourth daughter, whom they named *America*. Soon after the exchange was effected, General Riedesel was appointed to a command over the British troops on Long Island, where he and his family passed the spring and part of the summer of 1781. He at length desired permission of General Clinton to return to Canada, and take charge of the remnant of his regiments, that had been left there before Burgoyne's expedition. They sailed for Quebec, which place they reached in September, having touched at Halifax on the way. Governor Haldimand stationed General Riedesel at Sorel, at which place he held his headquarters during the remainder of his residence in America, making frequent excursions, however, to Quebec and Montreal, and he and his lady apparently passing their time in contentment and happiness. When peace was ratified and the war closed, they returned to England, where they received tokens of kindness from the king and queen, and attentions from numerous persons of rank. They stayed but a short time in England, and hastened onward to meet their friends in Brunswic, where they arrived after an absence of more than seven years.

The above is a brief and meagre sketch, and our purpose will be answered if any one shall be induced by it to resort to the volume itself. It abounds with curious and interesting facts, related in a sprightly style, and, as far as the writer's knowledge extended, we believe with a strict regard to veracity. We must demur at some two or three of the worthy lady's anecdotes about "tarring and feathering a most respectable woman," and the advice of an American gentleman to "cut off the captive generals' heads." In giving heed to these tales, her credulity got the better of her good sense; but we repeat, that in whatever she relates as coming under her own observation, we put implicit confidence, and are induced to do it, not more from internal evidence, than from the circumstance, that her

repretentations accord in all essential particulars, with authentic history. She mentions one incident, worthy of notice more from its singularity, perhaps, than its importance. While the articles of convention were in progress at Saratoga, the Brunswic officers took care to conceal their colors, after having burnt the staves to which they were attached. At the time of the capitulation, they gave out that the colors were destroyed, but they were secreted among the baggage, and conveyed in this manner to Cambridge. When they were about to commence their march to Virginia, it became necessary to make some other disposition of the colors to prevent a discovery. Madame de Riedesel devised the plan of concealing them in a mattress, and shut herself up with a tailor in her own room to execute this work. This mattress was taken to New York by a British officer instead of a bed, and thence to Halifax. At this place Madame de Riedesel received it on her voyage to Canada, and 'during all the rest of the passage slept upon these honorable badges.' A different fate awaited the Hessian banners, which were taken at Trenton. General Washington presented them to the state of Pennsylvania, as a testimony of the good conduct of the Pennsylvania troops at the battle of Trenton. They are now in a most unseemly plight, in the office of the Secretary of State at Harrisburg, tattered and torn, and thrust away in a dark corner as useless rags. For ourselves, we acknowledge that we could not witness, without emotion, the indignities thus practised upon what our fathers honored as trophies of the brave, and as testimonials of great deeds in the cause of justice and freedom. There is no better safeguard for a nation, than a reverence for the noble acts of its departed sages, heroes, and patriots, and whatever tends to perpetuate the remembrance of such acts, should be preserved with scrupulous care.

The translation of the volume, to which our attention has been drawn, is understood to have been made by M. de Wallenstein, already favorably known to the public in this department, by his well executed version of the *Leper of Aost*, and the *Russian Tales*. The extracts given above are enough to show, in what manner his task has been performed in the present instance. He manages the English idiom with skill, and combines, with a ready use of words, an ease and vivacity of style. An original preface of considerable length has been prefixed by M. de Wallenstein, which adds to the value of the

work. We agree fully with his opinions, as expressed in the following passage.

'Madame de Riedesel's memoirs and letters may claim, in addition to an equal interest with the works just mentioned, that, also, which belongs to the true picture of a conjugal devotion, of which there are few brighter examples, whether in history, biographies, memoirs, or even in novels;—of fortitude, courage, and confidence in Providence, of which there can never be afforded too many examples for the eventual profit of the happiest, or the support of those who need encouragement and consolation—and of success in a most arduous but noble undertaking, which, also, may be a lesson to all who have duties to fulfil, that seem above their strength. The moral of the story is more striking and impressive, coming from a female—a lady, who by birth and rank was probably the least prepared to encounter dangers fit only for the professional soldier. Whatever may be thought of the political expediency of admitting into camps, in the midst of actual war, the sex whose organization and whose duties are calculated for the sunny season of peace, the promptitude with which she hastened to traverse the ocean, in order to share with her husband, toils, sufferings, want, or death, and the *reflected* courage with which she disregarded the chances of a struggle, in which she had been told that savages were a portion of the belligerents; will ever be interesting as a new example of the strenuous exertions to which female tenderness can be exalted. There has been, indeed, in recent times but one brighter example of female fortitude and affection. Madame de Larochejaquelin stands alone in inimitable grandeur and goodness, in the midst of circumstances, which put her sex to trials unknown before, and which we devoutly wish may never more return to urge even a heroine equally courageous and amiable, upon the scene of civil wars.

'For the public to whom this translation is presented, it has, moreover, a national interest. Madame de Riedesel's memoirs are a genuine appendix to American history. They trace national events, and delineate the state of society, in this country, at one of its most momentous epochs. Names that will go down to posterity, with the memory of lofty actions and events of a new, lasting, and far-spreading character, are here brought together by one, who was the friend, the associate, the companion, or, at least, the acquaintance of their bearers; of Washington, Gates, Schuyler, Carleton, Burgoyne, Phillips, and the person the nearest related to the noble authoress, General Riedesel.' pp. 8–11.

In the volume is contained a memoir by General Riedesel, on the transactions at Saratoga, written immediately after they

took place. It throws a good deal of new light on the events of Burgoyne's campaign, and is an important document among the materials for a history of the American revolution.

Art. XII.—*Poems;* by Richard H. Dana. Boston. Bowles and Dearborn. 1827. 18mo. pp. 113.

To say that this work is by the author of 'The Idle Man,' is the same thing as to say, that it is written by a man of genius, who possesses the essential qualities of a poet. 'The Idle Man,' which came out in numbers in 1821–2, notwithstanding the cold reception it met with from the public, we look upon as holding a place among the first productions of American literature. It will be referred to hereafter, we doubt not, as standing apart from the crowd of contemporary writings, and distinguished by a character of thought and expression peculiarly its own. One reason why it took so little at its first appearance, was probably the hardihood with which its author slighted the usual arts of attracting the public attention, and conciliating the public favor. It was not a work that reflected the passing image of the day; and the author adopted no fashionable modes of expression, submitted to no fashionable canons of criticism, copied no popular author, and intimated no consent to favorite opinions. He seems to have fixed his attention only upon what he thought the permanent qualities of literature, and his work is one which will be read with the same pleasure a century hence, as at the present time. It does not, therefore, abound with the dexterous allusions to subjects of temporary and accidental interest, and topics of popular reading, by which a degree of sprightliness and attraction is often given to works, that a few years afterwards seem to have unaccountably parted with all their life and spirit. The opinions of the author are thrown off without any discreet reserve, or obsequious qualification, to mitigate the censures of the critic. The style of 'The Idle Man' is genuine mother English, formed from a study of the elder authors of the language, with now and then a colloquial expression of the humblest kind, elevated into unexpected dignity, or an obsolete word or phrase revived, as if on purpose to excite the distaste of the admirers of a stately

or a modernized diction. It is free from all commonplace ornaments, from all that multitude of stock metaphors and illustrations which have answered the uses of authors from time immemorial.

Add to this that the speculations of the author were as much his own as his style. An original turn of thinking is not the surest passport to immediate popularity. It is much easier, and sometimes much safer, to follow one who thinks in the common track. The most popular authors for the time, and often the most agreeable also, are those who glean up with address the thoughts of others, place them in perspicuous or striking lights, and make them look new by some artful collocation or embellishment, some liveliness of fancy, or skill of contrast. These writers give the mind the gentlest possible exercise, by detaining it on things with which it is already familiar; they never task nor fatigue the intellectual faculty. But it is no light labor to follow the highly original thinker. It requires somewhat of the same effort to grasp and comprehend his conceptions, which it cost him at first to bring them out of the shadows that surround the remoter excursions of thought, to reduce them to distinct shape, and to fix them in language. If there be at the same time anything peculiar and unusual in his style, the difficulty is rather increased than diminished. It is only when his writings have had time to produce their effect upon the public mind, it is only when some of the materials he has furnished have passed into the common stock, out of which the multitude of authors draw materials of speculation, that the man of truly profound and original thought can receive the full measure of his fame.

It might be thought, however, that all this would be compensated for by the strength of imagination, and power in the description and expression of feeling, shown in the work. But the author's imagination is commonly employed in raising up gloomy creations, and his talent at laying open the workings of the human heart, in the delineation of the darker and sterner passions. We have heard these things somewhat strangely mentioned, as being of themselves, in the abstract, an objection to the work. Such critics, we suppose, would be for fitting out 'King Lear' with a fortunate catastrophe, striking out the last act of 'Othello,' and expunging from 'Paradise Lost' the story of the fall and contrition of our first parents. For ourselves, we are willing to leave men of genius at liberty to exert

their powers in their own way, provided that, like those of the author of 'The Idle Man,' they are exerted to purposes of goodness and virtue. Sadness is oftentimes as wholesome as mirth. The melancholy Jacques has been thought as good a moralist as the funny Touchstone. Nobody ever thought of quarrelling with the landscapes of Salvator Rosa, because they were not painted like those of Claude. If he had taken the advice of some cold-blooded connoisseur, if any such lived in his day, and had undertaken to tame down the stern and savage grandeur of his pieces, and to make them pretty, pleasing, and cheerful, he would only have spoiled them.

There is another peculiarity in 'The Idle Man,' which, while it is the source of many of its excellences, may possibly have had some effect in preventing its immediate popularity. With a great majority of mankind, the emotions of the mind are neither profound nor lasting. Every event brings with it its attendant excitement, either cheerful or sad, and this excitement passes away with the event, as the shadow departs with the object. Their feelings may be often acute and noisy, but they are at the same time brief and superficial. But there are minds of a different mould, upon which the passions fasten more strongly, and where they inhabit longer, devouring the heart in secret. These are the characters, which afford the best opportunity for the analysis of the passions. In these, if we may so speak, the passions sit to be painted; and of these the author of 'The Idle Man' has taken advantage for the exercise of a talent, which he possesses in a remarkable degree. He loves to describe a peculiar and unhappy mood of the mind, cherished, as if by a kind of fatality, instead of being healed, by the succession of events, and the lapse of time; drawing into its vortex all the lesser and feebler emotions, and making them its own nourishment. He loves to show, not merely the agitations of the surface, but the whole ocean upheaved from its profoundest depths, and refusing to be appeased, although calm and sunshine have returned to the atmosphere. These states of the mind are described with great force by the author of 'The Idle Man,' and give occasion to scenes of true pathos, and successful delineations of strong emotion. It is not to be expected, that this kind of writing will please all readers alike. Some, who have never perceived in their own minds any tendency to the process it describes, will not sympathize with it, because they will imperfectly comprehend it; and to others it

will appear painful, although they cannot deny its power. Of the other merits of 'The Idle Man,' of that delicacy of moral sentiment which pervades and hallows the whole, and that rare susceptibility to the influences of external nature which imparts to it such a charm, we need not speak, for these are perceived by every reader.

We have dwelt the longer on what we had to say of 'The Idle Man,' because the peculiarities of that work are much the same with those of the 'Poems.' In poetry, however, we believe they will be likely to find more favor than in prose. The Teutonic strength of the author's style is favorable to poetic expression; and the study of the old English authors is now justly looked upon, as a necessary part of poetic discipline. It is indeed curious to see, with what pertinacity the art of verse rejects the more worthless innovations on our language, and how steadily it preserves the picturesque and impassioned diction of our ancestors. The contemplative nature of poetry, also, its love of plaintive themes, the liberty it allows of dwelling long and enthusiastically on the emotions of the heart, and the depth and intensity of coloring it requires, are all in our author's favor.

We like this work the better, perhaps, because some of its merits are of a kind not common in modern poetry. It is simple and severe in its style, and free from that perpetual desire to be glittering and imaginative, which dresses up every idea that occurs in the same allowance of figures of speech. As to what is called ambition in style, the work does not contain a particle of it; if the sentiment, or image, presented to the reader's mind be of itself calculated to make an impression, it is allowed to do so, by being given in the most direct and forcible language; if otherwise, no pains are taken to make it pass for more than it is worth. There is even an occasional homeliness of expression, which does not strike us agreeably, and a few passages are liable to the charge of harshness and abruptness. Yet altogether, there is power put forth in this little volume, strength of pathos, talent at description, and command of language. There is the same propensity, as was exhibited in 'The Idle Man,' to deal with strong and gloomy passions, with regret, remorse, fear, and despair; with feelings over which present events have no control except to aggravate them, and which look steadily back to the unalterable past, or forward to the mysterious future.

The first and longest of the poems in this collection, *The Buccanneer*, is a story of supernatural agency, founded, as the author says in his Preface, on a tradition relating to an island off the New England coast. It is a narrative of a murder committed by a piratical, hardhearted man, of whom the whole island stood in awe, and who at last comes to a strange and horrible end. The poem opens beautifully, with the following lines, descriptive of the island in its present state.

'The island lies nine leagues away.
Along its solitary shore,
Of craggy rock and sandy bay,
No sound but ocean's roar,
Save, where the bold, wild sea-bird makes her home,
Her shrill cry coming through the sparkling foam.

But when the light winds lie at rest,
And on the glassy, heaving sea,
The black duck, with her glossy breast,
Sits swinging silently;
How beautiful! no ripples break the reach,
And silvery waves go noiseless up the beach.

And inland rests the green, warm dell;
The brook comes tinkling down its side;
From out the trees the sabbath bell
Rings cheerful, far and wide,
Mingling its sound with bleatings of the flocks,
That feed above the vale amongst the rocks.

Nor holy bell, nor pastoral bleat
In former days within the vale;
Flapped in the bay the pirate's sheet;
Curses were on the gale;
Rich goods lay on the sand, and murdered men;
Pirate and wrecker kept their revels then.

But calm, low voices, words of grace,
Now slowly fall upon the ear;
A quiet look is in each face,
Subdued and holy fear:
Each motion 's gentle; all is kindly done—
Come, listen, how from crime this isle was won.' pp. 1–3.

The desperate and daring character of the Buccanneer, the gentleness and sorrows of her whose death he had caused, the ruffian's guilty revels, his fits of remorse for his crime, the gradual and complete triumph of that remorse over his mind

and the final and terrible retribution of his guilt, are very well managed. The incidents are strongly conceived, and brought before the reader, with great distinctness of painting. It seems to us, however, that the rough brutality of the Buccanneer's character is sometimes brought out so broadly, as to have rather an unpleasing effect. Yet nothing, it seems to us, can be better in its way, than the passage in which his remorse is described, after it had finally mastered and subdued his spirit.

'He views the ships that come and go,
Looking so like to living things.
O! 't is a proud and gallant show
Of bright and broad-spread wings
Flinging a glory round them, as they keep
Their course right onward through the unsounded deep.

And where the far-off sand-bars lift
Their backs in long and narrow line,
The breakers shout, and leap, and shift,
And send the sparkling brine
Into the air; then rush to mimic strife:—
Glad creatures of the sea! How all seems life!—

But not to Lee. He sits alone;
No fellowship nor joy for him.
Borne down by wo, he makes no moan,
Though tears will sometimes dim
That asking eye.—O, how his worn thoughts crave—
Not joy again, but rest within the grave.

The rocks are dripping in the mist
That lies so heavy off the shore.
Scarce seen the running breakers;—list
Their dull and smothered roar!
Lee hearkens to their voice.—"I hear, I hear
You call.—Not yet!—I know my time is near!"

And now the mist seems taking shape,
Forming a dim, gigantic ghost,—
Enormous thing!—There 's no escape;
'T is close upon the coast.
Lee kneels, but cannot pray.—Why mock him so?
The ship has cleared the fog, Lee, see her go!

A sweet, low voice, in starry nights,
Chants to his ear a plaining song.
Its tones come winding up those heights,
Telling of wo and wrong;

And he must listen till the stars grow dim,
The song that gentle voice doth sing to him.

O, it is sad that aught so mild
Should bind the soul with bands of fear;
That strains to soothe a little child,
The man should dread to hear!
But sin hath broke the world's sweet peace—unstrung
The harmonious chords to which the angels sung.

In thick, dark nights he 'd take his seat
High up the cliffs, and feel them shake,
As swung the sea with heavy beat
Below—and hear it break
With savage roar, then pause and gather strength,
And then, come tumbling in its swollen length.

But thou no more shalt haunt the beach,
Nor sit upon the tall cliff's crown,
Nor go the round of all that reach,
Nor feebly sit thee down,
Watching the swaying weeds:—another day,
And thou 'lt have gone far hence that dreadful way.' pp. 36–38.

The next poem, entitled *The Changes of Home*, is of a more humble character, and with less action in the narrative, but it pleases us more than the first. It is in the heroic couplet, and reminds us very strongly of the poetry of Crabbe. It is, indeed, such a tale as he might have written, with more fancy, it is true, more warmth of coloring, a deeper and more continued pathos, and more delicacy of style; but with all his skill of minute and graphic description, his intermixture of dialogue, a good deal of his peculiar rhythm, and a few of his harsh inversions. Every part of this little story is imbued with a deep sadness. One who has long wandered in foreign lands, returns to the place of his birth, and the residence of his early youth, and finds every thing changed. He inquires for those whom he once knew; he is shown an insane woman, whom he remembered as a blooming maiden; and is told a tale of love, misfortune, and death. We should spoil it by attempting to give its particulars in our prose. The following are among the introductory lines,

'How like eternity doth nature seem
To life of man—that short and fitful dream!
I look around me;—no where can I trace
Lines of decay that mark our human race.

These are the murmuring waters, these the flowers
I mused o'er in my earlier, better hours.
Like sounds and scents of yesterday they come.—
Long years have past since this was last my home!
And I am weak, and toil-worn is my frame;
But all this vale shuts in is still the same:
'T is I alone am changed; they know me not:
I feel a stranger—or as one forgot.

The breeze that cooled my warm and youthful brow,
Breathes the same freshness on its wrinkles now.
The leaves that flung around me sun and shade,
While gazing idly on them, as they played,
Are holding yet their frolic in the air;
The motion, joy, and beauty still are there—
But not for me!—I look upon the ground:
Myriads of happy faces throng me round,
Familiar to my eye; yet heart and mind
In vain would now the old communion find.
Ye were as living, conscious beings, then,
With whom I talked—but I have talked with men!
With uncheered sorrow, with cold hearts I 've met;
Seen honest minds by hardened craft beset;
Seen hope cast down, turn deathly pale its glow;
Seen virtue rare, but more of virtue's show.

Yet there was one true heart: that heart was thine,
Fond Emmeline—O God! it once was mine.
It beats no more. Cruel and fierce the blow
That struck me down, that laid my spirit low;—
No feeble grief that sobs itself to rest—
Benumbing grief, and horrors filled my breast:
Dark death, and sorrow dark, and terror blind—
They made my soul to quail, they shook my mind—
O! all was wild—wild as the driving wind.' pp. 49, 50.

The two poems that follow, entitled *The Husband's and Wife's Grave*, and *The Dying Raven*, both in blank verse, are characteristic of the author, and fine in their way. Mr Dana seems to gain something in freedom of expression, by exchanging rhyme for blank verse, and to lose nothing, as many poets do, in condensation of thought. There are two pieces in the volume, of a more cheerful cast, *The Clump of Daisies*, and *The Pleasure Boat*. The latter is sprightly and graceful, a praise which we are glad to see that the author can earn when he pleases. With the following stanzas from this poem, we take our leave of the work.

'Now, like the gull that darts for prey,
The little vessel stoops;
Then, rising, shoots along her way,
Like gulls in easy swoops.

The sun-light falling on her sheet,
It glitters like the drift,
Sparkling, in scorn of summer's heat,
High up some mountain rift.

The winds are fresh—she 's driving fast.
Upon the bending tide,
The crinkling sail, and crinkling mast,
Go with her side by side.

Why dies away the breeze so soon?
Why hangs the pennant down?
The sea is glass—the sun at noon.—
—Nay, lady, do not frown;

For, see, the winged fisher's plume
Is painted on the sea.
Below 's a cheek of lovely bloom.
Whose eyes look up at thee?

She smiles; thou need'st must smile on her.
And, see, beside her face
A rich, white cloud that doth not stir.—
What beauty, and what grace!

And pictured beach of yellow sand,
And peaked rock, and hill,
Change the smooth sea to fairy land.—
How lovely and how stlll!

From yonder isle the thrasher's flail
Strikes close upon the ear;
The leaping fish, the swinging sail
Of that far sloop sound near.

The parting sun sends out a glow
Across the placid bay,
Touching with glory all the show.—
—A breeze!—Up helm!—Away!'

ART. XIII.—*Cartas Marruecas y Poesias Selectas.* Por el Coronel Don JOSE CADALSO. Nueva Edicion con Notas y Acentos de Prosodia, al Uso de los Estudiantes en las Academias, Colegios y Universidades de los Estados Unidos de la América Setentrional. Preparado, revisido y corregido por F. SALES, Instructor de Frances y Español en la Universidad de Harvard en Cambridge. Boston, 1827. Munroe y Francis. 12mo. pp. 288.

THIS book belongs to a class, at the head of which stand the *Lettres Persanes* of Montesquieu, and Goldsmith's *Citizen of the World.* It consists of letters purporting to be written by an intelligent Moor, whom the love of knowledge has brought from Africa to Spain. The points which strike him in the manners and institutions of this country, he communicates to his friend in Africa. He is assisted in his observations by a well informed Spaniard, to whom he resorts for information and the solution of difficulties. This apparatus of means furnishes frequent opportunities for satire both grave and gay, and good use is made of them.

Don José Cadalso, the author of these letters, was a man of very respectable standing among the later writers of Spain. He was a native of Cadiz, born in 1741, of an ancient and noble family, and educated in Paris, where he made himself master of Greek and Latin, and the principal modern languages. He afterwards travelled through England, France, Portugal, Germany, and Italy. At the age of twenty years he returned home, and joined the Spanish forces then employed against Portugal. Doing duty as sentinel one day in the course of the campaign, he met with an officer belonging to the English troops, engaged in assisting the Portuguese, and addressed him in his own language with such correctness and fluency, that he believed him to be his countryman, and gave him important information respecting the plans of the allies. Cadalso communicated this to his general, Conde de Aranda, who immediately appointed him his aid-de-camp, and treated him ever after with marked attention. He remained in the army till his death in the year 1782, attentive to his military duties, though devoted to literature. He was the friend of the most distinguished writers then living in Spain, and by his advice and example, contributed much to bring out the talents of several among

them. Beside the *Cartas Marruecas* he published a satire called *Eruditos á la Violeta*, in ridicule of the superficial acquisitions of the pretenders to universal erudition; a tragedy, which does not appear to have met with a great deal of favor; and several poetical pieces under the title of *Ocios de mi Juventud*, which are highly praised in the biographical notice, prefixed to the Madrid edition of the *Cartas Marruecas*. He was struck by a shell at the siege of Gibraltar in 1782, and died lamented both by friends and foes.

The class of writings to which these letters belong, is not very numerous. The works of Goldsmith and Montesquieu, mentioned above, are the best known, and the first of their kind. *Espriella's Letters*, by Southey, are in some measure similar. They are, however, much more a book of travels, and much less one of satire and moral reflection, than the letters of Goldsmith, Montesquieu, or Cadalso. The idea of assuming a foreign character for the purpose of criticising one's own countrymen, is a happy one. 'What will the world think of us?' is a feeling that belongs to nations, as well as individuals; and an author, who can conceive with spirit the views of a foreign observer, makes himself a representative of this dreaded tribunal, and gives to his satire much the same piquancy, as if it were really of foreign origin. Moreover, he can utter much plainer truths, than would be allowed, if he wrote in his own character. A certain amount of prejudice, in favor of the institutions and usages of his own country, is expected from every one who speaks or writes in the character of a native, and no writer is permitted to shake it off. The cause is somewhat the same as that of the toleration of each other's weaknesses, required of individuals living in the same family. Domestic comfort demands the one, and social comfort the other. Individuals thrown together in society must endure much that they cannot approve. Human life is made up of compromises. This is as true in the case of a community as of a family. Every reflecting man sees many subjects of censure in the society around him, which he thinks it inexpedient to attack, contenting himself with the thought, that perfection is not to be expected from human nature, and that something is to be borne for the sake of peace.

Now a writer, who, like the author before us, assumes a foreign character, and portrays with truth the ideas which a stranger would form of the customs and institutions of his country,

to a certain degree receives the same forbearance, and is regarded with the same interest, as if he were really what he pretends to be. If his reflections are such as would be natural to a foreigner, his countrymen cannot help feeling, that they are, in some measure, indications of the opinion of the world, or at least of what the world would think, if the world knew them. The influence, which this gives him, he can turn to much account. Having a far more thorough acquaintance with the character and manners of his countrymen, than can be acquired by a stranger, he can bring the feeling of deference to the world's opinion to bear upon many particulars, which must escape the notice of foreigners. A work of this kind may therefore be made, by a man of talents, highly interesting and useful.

If the *Cartas Marruecas* be inferior to the *Lettres Persanes*, or *The Citizen of the World*, still it is a work of a high degree of merit, and touches with nice judgment, as is observed in the Preface to the Madrid edition, upon 'the faults of contemporary writers, the neglected education of the Spanish youth, and the absurd and injurious customs prevailing among the people.'

A lively picture is given, in one of the earlier letters, of a young Spaniard, who had been left to grow up without pruning. Nuño, the Spanish friend of Gazel, the Moor, tells him that taking a ride one day, near Cadiz, he lost his way on a mountain. While he was endeavoring to regain the path, he met a young man about twenty-two years of age, well dressed and mounted, and of agreeable manners. Nuño being far out of his way, and the night coming on, the young man invited him home.

'As we were leaving the mountain,' says Nuño, 'I could not help noticing the beauty of the trees, and asked my companion if any ship-timber was cut there. "I know nothing about it," replied he, "you must inquire of my uncle, the grand master. He talks all day long about ships, fire-ships, frigates, and galleys. Heaven preserve us! how tedious the good gentleman is. Many is the time I have heard him tell of the battle of Toulon, the capture of the Princess, and the Glorious, the disposition of Leso's ships before Carthagena, with a voice that age and want of teeth had made tremulous. My head is full of Dutch and English admirals. Nothing would tempt him to omit his nightly prayers to St Telmo, for the safety of sailors. These are followed by a long talk about the dangers of the sea; then comes a story of the

loss of a whole fleet, I do not know what one, on which occasion the old gentleman escaped by swimming; after this we naturally have an episode on the advantages of knowing how to swim."'

The young man goes on for some time with this tirade against his uncle, till

'At length,' continues the narrator, 'we entered on a wide plain, with two villages at a short distance from each other. "A beautiful piece of ground," said I "for arranging sixty thousand men in order of battle." "You must talk to my cousin, the cadet in the Guards, about the matter," said he, with great *nonchalance*. "He knows every engagement that has been fought since the good angels routed the bad; and that is not all, for he can tell you the reasons of every victory, every defeat, and every drawn battle. He has spent I do not know how many doubloons already on mathematical instruments, and has a trunk full of drafts, as he calls them, which are ugly prints without heads or bodies." I gave up the army and the navy, and remarked, "It cannot be far from here that the battle was fought in the time of Don Rodrigo, which cost us so dear, as history tells us." "History!" said he, "I wish my brother, the Canon of Seville, was with us. I never troubled my head about it, for Providence has given me in him a walking library of all the histories in the world. He could tell you the color of the coat that king San Fernando wore when he took Seville."

'We had now almost reached the farmhouse, and the young man had not answered a single important question that I had asked him. My natural frankness led me to inquire how he had been educated. "Just as it suited myself, and my mother, and grandfather, an old gentleman who loved me as the apple of his eye. He died at about a hundred years of age. He had been a captain of lancers under Charles the Second, in whose palace he was educated. My father wished me to study, but he had not much authority, and died moreover when I was very young, without even having had the pleasure of seeing me learn to write. However, a tutor was obtained for me, and matters began to look serious, when a little accident occurred, and disarranged the whole scheme." "What were his first lessons," said I. "None at all," replied the young man; "I could read a romance, and play a seguidilla. What more does a gentleman want to learn? My tutor wished me to go deeper, but he had to smart for it. The case was this. I had met some friends at a cattle-yard. He knew it, and must needs come in to interrupt my pleasure. He arrived just at the time when the herdsmen were

teaching me how to handle a stick. His ill luck could not have brought him at a worse moment. He had not spoken two words, when I gave him a blow on the head, which opened it like an orange; and thanks to the man who held me, for I had intended to belabor him as if he had been a ten year old bull, but considering it was the first time, I let him go with what I had given him. Every body cried out, "Long life to the young gentleman," and even Uncle Gregory, who is a man of few words, exclaimed, "You have done the business like an angel." "Who is Uncle Gregory?" said I, astonished that he could approve such insolence. "Uncle Gregory is a butcher in the city, who accompanies us in all our merry bouts; we should not know how to get on without him."

'While he was giving me an account of Uncle Gregory, and other respectable personages, we arrived at the house, and I was introduced to a company of young men assembled there, all of whom were friends or relations of my companion, of the same age, rank, and breeding with himself. They were going on a shooting excursion the next morning, and passed the night in playing cards, supping, singing, and dancing, till the hour should arrive for setting out; their merriment being enlivened by a band of gypsies, whom they had fallen in with, and joined to their party. Here I had the happiness of becoming acquainted with Uncle Gregory. He was easily distinguished from the rest by his hoarse voice, large whiskers, rotundity of person, continual oaths, and rude manners. His business was to make and light cigars, trim the lamps, beat time while the livelier members of the party were dancing, and drink to their health in huge draughts of wine. Knowing that I was tired, they made me sit down to supper immediately, and afterwards carried me into a separate apartment to sleep, ordering a boy, who belonged to the farmhouse, to call me in the morning, and guide me to the road. To relate all that was said and done by these youngsters, would be impossible and improper. I shall only say, that the smoke of the cigars, the bawling of Uncle Gregory, the general buzz from so many voices, the rattle of the castanets, the harsh tones of the guitar, the sqeaking of the gypsies, the barking of the dogs, and the discord of the singers, would not allow me to close my eyes during the whole night. In the morning I mounted my horse, saying to myself, "This is the way in which a body of young men are growing up, who might do the state good service, if their education were equal to their talents."'

Another letter illustrates the fondness with which a Spaniard cherishes the idea of a noble descent, though his nobility may be his only inheritance.

'We Moors have no idea of what is here called hereditary nobility, so that I cannot expect you to understand me, when I tell you, that in Spain, there are not only noble families, but whole provinces, where every man is born a noble. I, myself, who am on the spot, cannot comprehend it. I will give you an example, but you will only be the more puzzled.

'A few days since, wishing to visit my friend Nuño, who was sick, I inquired if the coach was ready. They told me, No. Half an hour after, I made the same inquiry, and received the same answer. When another half hour had elapsed, I asked the same question, and was answered as before. Shortly after, they told me that the coach was ready, but that the coachman was busy. "About what?" said I, and began to go down stairs, when I was met by the man himself, who let me into the secret, saying, "Though a coachman, I am a noble; some of my vassals being in town, they were unwilling to return home without having had the pleasure of kissing my hand. This has detained me, but now I am at leisure; where shall we go?" As he spoke, he took his seat, and brought the coach to the door.'

The following letter will afford a fair specimen of the writer's humor.

'Among the words which my friend intends to put into his Dictionary, the word *victory* is one of those which most require explanation, from the manner in which it is used in modern gazettes. "During the whole course of the last war," said Nuño to me, "I was reading Gazettes and Mercuries, and never could understand which side beat, and which was beaten. The very battles in which I was present, lost their distinctness, after I had read the accounts of them in the public journals. I never knew when we ought to sing *Te Deum*, or when *Miserere*. The common course in these cases is the following. A bloody battle takes place between two large armies, and one or both are cut to pieces; but each general sends home a pompous account of it. The party which has the advantage, however slight that may be, transmits a statement of the killed, wounded, and prisoners, on the part of the enemy, the cannons, standards, kettle-drums, and baggage-waggons taken. The victory is announced at his court with *Te Deums*, illuminations, ringing of bells, &c. The other writes home, that the affair was trifling, not a battle, but a short skirmish of little importance; that, notwithstanding the enemy's great superiority in numbers, he did not refuse to meet him; that the king's troops did wonders; that the engagement ended at the approach of night, and that, unwilling to expose his troops to the chances of a nocturnal conflict, he retired in an orderly manner from the field. On receiving these despatches, *Te Deum* is sung,

and rockets are fired, at his court likewise; and nothing is known with certainty, except the death of twenty thousand men, which occasions that of as many orphan children, disconsolate fathers, and widowed mothers." '

In describing the national pride of the Spaniards, our author says;

'One of the faults of the Spanish people, in the opinion of the other nations of Europe, is pride. If this be really the case, the proportion in which it is observed in different classes is singular, since it increases as the respectability of the individual diminishes; resembling in this respect the quality, which philosophers have discovered in matter, of a tendency downwards increasing in proportion to the descent of the body. The king washes the feet of twelve beggars on certain days in the year, accompanied by his children, with such humility, that I, though ignorant of the religious meaning of this ceremony, when present at it, was affected even to tears. Nobles of the highest rank, though they occasionally speak of their ancestors, are affable even to the lowest domestics. Those of less elevated caste, speak with more frequency of their kindred and connexions. The gentlemen of the cities are somewhat more sensitive on the point of rank. Before visiting a stranger, or admitting him into their houses, they inquire who was his great grandfather, not departing a hair's breadth from this etiquette in favor of any one, though he should be a magistrate of the highest reputation for talents and learning, or a veteran soldier covered with wounds. The most remarkable thing is, that whatever be the rank of the stranger, it is always regarded as an inexcusable blot on his escutcheon, that he was not born in the town where he happens to be; for the natives of each are firmly convinced, that nobility such as theirs exists not elsewhere in the kingdom.

'But this is nothing in comparison with the vanity of the village gentry. One of this class walks majestically in the dull marketplace of his little hamlet, muffled in a threadbare cloak, contemplating the coat of arms which covers the door of his ruinous dwelling, giving thanks to God that he has created so distinguished a gentleman. He will not take off his hat (supposing he could do it without unmuffling himself), he will not salute the stranger who arrives at the inn, though he should be the chief officer of the province, or the president of its principal tribunal. The most which he condescends to do, is to inquire if the stranger is of a noble family, recognised in the ordinances of Castille; what is his coat of arms; and whether he has any relations known in that neighborhood. But what will astonish you most, is the degree to which this vanity is found in mendicants. If alms are refused

them with any degree of asperity, they insult the man of whom they had just been begging. There is a proverb on this subject which says, "The German asks alms with a song, the Frenchman with tears, and the Spaniard with a growl." '

The next extract presents, in a ludicrous light, the mistakes into which travellers on the wing are apt to fall, by forming a hasty opinion of national customs.

'If men were careful to distinguish the abuse from the use, their disputes would not be so frequent and so obstinate. Their negligence in this respect, occasions continual confusion. Their prejudices keep them in the dark, and they imagine that they see clearer, the closer they shut their eyes. Their mistakes are most gross, when they talk about the character, the customs, or the language of foreign nations. "I remember," said Nuño, "to have heard my father observe, that, toward the close of the last century, during the sickness of Charles the Second, when Louis the Fourteenth was taking every means to gain the affections of the Spaniards, in order to prepare the way for his grandson's elevation to the throne of this kingdom, the French fleets were ordered to conform, as far as possible, to the Spanish customs, whenever they touched at any of the ports of the Peninsula. This was a principal point in the instructions given to the officers. The policy was good, but a mistake in its application was attended with bad consequences at Carthagena. A small French squadron happening to enter the harbor of this place, the commander despatched an officer in a barge to present his compliments to the governor, but ordered him before landing to observe if there was any peculiarity in the dress of the Spaniards, which the French officers might imitate, in order to conform to the customs of the place, and if such was the case, to return immediately and inform him of it.

'The officer reached the shore about two o'clock, in the heat of a July afternoon, intent upon observing the people whom he expected to find assembled there. The warmth of the season, however, had driven every body within doors, and he saw no one but a sober ecclesiastic with his spectacles on, and an old gentleman similarly equipped. The officer, who was a stout-hearted soldier, better fitted to command a fire-ship, or board an enemy's vessel, than to make observations on national customs, concluded that every subject of the crown of Spain was obliged by statute to wear at least one pair of spectacles, day and night. He returned to his commander, and told him what he had seen. The officers of the fleet were sadly puzzled to find as many pairs of spectacles as there were noses in want of them. It happened by good luck,

that a servant of one of the gentlemen, who used to vend small wares during his master's voyages, had some dozens of the needed article on hand. From these, the party who were to carry the commander's compliments, and likewise the crew of the barge, were immediately supplied. When they reached the shore, they found the landing-place filled with people, whom the report of the French fleet's arrival had drawn together. The Spaniards stared at the new-comers, and could hardly trust their eyes, when they saw a number of young men, of lively manners and gay apparel, thus strangely accoutred. Two or three companies of marines, who belonged to the garrison, had followed the crowd to the shore, and as these amphibious warriors were composed of the dregs of the people, they could not restrain their laughter. The impatient Frenchmen inquired the cause of their mirth, with much more disposition to chastise it, than to have it explained. The Spaniards redoubled their laughter, and a tumult immediately ensued. The governor of the city and the commander of the fleet hearing the noise, hastened to the spot. Learning the cause of the disturbance, and knowing what must be the consequence, they exerted themselves to quell it. This was done with no little difficulty, the two officers being each ignorant of the other's language. A chaplain belonging to the fleet, and a clergyman of the town, who talked Latin and undertook to act as interpreters, did not help the matter much, their eagerness and different manner of pronouncing rendering them mutually unintelligible; added to which, one could not help laughing at the other for sounding the letter *u* as if it were *oo*, which he retorted by ridiculing his fellow-interpreter for pronouncing the diphthong *au* like the letter *o*; the soldiers all the while being employed in cutting each other's throats." '

These extracts will suffice to give our readers some idea of the author's merit. He has considerable humor, with much force and delicacy of satire. The lively style of the work, the correctness of its moral tone, and the insight which it affords into the manners of the Spanish people, render it a valuable text-book for students of the Spanish language.

To the people of the United States, the language and literature of Spain are peculiarly interesting. If we are not attracted by the beauty of its dialect, one of the noblest extant; by the charms of its ancient poetry, distinguished for simplicity and force, for exquisite pathos and manly spirit, full of the strength of feeling and rugged independence which characterized a brave and hardy race, who dwelt in the fastnesses of the mountains, and daily did battle

for their country and their religion; by the richness and excellence of its drama, from whose stores the other nations of Europe have drawn a large part of the materials of their national Theatres; by the knowledge of life and the comic humor of its numerous novelists;—yet our connexion with Spanish America gives a great and growing importance to the knowledge, both of the language and the literature of Spain. We say of the literature, because the books which are generally read among any people, the sources from which its noblest minds draw their elements of thought, hold an important place among the causes which determine its national character. The young statemen, poets, and philosophers, in fact all the educated people of Spanish America, will be nurtured in the literature of old Spain. Their taste and moral feelings, their religious notions, and habits of thought, must be derived mainly from this source; and such as is their character, will be that of the people at large, with whom we must be intimately connected in the various relations of peace and war.

The importance of an acquaintance with the Spanish language, as a means of intercourse with our Spanish American neighbors, is obvious from the daily growth of our trade in their ports, and the great number of independent states, with which this language will be our medium of communication. Nearly all the southern division of the American continent, and a large part of the northern, belong to the descendants of Spaniards and Portuguese. Wherever we turn our eyes, over two thirds of the New World, we find their idioms prevailing, of which the Spanish is by far the most widely extended. Throughout this immense territory, numerous independent states are springing up, with most of which we shall have commercial, and with all, political relations. These must become, in the course of time, very extensive and complicated, and require constant communication between our country and the southern republics. Moreover, the great interest which we take in the political proceedings of those states, that have just broken their colonial bonds, and are busy in framing new forms of government to secure their newly acquired independence, makes a knowledge of their language valuable.

Mr Sales has done a good work, therefore, in preparing and publishing this American edition of Cadalso. The French copies generally in use are very incorrect, and printed after the old orthography. The errors have been corrected, and

the omissions supplied, by Mr Sales, and the new orthography of the Spanish academy adopted. But a more important improvement is the introduction of accents, which have been placed wherever they were required to determine the pronunciation. This will prove a great help to learners, often perplexed by the want of uniformity in the place of the accented syllable. In its present dress, this book may be recommended to students of the Spanish language, as one of the best for facilitating a speedy and thorough acquisition of that tongue.

Art. XIV.—*The Talisman for MDCCCXXVIII.* New York. E. Bliss, 1828. 18mo. pp. 268.

We well remember the interest, with which in our early days we pored over the pages of the *Almanack*, that cheap and curious volume, which in so small a compass combined so great a variety of astronomical, economical, moral, and literary lore. From it might be learned the precise time for performing all the details of the comprehensive catalogue of every purpose under the sun, which Solomon has left on record, as a proof that method in business, and seasonableness in sympathy, are virtues of every age of the world alike. Its ornaments, it is true, were of an unpretending character; a few georgical vignettes for the body of the work, and for the frontispiece, always that cabalistic man, who could never be contemplated on earth without interest, because for him the twelve signs of heaven seemed contending. We have never yet arrived at a perfect knowledge of the limits of their respective sovereignties over this individual, whom we have always considered, like Adam, a mere representative of his race; nor have we ever been able to ascertain the benefits which the 'little state of man' derives from this complicated feudality.

We presume, however, that good reasons can be given for the division by those versed in judicial astrology, a science to which, although our functions are eminently judicial, we have no pretensions; and content ourselves with alluding to the Alma-

nack, as the first step in a walk of literature, which bids fair to become important among us. Its immediate successors appear to have been the *Pocket Remembrancers* and *Calendars for Ladies and Gentlemen*, in which the literary began to encroach upon the chronical part, and blank spaces were left for memoranda; a line being allotted to each day of life. But suddenly by a change no less indicative of the progress of society, than that by which the three-legged stool on which 'immortal Alfred sat,' expanded into the 'accomplished' sofa along which languid beauty reclines, the simple, sententious, and prophetic Almanack became metamorphosed into the ornamented, narrative, and reminiscent *Forget Me Not*, *Memorial*, *Souvenir*, *Amulet*, *Token*, and *Talisman*. They who are prone to attribute to the influence of woman the improvements which adorn society, may find an illustration of their theory in the rapid growth of these elegant little works. They are carefully adapted to the gratification of female taste. Their embellishments are delicate, the proportion of sentiment usually large, and being generally purchased as presents for ladies of all ages, the sagacity of the publishers has prompted them to 'take no note of time' in them, so that at last the humble and useful Almanack, from which they originated, has become entirely excluded from their pages.

It would hardly be supposed, that the ponderous and labor-loving Germans are the source of all this; that the elaborators of weighty lexicons, and weavers of impervious metaphysics, should have been the first to produce these Lilliputian magazines of wit, sentiment, poetry, and the arts of design. Such, however, is the fact. Among the French they do not seem to be general, nor to have much claim to notice, except for mere external ornament. The English, from whom we have lately imitated them, have borrowed them directly, without any sensible improvement of their plan, from the various '*Taschenbücher*' of the Germans; and, as among the latter people, although now upon the decline, they have risen to the dignity of an established branch of literature, which has been treated as such by their critics, we will venture to place before our readers a brief outline of their progress.

A writer in one of the most popular literary journals of Germany * has described, in a lively manner, the gradual

* Die deutsche Literatur unsrer Tage bietet im Gegensatze zu der

diminution of size in the repositories of the favorite literature of his countrymen ; * how, in the course of only half a century, the majestic folio has yielded its place to the dignified quarto ; the latter in its turn has retired from before the genteel octavo ; and all have finally been exiled from their shelves by the inroads of the dapper duodecimo. The truth is, that literature, to be popular, must be portable ; and the wits of Germany have certainly shown themselves sages in selecting a medium of so current and extensive a circulation, to imprint with the stamp of their genius. An author, whose subject is within the intellectual reach of general readers, and who wishes to be soon and widely read, is more sure of being so in Germany, by contributing to a *Taschenbuch*, than by any other mode in which he can give his works to the world. It was in this form that Göthe first published his *Hermann and Dorothea*, and his *Natural Daughter;* and Schiller his *Maid of Orleans.* It is even said, that some of the most popular and most beautiful modern poetry of Germany has been created by the ambition of young writers to distinguish themselves, where the opportunity is so readily afforded. Ernst Schulze (a pupil and friend of the celebrated Bouterwek, by whom his works have been collected and published) contended for, and obtained the prize in the *Urania* of 1820, by the production of 'The Enchanted Rose,' a Poem in three cantos, which immediately ran through several editions, and sweetened with its success the last hours of a life, the most of which had been marked by melancholy. We have not yet had the good fortune to meet with this poem ; but the praise bestowed upon it by a judicious, although obviously friendly critic, is, that 'it may be fairly considered, as the most beautiful poem of its kind in the whole circle of German literature, and will last as long as the German language and poetry shall exist.'

The manner in which these works have been got up in Germany, has varied with the objects and characters of the editors.

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frühern ein merkwürdiges Bild dar. Wir brauchen kaum ein halbes Jahrhundert zurückzugehen, und die Bücherbänke in Deutschland blicken uns finster, streng, gelehrt, fast abschreckend an. Ungeheure Folios gönnen auch den beleibtesten Quartanten nur unwillig einen Raum, und diese sehen wieder mit Stolz auf das noch scheu sich anschmiegende Geschlecht der Oktavbände herab. Wie anders ist es jetzt.

* The *Hermes* of 1820, published at Leipzig.

A large proportion of them has been published by mere booksellers, who have paid at fixed rates for original matter, and have thus filled their pages with contributions from many of the most popular authors. This method, however, has been found liable to difficulties, which in many instances have proved insuperable, and indeed, most of the *Taschenbücher* that have been catered for in this manner, have been but temporary in their duration. The demand for increased elegance in their ornaments and style of publication, has increased the expense to the publisher, without proportionably increasing his profits; the contributors have, from year to year, enhanced their terms, and instead of contenting themselves with the little *quiddam honorarium*, first bestowed upon them as a gratuity, they have shown their knowledge of the value of their own services, by making their own bargains with the publishers, upon thoroughly commercial principles. The competition has become so great, and the number of the works so considerable, as to reduce exceedingly the sale of particular editions; and instances have even occurred, in which entire editions have been almost totally lost, on account of having been prevented, by some of the numerous delays to which works depending on various contributors and artists are always exposed, from appearing in the market at the only period of the year, when it is possible to put them in circulation.

Some or all of these causes have led the German booksellers to look upon the publication of these works, as a ruinous * undertaking; and from the competition which already exists in this country among those of domestic origin, as well as of foreign manufacture, we fear that the same fate will pursue them here, and that the expectations of the publishers will not be sufficiently realized, to enable them to continue their efforts in this line. We will cite one or two instances, to show how brief the period has been of some of the most deservedly popular of these agreeable volumes. The *Taschenbuch für Damen* was begun in 1798, and although enriched by contributions from Huber, Pfeffel, Lafontaine, Göthe, and more than all, Jean Paul, was discontinued in 1802, after a career of only four years. A selection from the works of the most eminent poets, was begun by Schiller, in 1796, and having enjoyed a short celebrity, from some satirical poetry, entitled *Die Xenien*, which

* 'Halsbrechend,' is their own significant expression.

it contained, and which was attributed by some to Schiller, and by others to Göthe, was relinquished in 1800. The history of many of these productions, although published in the most inviting form, and under the most favorable auspices, appears to have been similar. Yet one of these books of selections *(Blumenlese)* enjoyed a more lasting success. It was edited by Bürger and Voss, from 1770 to 1776, continued by Bürger alone till 1794, and afterwards by Carl Reinhard, till 1803. Anthologies have, however, gradually got out of vogue among the Germans, and a great variety of modes have been devised to revive the interest of readers generally in the annual publications, which they had frequently constituted. Sometimes they have been ornamented by engravings of scenes from the most popular dramas of Schiller, Göthe, and other favorite authors.

Shakspeare, who is perhaps as much read, and as well understood in Germany as in England, has furnished the materials for numerous illustrations. We have now before us the *Urania* of 1823, of which the only embellishments are groups from King Lear, Othello, and Macbeth, accompanied with the corresponding scenes from Voss' translation. Some of them have scenes and illustrations from the Waverley Novels; and subjects no less severe than disquisitions upon the philosophy of the characters of Shakspeare, particularly of Hamlet, and examinations of the peculiarities of the poetry of Lord Byron, are admitted into their pages. Others, again, contain sketches of figures and groups by celebrated artists, such for instance as the *Graces* of Canova, together with criticisms upon their merits, which among us would be considered rather too circumstantial and elaborate for works intended for extensive popularity. Another class still are exclusively dramatic. One of this sort was edited with great success by Kotzebue, from 1803, till his death in 1819. It would be difficult, and we know not whether it would be profitable, to enumerate the multifarious forms in which taste is gratified and the purse tempted among the Germans, at that season of the year when new impulses are given to mutual regard, by accompanying the expressions of it by some such token as these productions most readily furnish.

We have been thus minute in our account of these publications, chiefly to show in what estimation works of this kind are held by another people, at a time when, in our own country,

they are attempting to vindicate for themselves a respectable station in the ranks of elegant literature. The one, of which the title stands at the head of this article, purports to be from the pen of *Mr Francis Herbert*, a gentleman apparently of much observation, of great versatility of style, of extensive travel, in short, a citizen of the world; although, from the freedom and obvious familiarity with which he comments, in more than one place, upon the *gullibility* of his fellow-citizens of New York, we suspect that the said metropolis has been his principal residence. He certainly is a writer of no ordinary powers; in prose, he delights us, at one moment, with romantic description and striking incident; at another, diverts us with playful disquisition and humorous narration, and at another still, instructs us with original and sober history. In poetry, he passes with equal ease from the gentle to the grand, but we fear that, in this department, his productions are not all perfectly genuine. He complains, indeed, in his Preface, that 'some of his verses have been published among the miscellaneous poems of authors of no mean note,' but unless we are much mistaken, we have formerly seen those beautiful stanzas on 'The Close of Autumn,' as proceeding from the pen of an author certainly 'of no mean note;' but who never borrowed except from the whispers within, and whose characteristic trait of genius is, that he looks round on nature 'with the eye that nature bestows only on a poet.' The 'Sonnet on the Shenandoah at Harper's Ferry,' if it be the actual composition of Mr Herbert, has certainly been attributed to another. We hardly know where to apply the *Sic vos non vobis*, in this disputed claim.

But to proceed from Mr Herbert to his work. It opens with a slight account of the author, written in an easy and confident manner, and well calculated to excite curiosity respecting the contents of his book. Then follow two 'Prefaces to an Album,' of entirely opposite characters; the first is written in a strain of serious morality and tender expostulation, which sounds little like the man of the world, but which will by no means, be thought misplaced, when it is considered that the book which it precedes, is appropriated to the commencement of the year, and that a year may be looked upon as an epitome of life. We subjoin the remarks upon the responsibility of men for the influence, which they exert over others.

'That influence, so powerful in its sway over us, we must, in

turn, exert upon others. Other minds must become in part the transcripts of ours, and perpetuate the evil or the excellence of our short being here. It is not given alone to the great, the eloquent, or the learned, to those who speak trumpet-tongued to millions of their fellow-creatures, from the proud elevations of power or talent, thus to extend themselves in the production of good or ill into after-times. We are each and all of us, as waves in the vast ocean of human existence; our own little agitation soon subsides, but it communicates itself far onward and onward, and it may often swell as it advances into a majesty and power with which it would scarcely seem possible, that our littleness could have had any participation.

'Happy, then, reader—happy thou, if thou hast confined the bad tendencies of thy nature to thine own breast,—if thou hast never proved the cause of offence—not even to any "little one"—if thou hast led none into dangerous error, lulled none into careless or contemptuous negligence of duty, nor ever sullied the whiteness of an innocent mind.

'Yet remember—that it is the mysterious and awful law of thy nature, that no one of us can pass through life insulated and solitary, leaving no trace behind him. Thy influence will be—must be, for good or for evil after thee. Then, although haply thou mayest have but a single talent committed to thy charge, whether thou writest thy thoughts in these pages, or engravest them in living characters upon the hearts of those who trust, or love, or honor thee, strive always, that they may be such as will tend to "give ardor to virtue and confidence to truth," so that others may be holier and happier because *thou hast lived.*' pp. 2–4.

The second 'Preface to an Album' seems almost intended to efface the grave impressions, which its predecessor is adapted to produce. It considers the Album in its primitive and fallen state, that is, before and after it has been written in, and illustrates both its conditions, by a variety of similes, many of which are apt and humorous. A single stanza will serve as a speeimen.

'T is like an ancient, single lady's chest,
Where rummaging, the curious heir discovers
Old patterns, worn-out thimbles, and the rest
Of antique trumpery; fans, and flowers, and covers
Of pincushions; a petrified wasp's nest;
Letters from long defunct or married lovers;
Work-boxes, ten-pences that once were new,
And murdered metre, if she was a *blue.*' p. 7.

Mr Herbert next entertains us with an account of a 'hair

breadth 'scape' from the fangs of a Royal Tiger. The narrative is given with great felicity of expression, and preserves excellent oriental keeping, and perfect probability, throughout. A scene on the banks of the Hudson, illustrated by an extremely pretty engraving, follows next in order. The spot selected is the northern entrance of the Highlands, just above West Point. The poetry is of a pensive cast, and its flow betrays the practised writer. The following stanza, although the thought is by no means novel, has unusual beauty of versification.

> 'Loveliest of lovely things are they
> On earth that soonest pass away;
> The rose that lives its little hour
> Is prized beyond the sculptured flower;
> Even love, long tried, and cherished long,
> Becomes more tender and more strong,
> At thought of that insatiate grave
> From which its yearnings cannot save.' p. 25.

This is succeeded by a neat paraphrase of a passage from Poliziano.

We now come to the story of 'Mr de Viellecour and his Neighbors,' which is appropriately introduced by a short esssay, in which the fallacy of conjecturing character from manuscript is humorously illustrated, and a number of instances are given, some historical, and others within the writer's own experience, of awkward mistakes resulting from indistinct handwriting. The outline of the story is briefly as follows. Mr Viellecour is a descendant of the Huguenots, settled at New Rochelle, in the state of New York; benevolence is the predominant trait of his character, and horticulture and elegant chirography his ruling tastes. A family of Pecks move into his neighborhood, who are all originals, and one of whom, Miss Abishag Peabody Peck, is an original *par excellence*. We will not venture to describe her otherwise than in the author's words.

'Of Abishag or Miss Peck, last presented to my mind, and now painted at full length upon the retina of my mental eye, it may be essential to mention a few characteristics. In respect of matrimony, and rumors of matrimony, she strongly resembled the illustrious Betsey of England; and deserved as little as that "imperial vot'ress," the imputation of passing through life,

"In maiden meditation, fancy-free."

'She had remained, as I have hinted, for an unascertainable time, mistress of herself, unincumbered with a husband. Whether she really thought the poet wrong, who says that "earthlier happy is the rose distilled," etc. may admit of a doubt. She had long had a fondness, nay, it may be termed a rage, for making people believe (and herself, too, among the rest), that she was constantly solicited to become a bride. In sober truth, shrewd, sagacious, and matter-of-fact, as she was in all things else, touching this affair of marriage, she was subject to strange hallucinations. Her imagination was (if we may speak poetically) redolent of matrimony. The ideal husbands which filled her mind were indeed not exactly such as haply may sometimes flit across the day-dreams of youthful beauty, brave, and young, and handsome, all glowing with the purple light of love, and breathing truth and fervent constancy. Hers were sober and comfortable visions of snug establishments, sprucely painted two-story houses, with well-papered parlors and nice kitchens—huge stores of household linen—men servants and maid servants—one-horse chaises or trim Jersey-built wagons, and, by way of necessary appendage, some respectable helpmate, with a good thriving business, or a round and regularly paid salary. Thus it happened that from time to time the whole neighborhood was informed, of what she more than half believed herself, that offers had been made for her hand, now by a medical doctor at Mamaroneck—now by a reverend professor at New-Haven—now by a rich widower apothecary in the Bowery—now by an old Dutch dominie, on the North River—and now by young Mr Rubric, fresh from the Episcopal Seminary at New York, whose first clerical bands her own fingers had hemmed. The said reverend and medical doctors, the dominie, the apothecary, and young Mr Rubric, meanwhile, remaining not only innocent of all amorous intention, but utterly ignorant of all rumors thereof.

'Of her personal charms it is best not to say much. Could she have been preserved for ever, as she had been for so many years, she would have supplied the desideratum of a standard of long measure, and saved a learned secretary of state, professors of colleges, and revisers of laws, many a long report, as she was perfectly straight, and exactly five feet, eleven inches, and eleven lines high, when unhosed, unbuskined, and unbonneted. Time had not rubbed off nor rounded the acute angularity of her features, or the distinct rigidity of her articulation. There was an irresistibly extortionate air in her countenance, when she wanted to get all the facts out of every body; and it exhibited an arithmetical precision, when she was in a contemplative mood, which showed that she had added up her ideas, and carried nine. Her defunct papa, among his innumerable avocations, had been an

agent for selling Pomeroy's Universal Patent Catholicon. From him she inherited a great taste for quackery; or, as her mama called it, a genius for medicine; and she preferred giving away, not only her recipes, but her nostrums, to letting her hand get out of practice.' pp. 55–58.

A fit of the rheumatism, by which Mr Viellecour is attacked, induces Miss Peck to send him a recipe for the cure of it, for which, after his recovery, he writes her a letter, couched in the style of old-school gallantry, accompanied by a basket of quinces, and concluding with the tender of his hearty thanks, which from the illegible elegance of the manuscript, is interpreted by Miss Peck, as an offer of his heart and hand. This offer she immedately accepts in a most characteristic epistle, eked out with a number of more characteristic postscripts. The astonished Mr Viellecour is now beset by a letter of license and congratulation from Mrs Jerusha Peck, the mother of Abishag; by another of advice from Dr Epaphroditus Peck, her uncle; by a borrowing note from the Honorable Mr Plutarch Peck, her nephew; by a challenge from Mr Terence Mountjoy, a Gallicized Irishman, who had for some time lived incognito in Mrs Peck's family, and on whom Miss Peck had turned her eyes; by a letter from Lawyer Bull, threatening a suit for breach of marriage promise, on account of attentions paid by him to Miss Betsey Bull; and though last, not least, by an epistle in which it would be difficult to say, whether madness or mantuamaking predominates, from Miss Adèle Eloïse Huggins, whom Mr Viellecour had educated, and whom he had afterwards caused to be instructed in the mysteries of the needle, and finally established in business. From this epistolary volley, and the various evils that it threatens, Mr Viellecour, whose sensitiveness of ridicule is exquisite, seeks safety in flight, and does not return to revisit his household gods, until, by a succession of natural events, the neighborhood is entirely cleared of the authors of his whimsical persecution. The merits of this story are those of fertility of invention, and humor and variety of illustration. Its chief fault is a tendency to caricature in some parts, which, in a production of which the essence is an exaggeration of the features of common life, it must be extremely difficult to avoid. Several of the characters are originally conceived, and all of them naturally sustained. Mr Viellecour interests us constantly by the benevolence of his character, the dignity of his

recollections, and the innocence of his tastes, even in his most awkward and ridiculous situations. Miss Peck deserves a place in our gallery of national portraits. Terence Mountjoy, however, is decidedly overcharged; in spite of Mr Herbert's pertinacious assertions, we cannot believe that the credulity of our sister of Gotham has ever extended so far, as to be imposed upon by such an uncouth nondescript. We will not attempt to describe or illustrate him; 'none but himself can be his parallel.'* The introduction of this character, however, gives occasion to a digression concerning *humbugs*, which, because it is a very good specimen of that species of humor, which produces its effect by an eloquent accumulation of epithets and images, either ludicrous in themselves, or made so by ingenious juxtaposition, we extract for the edification of our readers. We beg them, however, to consider the charge, which it brings forward against the New-Yorkers, of extreme *gullibility*, entirely as Mr Herbert's, unapproved of by ourselves, for, 'we could not hear their enemy say so' of our brethren of the brilliant metropolis.

'He belongs to a genus of which every one knows more or less, who has seen or heard anything of the phenomena, which for the edification of monster-hunters and monster-gazers, have arisen, culminated, and set, or more often "shot madly from their spheres," in the horizon of New-York society, for the last twenty years. Of this genus there are several species, though the nature of each kind soon passeth away, and "goeth out" of fashion, and of remembrance. Yet, in their brief career, they have charmed female hearts, and turned wise brokers' heads. Such is the power of foreign tongues and foreign titles, foreign jewels and foreign jokes, foreign fashions and foreign fiddling. There is your heroic humbug, as your Waterloo general; your scientific humbug, such as you may meet at the suppers of the Literary and Philosophical Society, or the *soirées* of some Mæcenas; your patriotic humbug, who has "left his country for his country's good," and such you may see everywhere. There is your medical and your musical humbug; your ecclesiastical humbug, your pedagogical

* We have been lately struck by meeting with a justification of the violation of the maxim, or rather its converse, that 'nullum simile est idem,' in an established classic. Cervantes, in describing the barbarian Bradamiro, says, 'He was as bold as himself, for none could be found, with whom he could be compared.' 'Atrevido tanto como él mismo, porque no se halla con quien compararlo.' The Spanish writers of that day must have been as daring as their soldiers.

humbug, your proselyte humbug, and your new-community humbug; your phrenological humbug, your *cuisinier* humbug, your travelled humbug, and your savage humbug. Last, though not least, there is the real, pure, natural, unlicked, unlettered, unequivocal, unadorned, unadulterated, unsophisticated, unaccommodated humbug; or, as Lear says, "the real thing itself—a poor, bare, forked animal," who, without education, knowledge, or manners—without tongues or travels, jewels or juggles, fashions or falsetto, grace or grammar, will make his way by the dint of sheer and monstrous lying—lying which has neither the merit of invention or consistency; and is so essentially grotesque, that it seems easier to believe it at once, than to believe that it has ever *been* believed.' pp. 61, 62.

Three pieces of poetry succeed the story of Mr Viellecour. One is an original and powerful description of the 'Hurricane;' the next is 'The Serenade,' accompanied by an original design, in which the poet and painter have so perfectly illustrated each other, that we should almost suspect them of being the same individuals; the third is a translation of 'The Butterfly' of De la Martine, which, as it is pretty, and fanciful, and short, we subjoin.

'To be born with the spring, and to die with the rose,
To sip the fresh sweets of young flowers, ere they close,
To float on the wings of the zephyr at even,
And bathe in the rich flood of glory from heaven;
To shake from the wing the light spangles of gold,
And its course to the deep vaults of azure to hold;
Passing off from the bosom of earth like a sigh,
Such is the magical life of the young butterfly.

It resembles Desire, which, in search of new sweets,
Alights on each object of beauty it meets,
But restless—unsated with bliss of the earth,
It returns to the heaven from whence it had birth.' p. 119.

The historical sketch, 'De Gourgues,' has merits of a higher and more serious order, than are often to be found in any works of a merely popular character. It is distinguished by accuracy and depth of research, and by great clearness and strength of style, and leaves us reason to regret, that talents such as it indicates, are not oftener employed in more elaborate and extensive illustrations of our national annals. We next meet with a free translation of one of the best of the *Drammi Sacri* of Metastasio. The character of this author's

style is well known, even to those who have but a tinge of modern literature. He is remarkable for the extreme felicity with which he expresses natural sentiments, although his writings, particularly in his *arie*, are profusely interspersed with *concetti*. He is said to have been himself so perfectly persuaded of his own unrivalled aptitude of expression, that, in reading his productions to his frends, he would frequently anticipate their applause, by the self-complacent question, *Si può dir meglio?* In his Sacred Dramas, however, he has been less successful. The lightness of his style of composition, and the perpetual recurrence of his *arie* are not suited to the solemnity of his subjects, and he is sometimes extremely frigid in his management of particular scenes. We will point out an instance in the drama immediately before us. On the return of Isaac unharmed from the sacrifice, Sarah faints. Isaac is naturally alarmed, but Abraham reassures him by telling him, that such things are very common, and that his mother will soon come to, if left to herself. Isaac, however, is not satisfied, and cannot understand how one, who has supported so many sorrows, should be unable to support a single joy. Abraham then goes into a philosophical explanation of the matter, winding it up with an *aria*, of which the substance is, that miseries are so common, that men learn to bear them from habit, but felicity is so rare that they are apt to be overwhelmed with the first instances of it. With the difficulties of the original, however, and of the nature of the subject, the translator has successfully contended. The instance below, compared with the passage of which it is a paraphrase, shows an improvement upon the original, in its own style.

'Thine innocent child, in thy late years,
Vouchsafed by Heaven to thy desires,
Whom love so just, so strong endears,
God at thy hand requires;
Requires thine offspring's blood to flow
Beneath thy sacrificing knife,
Requires the priest to strike the blow
Who gave the victim life.' p. 149.

'Quell' innocente figlio,
Dono del Ciel sì raro,
Quel figlio a te sì caro,
Quello vuol Dio da te.
Vuol che rimanga esangue
Sotto al paterno ciglio;
Vuol che ne sparga il sangue
Chi vita già gli diè.'

It would be impossible for us to give a competent idea of this translation by extracts; we will point out the concluding speech of Abraham, as an instance of happy rendering, and remark, in passing, that the engraver has been very successful in the accompanying illustration, with the single exception, that the breadth of the lower side of the face of the infant is too great for his position.

In the story of Major Egerton, the man of various phases, we strongly suspect Mr Herbert of having indulged himself rather freely in the traveller's license. His hero is an actor of all work, and actually appears in different parts of the narrative as an Indian, an English officer, an actor, a common soldier, a rector, a Mameluke and a howling Dervish, all of which characters he maintains with probability and propriety. Both the descriptive and dramatic parts are well executed, and *se non è vero, è ben trovato.*

We are next presented with a spirited sonnet, on the subject of William Tell in chains, the design of which, by Inman, engraved by Durand, forms one of the principal ornaments of the work.

'The Cascade of Melsingah' is an attempt, of which too few instances are to be found in our literature, to associate with a spot of wild and romantic beauty some tradition, that may give it new interest. The description will readily recall it to the lovers of natural scenery, who have visited it; but we believe, that it is from the author of the present tale, that they must, for the first time, learn its name. If he has not invented the tradition which it includes, he has certainly availed himself of it with great poetical felicity; and the numerous visitors of the scene in days to come, after the perusal of this simple and natural story, will find in it charms to which they were blind before. We must gratify our readers with a single descriptive passage from it.

'Who does not know the little cascade of Melsingah? If any of my readers have never visited the spot, nor heard it described, let me tell them that it is situated on the east bank of the Hudson, a little below the mouth of its tributary Matoavoan, about sixty miles from New York, at the foot of the northernmost ridge of the Highlands, where it crosses the river and stretches away out of sight to the northeast. A brook comes down the crags and woody sides of this ridge, and is fed by the mountain springs throughout the year. After having collected all its waters, it flows for a short distance through the forest, in a narrow rocky glen, parallel to the base of the mountain, and finally pours itself in a thin white sheet over a high precipice. From this precipice, the rocky banks, rising above the top of the cascade to a considerable height, recede on each side, and then return in a curve towards the rivulet, forming a little circular amphitheatre, having the blue pool into which the water descends at the bottom, and, at the lower end, the passage by which the brook hurries off rapidly towards the Hudson. The face of the rock down which the water

falls, is covered with a thick mantle of green moss, which keeps its place in spite of the current passing over it, and only serves to work the slender sheet to greater whiteness. Trees of the forest overhang the hollow; the maple, the bass-wood, the black ash, and the hemlock mingle their boughs, and the moose-wood rattles its bunches of green keys as you place your hand on its striped trunk. In May the dog-wood whitens the high bank with its flowers; in June the broad-leaved kalmia hangs out its crimson-spotted cups over the stream where it comes down from the cleft above; and all around the witch-hazel flaunts with its straw-colored blossoms in December, like an antiquated belle in the ornaments that belong to the spring of life. Above, is a small open circle among the foliage, corresponding with the shape of the banks, at which the sun looks in for a moment at noon; but the wind never descends into the hollow save in the winter, when it sweeps the loose snow into the glen, and mars the fantastic frost-work of this waterfall. For three quarters of the year the stream pours over its rock unvisited and unheard, save by the few who love what is beautiful in nature for its own sake. But in the hot months it is a place of resort for those who come to see what every body talks about; and the woody solitude is invaded by strange feet, and the solemn and eternal sound of the falling water mingles with voices that have no business there. pp. 198–200.

The 'Legend of the Devil's Pulpit' is the last item of this various assortment. To those who are intimate with the history and localities of New York, it must be extremely diverting. We should almost believe, from the familiarity of his contemporary allusions, that Mr Herbert had been an actor in the scenes he so faithfully describes; for aught we know, the original proprietor of the Pulpit himself. He professes, however, to quote from manuscript documents, and gives us a story, of which the following is a sketch. Tevas Oakes, son of the sexton of Trinity church in 1760, suddenly becomes metamorphosed from a strolling vagabond into an *exquisite* of that period. At the summit of his elevation, partly attained through the instrumentality of 'Villiam Wince,' his tailor, he 'spurns the base degrees by which he did ascend,' and employs another more fashionable artist of the same tribe. Vince in revenge determines to discover and expose the mystery of his ungrateful employer's sudden splendor, and having ascertained that he absents himself every Friday, tracks him, and conceals himself on board of the 'Petty-auger,' which conveys him to Weehawk. He returns the next day in a panic, with a story that 'the Devil preached over at Weehawk, and that he talked handsomer than the

rector or the recorder.' This story collects, of course, a crowd. They are harangued by Dr McGraw, a most original personage, whose characteristic trait is an abhorrence of quackery, and who, as we are credibly informed, is an actual historical personage, yet remembered by the older inhabitants of New York. The Doctor assembles a sufficient force to protect him against all possibility of danger, and after passing through a variety of appalling sights and sounds, arrives at last at the scene of action. The mystery is then discovered to be the contrivance of a band of smugglers, with which Tevas is connected, to protect the magazine of their contraband wares against the visits of the curious. The Doctor seizes the pretended Devil, and after having catechised him in a most whimsical manner, lays him for ever, to the infinite satisfaction of his audience. The strange exorcist then seats himself upon the pulpit, from which he utters the following soliloquy, in the spirit of prophecy, applicable, as we suppose, to the present inhabitants of New York.

'"Yes," said he, "I see how it is. These poor people too must go the way of all flesh. Half a century hence, they will be as wicked as the Londoners. With the same vices, they will have more wit. But what of that? So much the worse for them. They will have their South Sea bubbles, their land bubbles, their bank bubbles, and all manner of bubbles. They 'll have their Stock Market and their New Market; and there will be bulls and bears, lame ducks, rooks and pigeons in both of them. They will have lotteries, and operas, and elopements, and cracked poets, and ballets, and burlettas, and Italian singers, and French dancers. And every second man in a good coat, will be a broker or a lawyer or an insolvent. And there will be no more cash payments; but the women will wear cashmeres, and the men will drink champagne.—And the girls, instead of learning to cook and mend clothes, will be taught to chatter bad French and worse Spanish, and to get their husbands into jail;—but there will be no jails in those days! for they will have bankrupt laws, and three-quarter laws and two-third laws, and the limits will be as big as the county! There will be no more comfortable tea-drinkings, and innocent dances, but they will have their balls and routes and conversaziones and fêtes and fiddlesticks. People will dine by candle-light of week days, and nobody will go to church on afternoons on Sundays! Folks will be knowing in wines and cookery and players and paintings and music, and know nothing of their own affairs. They will go to fashionable churches as an amusement, and to fashionable gaming-houses as

a business. The girls will learn to waltz of the Germans, and their mammas to flirt from the French. The boys will all be men, and the old men will try to be boys. Then they will have all manner of quackery, from a patent pair of loops to hold up their breeches, to a patent way of paying off the national debt. And they will run after the heels of every quack who comes among them, and think he is the devil himself, though he has not half the sense of the dirty little devil that I have just discharged! And the doctors will quarrel about moonshine, and ruin the character of the profession and themselves by telling the truth about one another! But I shall be gone ere then;—sufficient for the day is the evil thereof!"' pp. 283—285.

This comic narration is accompanied by an engraving from an original design, in which the perspective is preserved with uncommon accuracy and effect.

In concluding our notice of this volume, we deem it but just to remark, that laying aside the mask of the ostensible author, it appears to us to be the production of the leisure moments of two or three ripe scholars and practised writers. We think that we can recognise in scattered parts, the touches of pens, which we have seen engaged in higher employments. The book is certainly an interesting and an amusing one, far above the ordinary works of its class; yet we hope the time is not far distant, when those among us, who are capable of assisting in the great work of building up a national literature, may not be compelled to seek for readers through a medium which must depend, in a great measure, for its popularity upon the arts of publication, and upon the selection of a season to secure general circulation.

Art. XV.—CRITICAL NOTICE.

1.—*Liber Primus, or a First Book of Latin Exercises; prepared for the Use of Schools and Academies.* By Joseph Dana, A. M. Fifth Edition, corrected and improved. Boston. J. H. A. Frost. 12mo. pp. 192.

2.—*The Latin Reader. First Part.* From the Fifth German Edition. By Frederick Jacobs, Editor of the Greek Anthology, the Greek Reader, &c. Boston. Hilliard, Gray, Little, and Wilkins. [Stereotype Ed.] 1827. 12mo. pp. 233.

The first of these little volumes has long been known and generally used in New England, as the first book after the grammar

for beginners in the study of Latin. The extensive use of the book is the best test of the skill and judgment with which it was compiled. The author is an accomplished and well read Latin scholar of the old school. He prepared, also, the *Latin Tutor*, an introduction to the making of Latin, which has been in common use in our schools. The *Liber Primus*, by far the best book of the kind among us at the time it was published, was nevertheless susceptible of improvement. Mr Dana's removal from New England probably prevented him from giving the work that revision and improvement which the present edition has received from another hand.

It was the object of this book to remove the difficulties complained of in Valpy's Latin *Delectus*, a classical little work, but which advanced too rapidly in the difficulties of construction for most beginners to keep pace with it. 'It must ever be a subject of deep regret,' says our author, 'that, of the rich and invaluable treasures of Roman literature, so little has descended to us expressly prepared for the use of children, or particularly adapted to lead beginners, by regular and easy steps, to the knowledge of the most useful and most interesting of all the languages of antiquity.'

Although this is an evil, which, from its nature admits of no complete remedy, yet much has been done to lessen it; of which the two books before us are evidence.

The most prominent improvements in this edition of the *Liber Primus*, are the omission of the translation at the beginning, and the transposition of the *fables* from the end of the book to a place preceding the *moral sentences*, than which they are much more easy. Boys do not so easily comprehend moral reflections, however simple, as is generally supposed. For, if a literal translation be made, the point is frequently not perceived, or its application not understood. Fables and narrative pieces are much preferable for beginners on this account. The accents and marks for pronunciation, necessary in school books, have also been added, and various additions and modifications have been made in the Dictionary to make it conform in all respects to Adam's Latin Grammar. This is important. Many inconveniences to the teacher, in reconciling contending authorities, are thus avoided. Besides, the book is printed on beautiful paper, and with uncommon accuracy. We have discovered no mistake in it. This little volume comes forward in its new dress and improved condition with a very prepossessing appearance, and with new claims to attention.

The *Latin Reader, First Part*, was prepared from the German edition by Mr Bancroft of the 'Round Hill School;' who has conferred a favor on the community, by introducing another excellent

and classical book for beginners in the study of Latin. This work, having previously passed through two editions, is well known to many instructers in this country, as possessing much to recommend it. But it has hitherto labored under the disadvantages incident to the first editions of all books of the kind. Notwithstanding the second edition supplied many deficiencies of the first, yet there was still room for improvement. One great deficiency in the Dictionary still remained; we mean the want of most of the proper names used in the text. This defect was the more felt, as the book is designed for children too young to be incumbered with a 'Classical Dictionary,' which every scholar, when farther advanced, is supposed to possess.

'The following are the most important changes which have been made in the stereotype edition; the accents have been used in all parts of the work; the emphatic words and sentences, which, in the two former editions, were designated by spaces between the letters, are now printed in italics, thus rendering them more distinct. The form of the Dictionary has been entirely altered, and more than *fifteen hundred words*, principally proper names, passive verbs, and participles, have been inserted.' *Advertisement.*

We are now provided with two excellent books for beginners. The *Liber Primus* furnishes rather the more easy and gradual introduction to the study of Latin; and although composed in part of modern Latin, it contains little that is objectionable. It is well adapted to very young students, and to such as are not very vigorous in their intellectual powers. The *Latin Reader* is superior to the *Liber Primus* in point of Latinity, and is liable to no objection on account of classical purity. But it is somewhat more difficult, and better suited to strong and clever boys, and to those who commence studying at an advanced age.

Both these books are now made to conform to Adam's Latin Grammar and Dictionary, in the conjugation of the verbs, the declension of irregular and defective nouns, marks for quantity, &c. The corrections and additions in these respects are numerous and valuable; and evince great care and critical exactness on the part of Mr F. P. Leverett, under whose supervision we understand these books were published. The *Second Part* of Jacobs' Latin Reader has been lately published, and is a judicious and useful continuation of the *First Part* of this work.

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A few particulars in the singular character of Ledyard are well known, and have been often cited as examples of extraordinary energy and decision of mind, and as evidences of uncommon love of adventure and ardor of pursuit. But no general account of his life has been written, nor indeed any thing more than a very brief and imperfect sketch, which was drawn up in England by the secretary of the African Association. This was done a short time after his death, in the year 1790, as a tribute to his memory for having sacrificed his life in promoting the interests of that society. But the writer had scanty materials, and knew hardly anything of Ledyard's history, except during the three last years of his life. The notices contained in Biographical Dictionaries, both in this country and England, are copied from this memoir, and are equally imperfect.

It is understood, that Mr Sparks has obtained from different branches of Ledyard's family, and from other sources, his manuscript journals, and many of his original letters, which afford materials for a more full and authentic biography. From these papers the volume now promised to the public has been prepared. The incidents of his life are extremely various, and many of them excite a strong interest by the enthusiasm, perseverance, and uncommon vigor of mind, which they indicate. He was born in Connecticut, and educated first at Hartford, and then at Dartmouth College, with a view of becoming qualified as a missionary among the Indians. He travelled into the country of the Six Nations, and afterward constructed a canoe with his own hands on the banks of the Connecticut River at Hanover, in which he descended alone to Hartford. The pursuits of a missionary, and the study of theology, not proving congenial to his temper, he embarked on a voyage to the Mediterranean and the West Indies. After returning home, he visited England, joined the British navy, obtained a post in Cook's

last expedition, with which he continued more than four years, till it arrived again in England. He was in the skirmish in which Cook lost his life, at the Sandwich islands, and was near the great navigator when he fell. At the close of the American war he came back to this country, having been absent eight years, and was the first to propose a voyage to the Northwest coast. In concert with Robert Morris, he planned such a voyage, but after a year spent in an unsuccessful attempt to procure a vessel and fit it out, the project failed. With letters from Mr Morris and other gentlemen he hastened to Europe, intending there to make an effort to accomplish his wish. For this purpose he visited Spain and France, and more than two years passed away in negotiations with mercantile companies and individuals, but without success. He was intimate with Jefferson (at that time our minister in Paris), with Lafayette, and with Paul Jones, who encouraged and aided him.

After encountering numerous difficulties, and not succeeding in his project of a voyage to the Northwest coast, he formed the design of going by land from Paris to Bering's Straits, thence crossing to the American continent, and proceeding homeward over the Rocky Mountains, with a determination to explore those unknown regions. Through the intercession of the Russian minister and Baron Grimm, permission was granted by the empress of Russia for him to pass through her dominions. In London he was patronized by Sir Joseph Banks and other gentlemen of eminence. He went over to Hamburg, thence to Copenhagen, Stockholm, and around the Gulf of Bothnia in the midst of winter to St Petersburg. He arrived there when the empress was on her famous tour to the Crimea, but by the aid of Count Segur and Professor Pallas he obtained a passport from the proper minister and set off for Siberia. It was so late in the season before he reached the borders of Kamtschatka, that the governor of Yakutsk would not suffer him to proceed further till the opening of spring. Meantime the empress became suspicious of his designs, and sent two Russian soldiers after him, who brought him back in the winter to the confines of Poland, a distance of more than six thousand miles, where they left him in poverty and wretchedness. He found his way to London, and was again kindly received by Sir Joseph Banks and his other friends. The Association for Promoting Travels in Africa was just at that time instituted. Being defeated in all his attempts to explore his own country, Ledyard eagerly grasped at the proposal to engage under the auspices of this society. He spent a few days in Paris, and then proceeded to Marseilles, whence he sailed for Alexandria in Egypt. At Grand Cairo he had passed several weeks in gaining an acquaintance with the language and habits of the people, who travelled in the caravans, and had made an agreement to accompany one of these to the interior, when he was suddenly taken ill, and died in January, 1790, being the first victim in the cause of African discovery, to which so many have since become martyrs.

His Siberian Journal has been preserved entire, and several letters written from Russia to Mr Jefferson and other persons. His celebrated eulogy on women, so often repeated, and so beautifully versified by Mrs Barbauld, was written at Yakutsk in Siberia. This journal, also, contains many curious remarks on the character and customs of the Tartars, as compared with the American Indians and the South Sea Islanders, whom he had before seen in various parts of the globe. His journals and letters while he was in France and Spain are hardly less curious, containing observations on men and things often original and always striking. His letters from Egypt to Mr Jefferson and the Secretary of the African Association are equally characteristic. His journal of Cook's voyage, though not a complete narrative, abounds in lively descriptions and pertinent remarks, and his account of Cook's death is drawn up with more vivacity and apparent truth, than any other that has been published. It is believed that the papers, taken together, are worthy of the effort that has been made to rescue them from oblivion, and that the delineation they will afford of the character of their author will not be unacceptable to such readers, as love to contemplate the workings of an ardent mind, engaged in noble pursuits, and encountering with fortitude the obstacles incident to great and hazardous enterprises.

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ART. I.—*Denkwürdigkeiten meiner Zeit, oder Beiträge zur Geschichte vom letzten Viertel des achtzehnten und vom Anfang des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, 1778 *bis* 1806. Von CHRISTIAN WILHELM VON DOHM. Lemgo und Hanover. 1–5 Bände. 1814–1819.

Memoirs of My Own Times, or Contributions to the History of the Last Quarter of the Eighteenth and the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century, 1778 to 1806. By CHRISTIAN WILLIAM VON DOHM.

THE author of this work died at Pustleben in May, 1820. The history does not strictly correspond to the promise of the titlepage, as it illustrates only the period from 1778 to 1786, the time of the death of Frederic the Second. The intention of the author doubtless extended further; but disease and the infirmities of age prevented its execution. He himself gives as a title to this part of his work, 'History of the last Period of the Reign of Frederic the Second, King of Prussia, 1778–1786.'

Dohm was a man of excellent education and of experience in public business. He entered the service of the Prussian king in 1779, was particularly distinguished by the minister Von Herzberg, enjoyed the confidence and esteem of Frederic, and repeatedly took part in the most important transactions. He continued to gain respect under the two succeeding kings of Prussia. He was one of the Prussian ambassadors at the

Congress of Rastadt, and when that Congress was interrupted by war and the murder of two French envoys, he was selected by the whole diplomatic *corps* to draw up the account of these atrocities. The province, in which he was employed in 1806, having fallen into the hands of the French, he was commanded by his sovereign to remain at his post, that he might assist in alleviating the misfortunes of the vanquished. In the following years he was on diplomatic business at Warsaw, at Paris, and afterwards, as a permanent envoy from the king of Westphalia, at the court of Dresden. He obtained leave to retire in 1810, and, living on his estate at Pustleben in the county of Hohenstein, devoted himself to letters and his history. We must mention to his honor, that as early as 1781–3 he published a work of great merit, and in a tolerant spirit, on the improvement of the civil condition of the Jews.

The work, of which we are to give an account, is written with sober judgment and great accuracy. It has a peculiar and permanent value, as it is drawn directly from the best sources, which to most persons were unknown or inaccessible. Thus several treaties, never before published, have been brought to light from the Prussian archives; and on subjects of Russian politics the author had all the valuable aid, that could be gained from Count Görz, the eminent Prussian minister at Petersburg. For instance, the account given by Dohm of the origin of the armed neutrality was derived from him, and sufficiently substantiated by an appeal to written documents. We may add, that the work of Dohm is esteemed, by those of his countrymen most competent to judge in such a matter, for the candor displayed in it, for the trustworthy views it contains of many remarkable men and of important events, and for the clearness of its style. It was also acceptable to the Prussian court, a part of it being dedicated by permission to the present king. From the character of the contents of the work, containing many distinct accounts of perfidy and injustice on the part of the despotic rulers of the north of Europe, we think this circumstance is strong evidence in favor of the historical accuracy of these 'Memoirs.' It is an acknowledgement of their truth on the part of the only persons having any interest to disprove it. Dohm is especially careful in his search after authorities, and where he does not succeed in obtaining those that are perfectly satisfactory, omits to treat the topic.

The materials for a more copious notice of Dohm's public services are contained in the Preface to the history. We pass them by, as they have nothing of general importance, and we have already, we trust, related enough to secure the reader's confidence in the good intentions of our historian, as well as in his means of information.

The 'Memoirs' are introduced (vol. I. pp. 3–22) with a general sketch of Frederic's eventful reign. Bred in the school of adversity, the character of Frederic had already been tried and influenced by affliction, before he began to rule. He found his kingdom in good condition, a treasure, which his father's parsimony had accumulated, and an army, which his father's love for fine soldiers had nourished, protected, and spared. In a few months, the Austrian emperor Charles the Sixth having died, the youthful Maria Theresa succeeded; and Frederic at once pounced upon the helpless empress, and profiting by her misfortunes and her weakness (not of mind, for her heart was pure and her will firm), he wrung from her Silesia and the county of Glatz. Having thus far succeeded, Frederic was content; he would be considered a conqueror from principle; he took what was deemed necessary for the security of his own kingdom, but formed no schemes of unlimited conquest. During this period Frederic conducted himself, not as the member of an empire, but as an independent monarch. He took no pains to get friends; he had confidence in himself. A minister at the German diet he deemed no better "than a mastiff baying the moon."

The seven years' war, from 1756 to 1763 forms the second period of Frederic's history. During this war he was forced, almost single-handed to bear up against Austria, France, Russia, and Sweden, which were united for his destruction. The peace of Hubertsberg made Frederic's glory, like his kingdom, safe against attacks. The magnanimity and energy, which he displayed during the war, inspired admiration; and new moral power was imparted to the nation he governed.

In the season of peace, which ensued, Frederic was actively and zealously engaged to heal the wounds of his kingdom. During the whole war he himself had contracted no debts; now in peace he remitted the taxes, laid open to his subjects new sources of gain, promoted industry, and in fact enabled Prussia to recover from its losses, before other governments had

become aware of the extent of the sufferings of their subjects. During the war Peter the Third of Russia, immediately on his accession, had joined Frederic; and the strange sight had been seen of troops marching from a hostile camp to the quarters of those, who but the day before had been counted enemies. Now in peace, the Prussian king succeeded in establishing friendly relations with Catharine the Second. A repeated personal interview with the Austrian emperor Joseph the Second, in 1769 and 1770, promoted an approximation of their several interests; and the division of Poland was destined to cement their union by crime. The idea of this division did not, however, originate with Frederic. He entered into it readily and fully; but it was the Austrian Kaunitz, who first made an encroachment on the limits of the republic.

In the Appendix to this volume (pp. 433–514), there is a detailed and critical account of the negotiation, which led to the fatal result of the division of Poland. The materials for writing such an account did not exist in print till 1810, when they were published by Count von Görz (who was the Prussian ambassador at Petersburg shortly after the division), but they are neither well arranged, nor correctly printed. The collection has for its title, 'Mémoires et Actes Autentiques relatifs aux Négociations, qui ont précédées le Partage de la Pologne, tirés du Portefeuille d' un ancien Ministre du 18ème Siècle. 1810.' This volume, printed at Weimar, contains the letters and memoirs exchanged between the sovereigns, and the official reports of the ministers, employed in the negotiations. Our limits will not permit us to give a copious analysis of the facts, here collected; yet some we must adduce, to show our readers something of the nature of European diplomacy.

It will be remembered that in 1770 and the following years, Russia was at war with the Porte. Austria undertook to prevent the aggrandizement of Russia at the expense of Turkey. Frederic was bound by his alliance to preserve friendship with Russia, but at the same time discerned how adverse to his own interest would be the increase of Russia. The affair of Poland became entangled with this war in the East. On the sixth of July, 1771, the Austrian ambassador Von Thugut signed at Constantinople a secret convention with Turkey, by which Austria, taking advantage of the necessities of the Porte, made

valuable acquisitions of money, land, and commercial privileges, and in consideration of these advantages, promised jointly with the Porte to compel Russia to return all the Turkish provinces she had conquered, and to secure the independence and freedom of the republic of Poland, which would then be a wall between Russia and the Porte. Kaunitz made it a condition, that this convention should be kept a secret, and for excellent reasons. All the while that in his negotiations with the Porte he was assuming such obligations of hostility to Russia, he was using towards that power the strongest assurances of friendship, and promised, with certain conditions, to use his influence to procure for Russia an advantageous peace. Meantime the convention was kept a secret for several months; and Austria received a very acceptable strip of land as well as a large sum of money, very welcome to an exhausted treasury.

In the middle of the year 1770 Austrian troops entered Poland, and under pretence of setting up pillars to mark the bounds of Hungary, assumed a large tract of the republic, and kept advancing further and further, all the time making assurances to the Polish king of a great love of justice. This was the beginning of the division of Poland. Occasion had also been seized by Frederic of causing his troops to enter certain other Polish districts. The government of Poland appealed to Catharine, believing the empress would at least reserve to herself the right of oppressing that country. These complaints were made to her in 1772, just at the time, when Prince Henry of Prussia was making the empress a visit, to induce her to accede to milder terms in her negotiations with Turkey. She communicated to him the intelligence she had received of the operations of Kaunitz, adding, 'that Poland seemed to be a country, where it was only necessary to stoop, to pick up what one would. If Austria chose to take a piece of that country, the neighbors had as good a right to do so too.' Prince Henry seized on the idea with eagerness, developed at once a plan for the division of Poland, and having gained the approbation of the empress, communicated the scheme to his brother. Frederic and Catharine were soon agreed.

And now it became the policy of Kaunitz, who began the business, to play the part of a coquette, and to make his partners in the robbery entreat him to join in the plunder. This he did, partly to avoid the odium of having started so disgrace-

ful a scheme, and partly to quiet Maria Theresa's scruples of conscience. She afterwards gave an assurance, that Kaunitz had in this business been carried away by the force of circumstances to act contrary to his true character. The monarch may have been honest in this assertion; but if so, Kaunitz was an accomplished hypocrite.

Kaunitz first declared that the attempt at a division of Poland would lead to interminable perplexities. Frederic saw through him at once, and told the Russian court, that they might certainly count on Austria. Kaunitz next endeavored to get the first proposal to be made by Russia; and nothing having been communicated, he at last grew impatient, and in October of 1771 he determined to bring the Russian court to an explanation. For this purpose he assured the Russian ambassador, Prince Gallitzin, that the terms of peace with the Porte proposed by Catharine, though more moderated, were yet such as Austria could not support. He next suggested proposals, which he declared himself ready to advocate, but which he well knew the empress would reject. Yet, he added, Austria could offer no assistance, unless Russia would guaranty the integrity of Poland, and promise never to take any part of that country for itself or any other power. But though the indivisibility of Poland was an essential point, he continued, that he was nevertheless determined to reassume a piece of land, which had formerly belonged to Hungary, but had been mortgaged to Poland. The old constitution, he declared, was to be maintained, but it might still receive such modifications, as the interests of the neighboring countries required.

The drift of this declaration was well understood in St Petersburg. Count Panin commanded the Russian ambassador to reply, that it was a contradiction for Austria to maintain the integrity of Poland, and yet take a piece without the consent of the republic; that Russia and Prussia likewise had ancient claims to part of the territory of Poland; and that justice and the preservation of the balance of power required of Austria to consent, that the three courts should consult together respecting the nature and extent of their claims.

Immediately on receiving this communication in January, 1772, all the scruples of Kaunitz vanished as to the conditions of peace, which Russia had proposed. Only he gave the crafty counsel, that Catharine should first make much more

severe requisitions than she designed to insist upon, to which Austria might earnestly object. Then by degrees the terms being made milder, as if by Austrian influence, both powers were to unite in pressing them upon the Porte. He begged to know, what part of Poland Russia and Prussia claimed, recommended the most intimate intercourse on the subject, and the most speedy termination of the negotiations. He also recommended profound secrecy in the transaction. Lastly, he added, that if they could not get precisely equal parts in Poland, there was a neighbor, who had too much land, and might be made to yield some of it. When Gallitzin, surprised by this last hint, said, there was no such neighbor, unless it were the Porte, Kaunitz said plainly, that it was the Porte he meant.

This plan for jointly plundering Turkey as well as Poland was made just six months after the convention which was mentioned above, and by which Austria had pledged herself to take part with the Porte, till all its possessions should be recovered. Of that convention the English, some how or other, had obtained a copy, and made haste to transmit it to Petersburg. It arrived there just at the time, when this new proposition of Kaunitz was received. Thus all confidence in Kaunitz was at an end; and the Russian ambassador at Vienna was charged to watch his motions with the most jealous mistrust and to repose no faith in his word. It soon became plain that it was the design of Kaunitz to enlarge Austria, if he could, as well by taking from Turkey as from Poland. Meantime the negotiations were continued, and on the fifth of August, 1772, the final agreement was signed at Petersburg by the ministers of the three powers. The king of Poland declared, he would sooner cut off his right hand, than sign the act of cession; but he did sign it, and his hand remained whole. The three powers guarantied to each other their respective new possessions, and added a stipulation, that however their interest might otherwise divide them, they would at all times and under all circumstances make a common cause of the defence of their acquisitions.

The fourth and last period of Frederic's reign was distinguished by deeds of public virtue, which had a wide and most salutary influence on the condition of Germany. He labored assiduously and with entire success for the independence of

the several sovereignties of the empire. At the head of the Austrian state there now stood an ambitious prince, emulous of the distinction which Frederic had acquired, and threatening the liberties of the neighboring states.

The whole course of the contest respecting the Bavarian succession is related by Dohm with great distinctness and a thorough knowledge of all the men concerned in it, and all the interests that were at issue. To follow him in his narration is not permitted us. We refer the student of history to the work itself, undoubtedly a leading authority for this whole subject, to which we are able to devote but a small space.

The great points of the controversy are well known. In 1777 Maximilian Joseph, Elector of Bavaria, died through the want of skill of a physician. He left no children, and with him his branch of a princely family ended. According to the feudal law the other branch of the family, which still flourished in the Palatinate, was entitled to the inheritance. The next heir was Charles Theodore, a man of vile character, and likewise without legitimate children. The Austrian emperor deemed this a fit occasion to possess himself of Bavaria, and immediately caused his troops to enter the territory. Charles Theodore was abject enough to agree to the Austrian demands; and Joseph the Second imagined himself secure of gaining quiet possession of what Austria had long coveted. The heir of Charles Theodore was Charles, duke of Deux Ponts; his assent to the encroachments of Austria seemed now alone necessary, and every thing was done to win him.

In this state of things Frederic interposed, by a series of admirably conducted negotiations, in which Count Görz laid the foundation of his fame as a statesman; he animated the duke of Deux Ponts to decided opposition, and took upon himself the guaranty of the rights of the duke to the Bavarian succession, against all unjust claims of the court of Vienna.

Frederic was now justified in making representations to the Austrian government. That government was at this epoch directed by Wenzel Anton, Prince of Kaunitz-Rittberg. He was a statesman of great understanding and extensive experience in public business, a friend and patron of science and the arts.* It was he, who devised the union between France

* Dohm, Vol. I. pp. 72–76.

and Austria, by which in 1756 a new political system was established on the continent of Europe. Afterwards he also began the division of Poland. He was bold in designing, and crafty in executing. He could veil his plans in impenetrable secrecy; and was a master in the arts of hypocrisy. Superior to base selfishness, he honored and rewarded talents and merit, where he was not himself in danger of being eclipsed. His good opinion of his own capacity was unlimited. His great object was, to make the state in which he was employed the first in Europe, and to be himself the first man in that state. Whatever promoted these views was acceptable to him; he troubled himself little about justice. His manners were marked by haughty condescension and sometimes by striking irregularities; all which served to elevate him in the minds of the many. Maria Theresa had unlimited confidence in his sagacity, and her son and associate in the empire never dared to oppose the man, who had gained the name of being the greatest statesman of Europe.

The Prussian ministers at this time were Herzberg and Finbrenstein. The latter was a man of experience and great respectability. The former was deeply versed in the relations and rights of the several European states; and those of Prussia he knew in the most minute detail. His knowledge was always at his command. His mind was lively and active; his style of writing clear, simple, and convincing; his activity and industry boundless; his sentiments noble. Love of country was a passion with him; and he counted much on the moral powers of mankind, of which he loved to dwell on the proofs afforded by history. On the other hand he was often deficient in prudence and secrecy; and sometimes incurred the displeasure of Frederic, by pressing views which the king did not approve.

Frederic was himself the immediate agent in public affairs. Having resolved on his course and taken the necessary measures without consulting any one, he then committed to his ministers, especially to Herzberg, the task of conducting the negotiations with Vienna. The claims made by Austria were subjected to long and learned investigations, and their injustice copiously exposed. Attempts were made to bribe Frederic not to interfere, by promising to permit him to increase his dominions in some similar way; but the Prussian king was not to be moved from his purpose.

Of the war which ensued, the renewed negotiations for peace, the continued hostilities, and the final restoration of peace, an account is given in the first volume (pp. 137–250).

The empress Maria Theresa, anxious for the life of her children, and from every principle and feeling averse to war, sent a special message to Frederic, expressing her earnest desire to come to a mutual understanding. 'She hoped,' such was her message, 'that it grieved the king not less than herself, that they should thus pluck out each other's hair, which age had already whitened.' Still reconciliation was not easy, for the only terms which Austria proposed were such as Frederic peremptorily rejected.

Meantime France and Russia were led to take an interest in the event of the war. France was the ally of Austria, but yet in secret averse to the increase of that power. Russia had been prevented by the war with the Porte, from taking an active part in the Bavarian affairs. Finally the peace of Kainardgi was concluded; and Catharine the Second was at liberty to interfere. She immediately did so, and with good effect. 'So wonderfully are the destinies of nations, even in the remotest lands, interwoven; whether Bohemia and Moravia, Saxony or Silesia should be devastated by war, depended on a negotiation, which was conducted between Petersburg and Constantinople. It was necessary, that the recognition of a Tartar Chan by the Porte should precede the preservation of the patrimony of a German princely house.' Austria, however, retained by the peace a part of the land it had claimed. The whole extent, at first taken possession of, amounted to about five thousand square miles; Austria retained about eight hundred; and Maria Theresa could hardly forgive the king of Prussia, *ce méchant homme*, as she called him, for wresting from her the remainder.

Frederic thus secured to himself the applause of Europe and the gratitude of Germany. He returned to the careful administration of his kingdom,* and, as though he had done nothing for fame, began extensive reforms; and, as the greatest and best of his efforts, caused a code to be prepared, by which equal justice should be administered in all parts of his dominions, and the interests of separate districts reconciled and assimilated. The work was one of immense labor and equal benefit.

* Dohm, Vol. I. pp. 251—294.

The Russian empress was gratified at seeing Austria somewhat humbled, and checked in its attempts at aggrandizement. She was also pleased at having acquired a right to interfere in the concerns of Germany; a right which Peter the Great had designed to gain. For Catharine had become a guarantee of the new peace of Teschen; and one of the articles of that peace confirmed that of Westphalia. Of this last, therefore, and consequently of the German constitution, Catharine became a guarantee.

Catharine the Second had a lively mind, and a strong desire to distinguish herself by extraordinary deeds; and her mother gave to this ambition a political direction.* When Grand Princess, she found little satisfaction in intercourse with her husband, and was very much restrained by the empress Elizabeth. In the solitude to which she was thus driven she cultivated her mind; ancient and modern history, and the best works of the English and French on politics, were her favorite subjects of study. She busied herself with vast ideas, and loved the extraordinary and romantic. In a memoir, written by Count Görz, the Prussian envoy at St Petersburg, she is described as one, who united amiable qualities with greatness, and, superior to her sex in other respects, yet preserved its weakness in being fond of praise and flattery. Fortune had heaped upon her its choicest favors; for eighteen years she had been the sovereign of the vastest empire; beside the flatterers that surrounded her at home, she had been caressed and flattered by all foreign courts; and circumstances having assigned her so brilliant a part, it was impossible to say anything to her in the way of admiration too extravagant or too pointed. She possessed in the greatest degree the art of dissimulation; and no one could tell, what impression was actually made upon her mind. She was, moreover, extremely jealous of her son, and quite as much so of the Grand Princess.

Count Panin (we draw the characteristics from the memoir of Görz) was one of the first statesmen of Russia, and peculiarly worthy of attention to a Prussian prince, as he had steadfastly upheld the alliance between Catharine and Frederic. He was kind, generous, *débonnaire;* fond of pleasures, especially of horses and the theatre; he was conscious of possessing great knowledge on the different relations of the Euro-

* Id. Vol. II. pp. 7, 8; and xxvi—xxvii.

pean political system, was communicative, and met with cheerfulness all attempts to gain his acquaintance. He hated Prince Potemkin, could not brook those who courted that favorite, and on this point was even suspicious.

Prince Potemkin was undoubtedly the most powerful man in Russia. He had genius and talents, but was little suited to conciliate either love or esteem. The Grand Duke, the Count Panin, and other noblemen of the empire detested him. He was proud of his regiment, which he esteemed the finest in the universe; and prided himself on his skill in regulating cavalry. Another subject to which he gave much attention, was the ceremonies of the Greek church; which he was fond of rendering peculiarly brilliant.* In the long series of personal favorites of the empress, he alone retained unlimited influence over her till the period of his death. He first offered himself to her attention in the time of the revolution in 1762, and having once made himself observed by the boldness of his deportment and his person, he used every art to excite an interest in her. Being once admitted to the immediate circle of her society, he employed all the resources of a courtier to overthrow his rivals, especially the Orlows. He was the avowed favorite from 1776, and confirmed his power over Catharine by withdrawing himself from time to time, and then returning again as it pleased his humor. By persuading Catharine that his services were indispensable to her security, rather than by the influence of attachment, he gained entire sway over the empress and the state. For Catharine knew very well that her authority, which had been founded on crimes, was impatiently borne by a great part of her subjects, and she deemed it therefore necessary to have at her side a man of fearful energy, capable of inspiring terror, and destroying every thought of opposition. Such a man she believed she had found in Potemkin, and to establish her own safety through him, she conferred on him unlimited command. The use which he made of it may have caused the empress herself at times to tremble. Singular qualities he must certainly have possessed, to maintain this power for sixteen years against all adversaries and rivals till his death, and he must have been favored by singular circumstances; but un-

* Dohm, Vol. I. pp. 404—414, and pp. 585—590. Vol. II. pp. xxvi, xxvii, and xlv,—xlvii.

blushing impudence on his part secured this influence over the feminine weakness of Catharine.

Potemkin had no distinguished talents as a commander; yet the whole army was under his control; and all the generals of greatest experience and fame were subject to his caprice. He understood but imperfectly the foreign relations of the empire or the wants of the interior; and yet it was he, who dictated to the vanity of the empress the measures to be adopted within her immense empire or towards foreign powers. He had no elevated ambition of any kind; it never occurred to him, that he could do good to mankind by wisely guiding the destiny of that large portion that depended on him. He knew of nothing nobler than the honors that dazzle the beholder; his whole soul was in the gratification of his vanity, and this he would sometimes do by pretending indifference. He would deny himself nothing; he would gratify all his whims; and he would have it known that he could do so. This was to him the great purpose of life. He disregarded all distinctions of birth, or rank, or wealth, and was always bent on showing that he was the only powerful man. Frederic the Second once directed his ambassador to offer Potemkin his influence in gaining for him the crown of Poland; Potemkin replied, that he had never dreamed of such a thing; and did not respect the Polish nation enough to be willing to be their king. He treated the most distinguished foreigners with contumely, and listened to the proposals of foreign ambassadors with the contemptuous air of one who but just condescends to hear the requests of his inferiors and dependents. No rank secured the native Russians from insult; it is even asserted that he went so far as to beat the empress. It is certain, that he often opposed her loudly, and did on purpose the very opposite of what she had desired. Sated with pleasure, he lavished the public treasure with boundless prodigality in the gratification of his caprices. Though Catharine anticipated all his wants, that could be divined, and gave him incredibly large sums of money, he would yet turn to the gratification of his will money entrusted to him for public purposes, and would even forge orders of the empress on the treasury, to get possession of money, and this when he knew it to be peculiarly needed by the state. And Catharine bore all this. Potemkin took bribes from foreign states to promote their objects; though his views were so contracted, that he could not judge

of the true interests of the empire. Possessed of immense treasures, which he carelessly squandered at the gaming-table or for any fancy, he was accustomed never to pay those, who furnished him with the necessaries of life. Merchants held themselves ruined, when an order came to supply the wants of Potemkin. He had no sentiment of mercy in his nature. He would torment without any object, as if to show that he could do it with impunity.

He had long and earnestly desired the Prussian order of the Black Eagle, but as it was sent him rather later than he expected, he received it with a disdainful air, saying, 'he was much obliged to the king, but really, he already had such a host of that sort of distinctions, he did not know how he should be able to arrange them all.' When Frederic learnt, that Potemkin was aiming at the dukedom of Courland, he offered to assist him; but Potemkin very coolly replied, that Courland was not enough to satisfy him; and, besides, if he wanted it, he could take it himself, without giving the king any trouble about it. And he used on all occasions to set in the most ridiculous light Frederic's strict economy and simple mode of living.

A story is told, and on the very best authority, that Potemkin formally proposed to Frederic a second division of Poland, saying 'the first division was mere child's play; the whole should have been divided at once; it would not have caused greater clamor.' Frederic rejected the scheme, on the ground of its injustice, and adopted in his order in cabinet the opinion drawn up by Görz, and developing the subject in a moral point of view. To Potemkin the answer of Frederic was wholly unexpected; he read the king's letter three several times and then gave it back to the Prussian minister with the words, 'I never should have believed, that King Frederic had such romantic notions.'

He cared as little for human life as for money, if the waste of it pleased his capricious humor. Catharine wished to honor him after the manner of antiquity, and in 1787 gave him the appellation of *the Taurian*. In Russian affairs he did whatever he pleased. If things of moment were sometimes decided without him, it was because he did not take the trouble to interfere, and was willing to let them go. The single affair of the armed neutrality, of which an account follows, was decided contrary to his intentions. But the reason was, the de-

cision depended on political knowledge, of which Potemkin had little, and which Panin possessed abundantly, and knew how to use with skill.

Potemkin has been called a man of colossal greatness. But he was in no wise great. His mind was low and coarse. He began his career of success like the other favorites, chance having made him known to the empress; and he confirmed his power by an excess of impudence, and an entire insensibility to moral feeling and to honor. He cared neither for exercising a wide influence over the destinies of men, nor for gaining an immortality of fame; but wished to live in the midst of external splendor, have all men near him at his feet, and prove himself to be the man who needed to fear nothing.

The success of her first war with the Porte filled Catharine with an exalted idea of her own merits and the resources of her empire. The deference and respect, manifested by other courts to her as a woman, were interpreted by her as acknowledgments of her superior power; and she would perhaps have practised no restraint towards others but for the fear of being checked in the execution of her great design. That design, by which she expected to render her reign eminently illustrious, and establish an immortality of glory for her own name, was the establishing of a Greek or Oriental empire. During her life it was her intention herself to govern this new empire, together with her monstrous possessions in the North, and then to bequeath the latter to her grandson Alexander, and the former to Constantine. The names of the children were tokens of the high destiny that was preparing for them. Constantine, from his birth, was treated as the future emperor of Greece and the East. He was baptized according to the rites of the Oriental Greek Church, which differ somewhat from the Russian, and he had Grecian nurses and attendants from the Archipelago. Accident prevented his being nursed with Grecian milk, but Grecian sounds were the first which he heard. He was called *the Star of the East*, and while yet a child, Greeks were admitted to his presence to do him homage.

The glorious peace of Kudschutz-Kainardgi was negotiated just sixty-three years after the disgraceful one, which Peter the First had made to save himself from ruin. This seemed a good omen. Moreover, the religious, warlike enthusiasm of the Ottomans seemed to be extinct. The rulers were educated within the seraglio to indulgence, not to the labors of govern-

ing. The sultans were dependent on their ministers of state; and these, again, elevated from the very dregs of the populace, and destitute of all political knowledge, owed their security to the Janizaries. In the provinces the regents were almost independent; and little of the money, which they collected, flowed into the public treasury. The numerous Greeks hated the Turkish government and were ripe for insurrection. And while the Turkish empire was gradually sinking, the neighboring European powers were continually advancing in the arts of civil polity and of war.

These views were represented to Catharine in their strongest light. Yet there were facts, which proved them to be exaggerated. If the internal administration of Turkey was so bad, how could the empire continue to exist and array such formidable armies against its enemies? If the pachas were almost entirely free, and if little of their revenues found its way to the Grand Seignior, where were the immense sums obtained to defray the cost of the naval battles and the land service? If despotic caprice controlled property, how came it that agriculture, mechanic arts, and manufactures throve in Turkey, and produced what formed the chief articles of an important commerce, which European nations were emulous of sharing? And can it be conceived, that these nations would continue trade with a country, in which the disregard of justice took away all security from the capital employed in business? The condition of the ministers of state is the least comfortable; their misfortunes are held up in a strong light; but a private man can even in Turkey enjoy the fruit of his labors, and suffer less oppression than in many an European state. The natives are strongly attached to their country, which they call the land of freedom; and if business leads them to pass even years in foreign lands, they are accustomed to return as soon as possible to the land of their birth. It has even been asserted by the head of a large commercial house, which carried on much business with the Levant and with Russia, that debts due in the former were esteemed incomparably more secure than those in the latter, not only from greater confidence reposed in individuals, but also because the Turkish administration was more impartial and more prompt. To this it must be added, that the writers on the subject always advise the Europeans to endeavor to vanquish the Turks by superiority in tactics, and to avoid the contest between man

and man, as one, in which the European soldier is sure to be worsted. The points,* to which we have here alluded will serve to explain the partial success of the Russians in their attempts to banish the Turks from Europe.

It was the fieldmarshal Münich, who, more than any other, cherished in the mind of Catharine the design of subverting the Turkish empire. This celebrated general, called by Frederic the Second, the Eugene of the North, was in the Russian service even as early as under Peter the First; and during the reign of Anna he was the terror of the Ottomans. He lost his influence under Elizabeth and for twenty years was banished to Siberia. Yet there his mind was brooding over great designs in his exile, and prepared a scheme for the entire ruin of the Turkish power. In 1762 he was recalled by Peter the Third, and now, an old man of seventy-nine years, he reappeared at a court, from which nearly all his contemporaries had passed away, with the fire and ambition of vigorous manhood. Catharine employed him for the very purposes, which he promoted under Peter the Great; and he pursued them with restless activity. The empress was so charmed with his conversation and reposed such confidence in his experienced counsel, that she usually passed an hour every day with him. It was now that he unfolded his plan, which, but for Austria's ill success and the disastrous peace of Belgrade, would have been executed under Anna, and which was now to lend lustre to the administration of Catharine.

The thought took deep root in the mind of the empress, and was confirmed by the success of her generals in the first war with Turkey. Full of hope, she no longer concealed her ideas. She would playfully speak of the ancient Greek tragedies, which were to be enacted anew on the stage of Athens by Grecian players; and medals were designed, if not executed, on the taking of Constantinople. All Europe applauded her for her design. No one asked if it was just, or if Russian despotism was less oppressive than the Turkish. Religious sympathy was awakened; a hostile feeling to a foreign race revived; the thought of the restoration of Greece captivated the imagination, and it seemed the more splendid and pleasing, that the beautiful design was to be executed by a woman. The 'tocsin of the kings' was sounded by Voltaire;

* Dohm. Vol. II. pp. 365–381.

and he advocated the war of extermination of the Turks, sometimes with fanatical fervor, sometimes with jests and gallantry. 'Barbarians,' said he, 'who despise the fine arts and shut up the women, deserve to be exterminated; and it is meet for a heroine to chastise them for their contempt of the fair.' 'I really think,' wrote Catharine to Voltaire, 'I must soon go to some university to study Greek.'

But if the many applauded, the cabinets opposed. England, though otherwise friendly to Russia, could not favor the banishment of the Turks from Europe; and the union of the Russian and Austrian cabinets aroused the attention of France. For France was interested in maintaining the Porte, because it could furnish so much occupation to powers hostile to France; and still more, for the immense injury, which the French commerce would sustain by the ruin of Turkey. Is there another example in all history of commercial advantages conceded, such as were secured to France by the Porte? Into all the Turkish possessions the French might import and export every kind of raw or manufactured product, paying a duty nominally of three, actually of two and a half per cent. Not only other nations, the Turks themselves paid a double, and on some things, a threefold greater duty. The coasting trade on the Turkish coasts was carried on in French ships, free from any duty or tax whatever. The French residing in Turkey, stood under the sole jurisdiction of their own state. The commerce with France was constantly on the increase. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the exports from Turkey to France amounted to about two millions of livres; but in the middle of that century to twenty-two millions; and in the year 1786 they amounted to thirty-eight millions eight hundred thousand livres. Through the influence of France Spain entered into a commercial treaty with the Porte, and promised, it is said, to permit no vessels hostile to the same to pass through the Straits of Gibraltar; and France was even preparing to break its alliance with Austria, and renew its relations of intimacy with Prussia.

The diplomatic relations of the European powers were at this time exceedingly curious. Prussia had an intimate alliance with Russia, and having faithfully fulfilled its obligations in the first war between Russia and Turkey, believed itself now fairly entitled to a reciprocity of favor, and was reluctant to relinquish its claim to this. The disastrous union between

Austria and France still continued. And now the doctrine of elective affinities, with a slight modification, was to prove itself good in politics. A new ingredient is added in the Porte. Forthwith Austria unfolds itself from the embrace of France, and falls into the toils of Russia; France, left thus alone, endeavors to form a new combination with Prussia, which must first set itself free from its Northern ally. The difficulties, which stood in the way of this last combination, we shall endeavor concisely to explain.

The principal aim of France was, to defeat the schemes of aggrandizement formed by Russia and Austria; the principal aim of Frederic, to dissolve the union between France and Austria. France wished to retain its union with Austria, but to prevent its aggrandizement; and *for that purpose* was willing to act jointly with Prussia in a protest addressed to the court of Vienna. Frederic sincerely desired a union with France, his natural ally, with whom he believed himself really to have common interests; but he was too cautious to trust himself in an alliance, before France should have had a rupture with Austria. He was unwilling, that an *apparent* union between his kingdom and France should be made use of in negotiations with the imperial courts; since he would in that way lose the benefit of his alliance with Russia, and gain nothing. He had no fear that the empress and the emperor would succeed against Turkey; partly because he believed a vigorous nation like the Turks would make themselves formidable by the resistance of despair; partly because he knew the incapacity of the Russian military commanders; and, most of all, because he counted on mutual jealousy, which, in case of partial success, would soon beget a quarrel about the distribution of the spoil, and so take it all out of their hands. Indeed the Prussian king was, on the whole, pleased, that the imperial courts, since they would have war, should turn their attention to the East.

Meantime Frederic used every means to avoid appearing to counteract the schemes of Catharine. But alas for the chances of diplomacy! He commanded his chargé d' affaires at Constantinople, Baron von Gaffron, to be exceedingly circumspect, but not to lose a good opportunity of stirring up the Porte to resist the ceding of the Crimea to Russia, provided he could do so without danger of being discovered. Accordingly the envoy indited a *mémoire* for the most private edification of the Turkish minis-

ter, and gave it to his drogoman to translate and deliver. The drogoman, being bribed, gave the *mémoire* to the Russian ambassador, who soon announced the affair at St Petersburg. Catharine, without communicating the particular circumstances, remonstrated with her faithful ally Frederic, that his chargé d' affaires had been acting against her interests. Frederic disclaimed all participation in the business, recalled Von Gaffron, investigated the matter, and found nothing, that he thought could be known to Catharine to justify her complaints. Still she insisted upon them, and Frederic, to show at least his own innocence, turned Von Gaffron out of office, and put him in prison. Such are the rewards of European diplomacy. Its morality resembles the Spartan principle about stealing. To play a double part is honorable and the patriotic discharge of duty; but to be discovered is a crime and a disgrace.

While negotiations were conducted with careful reserve between the Prussian and French governments, the courts of Vienna and Petersburg were not less active, and hardly more successful. To Catharine the expulsion of the Turks was the great purpose; to Joseph the Second it was a secondary consideration, to be made subservient to his views on Bavaria and elsewhere in the West. He acceded to the Russian policy to oblige the empress, that so the empress might in turn favor him. He did not believe success against the Turks so sure or easy as was imagined; and acknowledged also, that the Austrian interest would suffer from the capture of Constantinople by his northern rival. The nearer the two imperial courts came to the execution of their schemes, the greater difficulties rose between them. Potemkin meant Moldavia and Wallachia for himself; and so mighty were Potemkin's whims, that Joseph did not dare to utter a wish for their possession. Moreover Catharine deemed it enough to restore to Austria the provinces which it had lost in the peace of Belgrade; the idea of an Eastern empire was her own; the affair of getting possession of Turkey was her speculation, and in that business she wanted no partners. Thus kind words and promises of friendship were frequent; and beneath all mistrust was nourished.

The news of the alliance between Austria and Russia in 1783 produced extraordinary effects. The Porte was alarmed, and Catharine joyfully, and with really wonderful art, turned the fear of he Turks to her advantage in negotiations. For all that she could thus gain was her own; her treaties with the

Porte were not Austria's affair; that power had nothing to do with her private concerns. And thus without striking a blow, and without giving Austria a chance at any advantage whatever, she constantly turned to her own account all the benefit, which could be derived from the menace of a joint invasion.

And the chief advantage she thus gained was the possession of the Crimea. The convention of March 10, 1779, confirmed in the most solemn manner the independence of this sovereign state. No foreign power should under any circumstances whatever demand of it an account of its actions; Russia and the Porte, each promised, by all that they acknowledged as holy, never, under any pretence, to interfere in its concerns. The spiritual supremacy of the Grand Seignior was recognised, but was never to extend to other relations. Should either party by any unforeseen accident become entangled in the concerns of the Tartars, it was agreed, that no step should be taken by it, without consulting the other.

Notwithstanding these obligations, Catharine took part in the troubles, which soon broke out in the Crimea. The new Chan, Schahin Gheray, was devoted to the Russian empress, and trusting in her protection, imposed new burdens, violated established usages, and pretended to be greatly enamored of European culture. To diffuse this in all its lustre, (shall we be believed as we write?) he formed the resolution of having the large French Encyclopedia translated into the Tartar language. His authority did not last long enough to execute his purpose; and when Catharine was mistress of the destiny of the Tartars, in a better spirit of toleration, she had a beautiful edition of the Koran printed for the benefit of her Mahomedan subjects.

The Tartars revolted; and refusing to continue their allegiance to Schahin Gheray, substituted Dewlet Gheray in his stead. The Russians had not yet withdrawn their troops; the Turks, therefore, felt themselves justified in sending troops to Taman, to relieve those who were suffering for their religious faith. This served Russia as a pretext for hostilities; and Prince Potemkin undertook the guidance of affairs. Blood and booty were the watchwords. Thousands of families were destroyed, or carried away into bondage in remote Russian provinces; till finally the Chan and some of the royal tribe declared, 'that, convinced that happiness could be found only under the mild government of the empress, they submitted

themselves and their nation unconditionally and for ever to her authority.' On the eighth of April, 1783, the empress issued her manifesto, that for sundry reasons therein given, 'she had been induced to receive under her authority the peninsula of the Crimea, Kuban, and the island Taman. Her new subjects were exhorted to fidelity and obedience.' The oath of allegiance to the empress was administered; every refusal was punished with death. Thirty thousand were slaughtered at one time; and thus the opposition was soon done away. The Chan, who had betrayed his nation, received for three or at most for four years the payment of the pension, that had been promised him. When that ceased to be paid, he fled to Turkey, and was executed in the island of Rhodes.

As if nothing had happened, Catharine directly proposed a treaty of commerce and amity with Turkey; the members of the Turkish ministry were terrified or bribed, and a treaty was actually closed in June of the same year, of which treaty the conditions were in an unequal degree favorable to Russia. Hardly had this been effected, when she proceeded still further, and demanded of the Porte a recognition of her sovereignty over the Crimea; threatening war, and Austria joining her in the threat, if she received a refusal. The Porte yielded, and the river Kuban became the acknowledged boundary between the Turkish and Russian empires.

Thus Russia tore from the Porte a province, important as an outpost, but still more so as the granary of Constantinople, and as a resource in war, capable of furnishing excellent soldiers. This province was now of vast importance to Russia, for it afforded the means of conducting the most extensive commerce. Catharine and Potemkin both valued it chiefly as the preparation for further conquest. At the mouth of the Dneiper the empress caused a new city, Cherson, to be built, and over one of its gates the inscription was placed in the Greek tongue, 'This is the way to Constantinople.' The new conquests received their ancient name, the Tauric Chersonesus, and Potemkin, who had now obtained the appellation of *the Taurian*, assumed the charge of changing the Tartars into good Russian subjects. In the execution of his office he knew no purpose beyond gratifying his own rapacity and the vanity of the empress. Constitution, manners, and established customs were despised; justice was made a matter of purchase; the wealthy were plundered; many fled; many were driven into

other Russian provinces; and foreigners were indiscriminately invited from all quarters. In former times the Tartar Chan had joined the Turkish army with fifty thousand well equipped horsemen; and now, two years after the land had become an integral part of the Russian empire, the census of all the male inhabitants is said to have amounted to but seventeen thousand.

Thus far we have followed Dohm. Before leaving this subject, we cannot but call to mind the remarkable journey, which four years after, in 1787, Catharine made to this part of her dominions, and which resembled a continued triumphal procession. Potemkin wished to exhibit proofs of the rapid prosperity of the Chersonesus, and the newly acquired provinces. Palaces were, therefore, erected to be occupied but for a night; signs of apparent prosperity and contentment were everywhere hung out for show; towns were built and people assembled to play the part of inhabitants; then the houses were left vacant, and the same people, having been carried forward by night, showed themselves on the next day, ready to act the same thing over on another spot. Music and dances were the order of the day; the plains, over which the Tartars had so recently sped their coursers amidst the loneliness of rude nature and countries occupied by Nomades alone, now resounded with strange notes of revelry, and glittered with all the splendors of imperial magnificence. The deputies of a hundred subject nations stayed the steps of the triumphant conqueror, the new Semiramis, who was come to receive their homage. The king of Poland, too, made his appearance to gaze at the novel spectacle; and Joseph the Second came all the way from his empire to see the show, and, remaining several days with the empress, the newly built city, Cherson, became gay and brilliant beyond imagination with the splendid *fêtes*, which were given in honor of his arrival. Never had the banks of the Borysthenes been made the scene of such a series of festivals. And here in the solitary city of the desert, intoxicated with triumph, viewing with contempt the withered energies of the Porte, and holding out greedy hands to seize on new diadems, the German emperor and the Russian czarina, perfected their scheme for the dissolution of the Turkish empire, and divided in anticipation their future conquests. This was in 1787. Suppose a prophet had appeared in the midst of their dazzling dreams and magnificent banquets, and

opened to them a glimpse of the coming age. He could have shown them how destiny would laugh their plans to scorn, and mark out a widely different fate for the countries, whose fortunes were the object of their deliberations. He could have shown them the imperial pride of Vienna humbled at the feet of a conqueror, and the crown of Germany cast aside among forgotten diadems; the lands of Austria diminished, and such as were left to her held, as it were, at the mercy of others; he could have shown them the palaces of Petersburg filled with terror, the Russian emperor disgraced by frequent defeats and injurious treaties, and finally, after years of anxiety, safety purchased only by sacrificing the ancient metropolis in the very heart of the country to the flames; while the empire, which their cupidity already declared their own, was, excepting for a short period in a remote province, safe from the terrors of war, and preserved its territory undiminished and its honor unimpaired, elevated in fearless security above the wrecks and ruins of the shattered system of Europe.

The interest belonging to the history of Russia, during the period when she assumed the rank of the first power of Europe, has induced us to give more attention to this period of Russian history. We return from considering the progress of Russian arms in the South and East, to give some details on a topic,* which is of immediate interest to the United States.

England entered upon the war with her colonies without allies. She demanded the assistance of Holland in pursuance of existing treaties. But assistance was refused on the ground that the case to which those treaties were applicable did not yet exist. From no nation could England hope more than from Prussia. It was known that Catharine the Second cherished a predilection for the English nation, and was decidedly averse to France. All insurrections of subjects against their rulers, were by her opposed from principle, and the suppression of them seemed the common cause of rulers. Hence the hope was conceived on the part of the English, that a treaty of alliance might be closed with her, binding her in the event to render them assistance. This subject was entrusted to Sir James Harris, afterwards Lord Malmesbury, the British minister at St Petersburg, a diplomatist of extensive information and great activity. Panin, the chancellor of the Russian empire,

* Dohm. Vol. II. pp. 100–150.

knew the state of the country too well, its finances exhausted by the war with the Porte, to admit of participating in a dispute carried on in another hemisphere, perhaps to be followed by entangling connexions, and an injury to Russian commerce. Catharine herself was also disinclined to relinquish the free and independent station in which she found herself.

Harris, seeing little prospect of gaining his point in a direct way, endeavored to succeed by the influence of Potemkin, whom no means were spared to gain. An ambassador of a court concerned in the result, once observed to Count Panin, that he feared Potemkin was in the interests of England, as he had received of England fifty thousand rubles. Panin answered, smiling, 'Potemkin is not a man to be bought for so small a sum.' And in fact, on inquiry, it proved that he had had not so many rubles, but pounds sterling. By means of Potemkin, Harris proposed to Catharine directly an alliance with England for the reduction of the English colonies, promising in return the assistance of England in any further plans of Russia to subdue the Porte. But it belonged to the chancellor of the empire, from his office, to make an estimate of the tendency of such a proposition, and frame the proper answer to it. Drawing his arguments from the true interests of the Russian state, he demonstrated so clearly, that it was against the welfare of Russia to form such an alliance with England, that the empress was convinced, and the answer given, 'that while the most friendly dispositions were entertained towards England, the present time, when this power was engaged in war with several powers, was not a proper one for forming an alliance; Russia desired the restoration of peace; her threat of taking part in the war would but serve to extend and protract it.' Harris was in consternation at this answer; but he received in private from Potemkin, and it is said by some, from the empress herself, assurances of unchanged good will, and an expression of the hope that circumstances would soon admit of her conforming her actions to her wishes.

Accident seemed to favor the designs of the English ambassador. Two Russian vessels, laden with corn, and bound to the Mediterranean, were captured by Spanish privateers, under the pretence that they were intended to supply the fortress of Gibraltar. The empress was indignant; was bent on obtaining singular satisfaction, or, if refused, on avenging herself on Spain by declaring war, and so uniting with England.

These views she communicated to Count Panin; but without consulting him, ordered a fleet to be fitted out at Cronstadt, which, in the event of an unsatisfactory answer from Spain, was to join the English. The English envoy was informed of it, and made haste to communicate the good news to his court. Potemkin triumphed in his imagined advantage, gained over the chancellor.

The fitting out of the fleet did not long remain concealed from Panin, nor was he in doubt as to its destination. But he determined nevertheless to carry his own views into effect. Far from appearing to oppose the designs of the empress, he declared, that he himself participated in her indignation at Spain, and approved her determination to require satisfaction for the injury done to the free commerce of her subjects and her insulted majesty. Nay, he would go further; he would even exhort his sovereign to seize this opportunity of solemnly announcing to Europe, that the empress of Russia would in nowise suffer the wars waged between other powers to affect the trade of her subjects. She would promise strict justice on her part and neutrality to all, but would consider any one as an enemy, who should invade the commerce of her subjects while conducted within the limits of justice.

Principles so manifestly equitable, added Panin, will meet with universal approbation. The nations had long desired to see them adopted and maintained; but had desired thus far in vain, as till now no monarch had been possessed at once of sufficient power, and wisdom, and philanthropy to carry them into execution. But these were now united in Catharine, and she had an opportunity of acquiring a new fame, of becoming a lawgiver for the high seas, and so affording property a security, and trade a freedom, such as they never had possessed. Nations would admire her for the mild energy, with which she set bounds to the horrors of war, and future generations acknowledge her as their benefactor.

Catharine was completely carried away by these representations. She laid her commands on Panin to prepare a statement of the principles he had developed, to be communicated to the belligerent powers, as the rules prescribed for her subjects; at the same time to call on all neutral states to adopt them, and to carry them into effect with their united force.

And this was the origin of the famous armed neutrality, which established as a principle, that neutral ships may freely

navigate from port to port on the coasts of belligerents; that free ships make free goods, excepting contraband articles; that nothing is contraband but arms and military stores; that no harbor can be considered as under blockade unless that harbor is in fact so effectually blockaded, that no vessel can safely enter it.

Thus a system, destined to become so conspicuous in the history of the world, and involving principles of such vast importance in the concerns of commerce, owed its origin to no enlarged conceptions of the maritime rights of nations, and to no wisdom having regard for the general interest and welfare of mankind; but was the result of the cunning of a statesman, who contrived to give this direction to the vanity of his sovereign, and thus to extricate himself from the embarrassment in which he would otherwise have been placed. Thus, when the mysteries of diplomacy are explained, we find the greatest concerns of public life depending on the irritated pride of an individual.

The greatness of the idea which Panin proposed to the empress, consisted in providing a few distinct and clearly expressed rules for regulating the difficulties, which from time to time had arisen in conducting commerce in seasons of war; and in uniting all nations for the maintenance of those rules. Even those nations, which were to be benefited the most by the security of the rights of neutrals, had been inconsistent in their demands; and Holland, for example, had in times of war essentially violated and limited the rights, which in times of its own neutrality it was desirous of asserting in their greatest latitude. Between 1746 and 1750 many Prussian ships, or other property, had been taken by English privateers. Frederic the Second demanded satisfaction, and as this was obstinately refused, he erected at Berlin a tribunal, before which his subjects were commanded to state and establish their losses. Strict impartiality was enjoined; and the decisions were regulated by existing contracts, or by public opinion on the acknowledged rights of nations. And then the king satisfied the demands of his subjects out of the debt formerly due to the English by Austria on security in Silesia, and assumed by Frederic in the treaties of Breslau and Dresden, by which Silesia was ceded to Prussia. In 1778 the Danish minister, Count Bernstorff, had proposed to the Swedish king, Gustavus the Third, an alliance for the mutual defence of free trade;

and both had applied to the Russian empress for her coöperation, which was refused. Thus Panin has the merit, not of originally proclaiming the rights of nations as to free trade, but of having defined those rights in a few distinct propositions, and of having procured a union of many states for their acknowledgment and support.

The manifesto of the empress was delivered at the courts of London, Paris, and Madrid. She had no foreboding of the immense importance of the measure she had adopted, nor of the effect it would produce. So ignorant was she of commerce, that she flattered herself as having at once vindicated her honor and shown her strong regard for England. Panin took care not to undeceive her; and through fear of obstacles that might retard or ruin his scheme, he begged the empress would communicate on the subject with no one till the couriers were despatched. The empress promised and kept her word. But she could not refrain from confidentially saying to the English ambassador, that there would soon be delivered in her name to the belligerents a manifesto which would be completely satisfactory to England; and condescended even to give him leave to communicate thus much to his court. Sir James Harris hastened to communicate the joyous intelligence, and expectation was raised to the utmost. When, but a few days after, he learnt the true nature of the measures that had been taken, so directly opposed to the usurped authority of Great Britain, he could not but be anxious, lest he should be accused at home of inconceivable carelessness. The effect produced at London can hardly be described; the disappointment was proportionate to the intense expectation of great advantage. It was with difficulty that the English ministry could be induced to abstain from bitter reproaches, while the king replied to the manifesto by a cold assurance, that he should follow the treaties which existed between himself and Russia, and in following them no cause of complaint could be given to Russian subjects.

The courts of France and Spain, on the contrary, were filled with gladness. The satisfaction demanded was promptly given by Spain. The principles of the empress were extolled, and her own merits magnified. The empress began to understand the tendency of her measures, and, delighted with the glory which she had unconsciously acquired, she acknowledged the wisdom of Panin's counsel; gave her earnest attention to

the principles she had established; and abandoned entirely the thought of an alliance with England.

The hope of fixing for ever the doctrine of maritime liberty now divided the thought of Catharine with her scheme for founding an oriental empire. She had the pleasure of finding other states advance to meet her in her design. None adopted her policy with more zeal than Gustavus the Third of Sweden, and in July, 1780, he announced to the belligerents his intention of strictly following the principles advanced by Catharine. Count Bernstorff, the minister of Denmark, was favorable to England, yet following the true policy which the interest of his country required, he also joined the alliance without delay.

It was now the policy of England, at least to prevent, if possible, the accession of Holland to the alliance of the Northern powers. The tardy mode of doing business in the republic delayed its decision till November; but at last that decision was made, and envoys were already despatched to St Petersburg, when England, feeling that a war with Holland would be the less evil, made a sudden declaration of hostilities. Holland invoked the aid of the allied powers; and Gustavus proposed a joint and earnest interference in behalf of the republic. England maintained, on the contrary, that Holland was a belligerent, and as such was incompetent to accede to an alliance of neutrals; offered sundry causes, real or pretended, to justify its declaration of war, and finally succeeded in having the question between itself and the republic referred for consideration to the negotiations for a general peace, to be conducted under the auspices of Russia and Austria. We hardly need call to mind, that the republic suffered in this war a shock, from which it never recovered, and England would concede peace only on the sacrifice of valuable East India possessions.

The king of Prussia was invited by Panin to join the neutrality. At first he declined, partly because he did not wish to entangle himself in engagements in his old age, and partly because he was possessed of no maritime power. But afterwards, when Catharine wished to give a more imposing character to the system of neutrality by the addition of Prussia and Austria, Frederic was induced to join it. In the treaties with Austria, the act signed by the empress had no name but her own. It was the privilege of the German emperor, in all compacts with other European powers, to be the first to subscribe to each copy of the treaty; Catha-

rine's vanity was saved by the exchange of papers, signed each by but one party. Finally the king of the two Sicilies and the queen of Portugal joined the alliance. Thus the Russian empress could glory in the recognition of her principles by all the larger neutral powers of Europe, that took part in commerce. One thing of importance was indeed wanting; that the belligerent nations themselves should adopt them in their treaties of peace. The wisdom of Gustavus prompted him to urge a common effort to obtain such an acknowledgment from France and England. But Catharine was at that time no longer guided by Panin, and the proposal was declined. She was content with the empty honor of *seeming*, in connexion with the German emperor, to have effected the restoration of peace. Every body knows, that the envoys of the two imperial courts exerted, in reality, not the least influence on the peace of 1783, and it was not till everything was settled, that they were invited to hear the treaties read and jointly to sign them.

It is said, that the Swedes derived the greatest advantages from the system of neutrality. They made their speculations with the most judgment and greatest activity. Next to theirs the prosperity of the Prussians and Danes was increased. The Austrian Netherlands, also, took advantage of their favorable situation, and much capital that had been idle was put to profitable use.

Such are the main points in the history of the armed neutrality. The honor of Russia would have been better established, had its rulers subsequently maintained the same principles with inflexible firmness and undeviating consistency.

The volumes of Dohm contain interesting accounts of Maria Theresa, and still more so of the personal character, foreign relations, and domestic policy of Joseph the Second. Our limits permit us to do nothing more than to refer to them.

The third volume contains a sketch of Joseph the Second's designs of aggrandizement by an exchange of the Netherlands with Bavaria. This design was defeated by Frederic, who, to assure the future tranquillity of the empire, formed an alliance among the German princes for the support and defence of the German constitution. Never was anything better conceived, or more happily executed. Without any effusion of blood, the designs of Austria were frustrated, and an opposition made, which was sufficient to baffle any future attempts of a

similar nature. The treaties between the German princes were finished and signed little more than a year before Frederic's death.

The last public treaty which Frederic ratified, was one negotiated at the Hague between the Prussian envoy, Von Thulemeyer, and our American plenipotentiaries, Franklin, Adams, and Jefferson. In this treaty, the great principles of the armed neutrality are recognised, and, in case of war, both parties pledge themselves to fit out no privateers* for the purpose of plundering private property.

The fourth and fifth volumes of Dohm are occupied particularly with Frederic. The fifth contains an account of the chief works which relate to him, and their respective historical worth. The fourth is filled with a copious account of Frederic's character as a man and as a ruler. But fearing to prolong this article, we do not venture to describe his habits, or draw an estimate of his merits. Yet in leaving the subject, we must say, that the perusal of Dohm's work has compelled us to think highly of the qualities of Frederic. He was benevolent, and, except where duty demanded severity, mild and forgiving. He was a most laborious man, rising sometimes at two in the morning, and always finishing a good day's work, before most men had begun. The year was divided into regular parts, to each of which appropriate cares were assigned. So also the day was regularly divided; the first hours were given to business in his cabinet; then he attended the military exercises. At twelve he dined; at nine in the evening retired to rest. His pleasures were few and simple. Study, conversation, music, and the enjoyment of nature were all. When young, he danced very gracefully. He was also fond of the theatre. He did not like the chase; and laughed at the idea that a hunt furnishes an image of war. He rejected the use of cards, as an unworthy waste of time. He always gave some of the day to reading. The society of his wife he never enjoyed; she spent her time in writing or translating books of devotion.

There are two great points, which made Frederic's reign important to the world. Though he was himself not scrupulous about seizing what he could get, he still rescued the liberties of Germany from imminent danger, and preserved

* See 'America,' &c. pp. 264–267.

Bavaria in the list of independent sovereignties. And though he had himself no faith in immortality, and hardly knew that there is a God, he yet was an instrument in the hands of Providence for upholding the Protestant religion on the continent of Europe. Had he not succeeded in raising Prussia into the number of the great powers of Europe, the Roman Catholic faith would have been predominant in every important state from Lisbon to Warsaw, and the reformation have been left without any strong defence in the very land of Luther.

Art. II.—1. *The Law of Infancy and Coverture.* By Peregrine Bingham, of the Middle Temple. First American Edition. 8vo. pp. 367. Exeter. 1824.

2. *Traités du Contrat de Mariage, de la Puissance du Mari, du Contrat de la Communauté, et du Douaire.* Par Pothier. 4 tomes. 8vo. Paris. 1821.

Poets have sung the praises of woman, throughout all ages, in strains of admiring enthusiasm, strikingly contrasted with the actual condition of the female sex. They have painted her in the brilliant coloring of love; and then raised the matchless creation of their fancy to an elevation in the ranks of life as ideal as it is exalted. Chivalrous devotion to the cause of beauty, humble adoration of the charms of person and tenderness of heart that belong to the gentle soother of human adversities, are the favorite themes of inspiration in the ardent season of youthful passion. We place her so high,

> It were all one
> That we should love a bright particular star,
> And think to wed it.

But a spirit, alike destitute of manliness and of gallantry, has too often presided over the formation of the laws, which fix the rights and obligations of woman in the social scheme. These have fluctuated in different countries, and at successive periods of human history, according to the varying combinations of causes by which national character is governed.

Inquire among barbarous tribes, who earn a scanty subsist-

ence by hunting or fishing, or among nomadic nations, who range over extensive regions with their flocks and herds in primeval freedom, and you find that man arrogates to himself all the nobler pursuits of ambition, whilst woman is degraded too frequently to the level of a domestic drudge, or made the overtasked bondwoman of her selfish lord. War, with all its invigorating perils and its heart-stirring glory, is his ; the chase, that mimic picture of war, is his ; to mould infant states into the elements and proportion of greatness, to control the destinies of empire, is his ; while in such uncivilized conditions of society, hers are the tamer duties of home at best, and oftentimes the severer labors of the field, which none but a savage would impose upon the gentler sex. Ascend one step higher in the scale of civilization, and follow woman amid the dazzling splendors of oriental luxury, and there you find she ministers more essentially to the refined happiness of man ; but it is only as the purchased or favored companion of his hours of softness, not as the intellectual being, who is man's equal in all the best properties of his nature, his superior in some, and beneath him in nothing but those robust features of understanding and sterner qualities of character, which seldom, in the same person, harmonize with the kindlier affections of the soul. Nowhere, but in the fortunate countries which enjoy the blessing of European refinement, does woman approach in condition to that just equality with the other sex, which the sober and rational pursuit of their common felicity requires she should possess, which in the mere contest of physical strength she probably might never attain, but which man is proud to concede and woman to receive at his hands, where both the gift and its acceptance are alike honorable to humanity.

Yet even there, either man has been accustomed to profess more consideration for the rights of woman than he truly felt, or the execution of his purposes has lagged behind the intention. There is a pleasure which the polished Athenian, with all his epicureanism of taste, had but imperfectly learned, that of frequenting and rightly appreciating the society of the other sex, educated to as high a degree of intellectual culture as himself, and accomplished alike to move in her appropriate sphere of dignity and usefulness. Roman austerity was too near akin to unsocial rudeness, at least in the days of the republic, Roman courage too fond of camps, conquest, and free quarters, Roman ambition of too exclusive and selfish a char-

acter, to admit woman to the elevation by the side of man, which is the surest evidence of genuine public refinement. The examples to which we shall presently refer, of highly educated Roman matrons, constituted the exceptions and not the general rule. Nay, in communities over which the benign influences of christianity have fallen, which boast that they are imbued with the spirit of chivalry, whereof gallantry towards the sex was a main ingredient, in the fortunate nations of modern Europe and their more fortunate offsets in the New World, it is most true that the exalted standing of women grows out of the manners, temper, usages, and unwritten institutions of the people, rather than the established laws of the land. In countries that derive their laws from the civil code, woman retains many valuable rights of property in the married state, but elsewhere her legal condition during coverture is defined by the simple and comprehensive, because despotic rule, of the complete merger of her rights, whether relating to person or property, in those of her husband. Exceptions to this will be stated in their proper place; but according to the significant phraseology of our law, she is only his *feme* or wife, but he is her *baron* or lord.

We do not propose to ourselves, in the remarks which are to follow, to set up for the female sex any extravagant standard of legal privilege, nor to lay lance in rest for the support of quixotic pretensions, in her behalf, to political or municipal rights adverse to those of the male sex. The constitution of nature, ordained by no human conventions, recorded in no fundamental charter of government or petition of rights, but written over the face of the universe, and stamped indelibly upon the very organization of our race, has, we conceive, settled the question, whether the female sex should exercise political franchises equally with man. As the nominal head of a monarchy, the empire of woman has in many signal cases proved highly auspicious. But this fact rests upon principles of its own. It will not answer to infer that the troubled arena of politics or of war best befits the refined character of woman, her gentle virtues, or the blended intellectual, moral, and personal beauty, which holds the stronger sex in bondage. We must take our election. Give to woman

> Ogni virtute,
> Ogni bellezza, ogni real costume,
> Giunti in un corpo con mirabil tempre;

and still it will be impossible to unite, in the same individual, the feminine loveliness of Venus with the manly limbs and rough-hewn sinews of Alcides. Nature, therefore, has clearly indicated the orbit, in which either sex should revolve; and were they to cross each other's paths, confusion and disorder would inevitably ensue to punish their rash eccentricity. We do not esteem it any hardship, as some have done, that the property of an unmarried female is taxed without being represented. The maxim, that taxation and representation should go hand and hand, is most salutary; but no general maxim in morals is free from exception or qualification. Taxation procures for property the protection of the body politic; and neither the alien-friend who claims the safeguard of our laws, nor the unmarried female, nor the minor, whose estate the government guaranties against domestic pillage and hostile invasion, has just cause to complain of exclusion from elective privileges. Disclaiming, therefore, in the outset, any design to call in question the great principles of social compact, whose truth the experience of all the world confirms, we proceed only to call the attention of our readers to such peculiarities in the legal condition of woman as may lead to instructive conclusions. It is not the institutions of an Amazonian republic, in the regions of fable or in some Utopia of our own, that we seek to commend; but we shall speak of man as we find him, or as we may hope, without falling into Condorcet's vision of perfectibility, he shall one day become.

It would be highly agreeable to examine the legal condition of women among the ancient Greeks; but to avoid prolixity or distraction of views, we shall commence with inquiring into her duties and rights by the civil law. At Rome, the condition of the female sex, in the time of the kings and the early consuls, was purely domestic; and the sole aim of her education was to fit her for superintending the interior economy of her family, and instructing her own daughters in the arts of household industry. It was made a condition of peace, on the conclusion of the war occasioned by the rape of the Sabine virgins, that the Romans should not exact any labor from their new wives except spinning. (*Plutarch. Romulus.*) Caia Cæcilia, the wife of Tarquinius Priscus, was celebrated for her skill in the art; whence her name was borne by the bride in the marriage ceremonies. (*Plin.* viii. 48.) Other portions of the solemnity had a similar allusion; thus handmaidens followed the bride,

bearing a distaff, with a spindle and wool, intimating that such was the appropriate occupation of the Roman matron. Hence the frequent allusion in the poets to this primitive branch of female industry (*Æneid*, viii. 408 and ix. 488, and *Ovid. Fast.* ii. 741); and hence, the old writer, while enumerating the qualities of a good wife, to *probity*, *beauty*, *fidelity*, and *chastity*, added *lanificæ manus*, skill in spinning and weaving wool. And although Suetonius (*August.* 73) relates that Augustus seldom wore anything for his domestic garb but of the manufacture of his wife, daughter, and the other ladies of his household; yet Columella laments, as a proof of the degeneracy of matrons in his day, *ut ne lanificii quidem curam dignentur*, that they disdained even the care of the spindle and distaff. He commends the matrons of the olden time, who assumed the whole charge of domestic affairs, and by their assiduity and activity at home, endeavored to equal and second the laborious industry of their husbands abroad; and however preëminent for beauty, aspired to no distinction, were ambitious of no merit, but that of superiority in the thrifty arts of housewifery.

In this period of Rome's frugal simplicity it was, when man deemed his *consort*, the partner of his life, worthy of no higher employments or enjoyments than handicraft labor, that the ancient law conferred on a husband immense power over the person of his wife. He might exercise, in short, the *patria potestas*, the tyrannical paternal power, which extended, in its original severity, to life and limb, in the government of his wife as well as of his children and household. (*Brown's Civ. L.* i. 85.) Tacitus records a remarkable instance in which this power was exercised at a late period. We copy it in his words. In the reign of Nero, Pomponia Græcina, a woman of rank, being married to Plautius, who enjoyed the honor of an ovation for his victories in Britain, being afterwards accused of *foreign superstition*, was consigned to the judgment of her husband; and he, *after the ancient usage*, in the presence of their relations, took cognizance of the life and reputation of his wife, and pronounced her innocent. (*Tac. Annal.* xiii. 32.) Dionysius of Halicarnassus and the elder Pliny affirm, that for grievous crimes he might inflict death upon her (*Dionys.* ii. 25, *Plin.* xiv. 13); and of course he had authority to subject her to corporal punishment for lesser offences. Out of such barbarous usages sprung the position of the old Roman law, which permitted a husband to chastise his wife with the same instru-

ments of punishment that he applied to his slave; *flagellis et fustibus acriter uxorem verberare.* Having reference to the same point, is the saying of Cato the Censor, that he who struck his wife or child, laid his sacrilegious hand on the most sacred things in the world. But all these things are exploded severities, which the civil law in the days of its perfection justly condemned. For the least violence done to the person of a wife by her husband, having regard to the condition of the parties, entitled her to a separate maintenance. The civilians hold, that among persons of respectable condition, the slightest blow given by a husband to his wife, unless occasioned by very gross provocation, and even continued ill usage without being carried to the excess of personal violence, is good cause for granting her a divorce from bed and board. (*Poth. Con. de Mar.* 492.)

The civil law also authorizes the husband to require the society of his wife, and to exert such control over her person as may be necessary for the attainment of that object. It gives him a right of action against any person who entices her from him and with whom she takes refuge; and process against her to compel her to return to his abode. (See *Code Napol.* 214.) In opposition to this she can urge no objection, except such as may be good cause of separate maintenance or of divorce. The modern writers on the civil law elucidate this point by various cases. Thus, it is said, the wife cannot allege, as sufficient reason for leaving his house, that the atmosphere of the place is injurious to her health, or calculated to engender infectious distempers. But she is not obliged to follow him if he removes from their common country; for her obligation to her country is holden to be paramount, and although he may choose to abandon it, he cannot compel his wife to imitate his abjuration. Such are among the principal modifications, to which the right of a husband over the person of his wife is subject by the civil law. The rights of property we shall consider in the sequel; but what we have already said is sufficient to show how ill founded is the exultation of Blackstone at the cruelty in this respect, which he charges upon the laws of Rome. (1 *Com.* 445.) It is one of those disingenuous reflections, which he throws out against the civilians on several occasions, generally when he is upon a weak point of the common law, to disguise which he seeks to create a diversion by bringing into view some alleged defect of the rival code.

Our readers are to remember that ultimately mere consent, without any outward ceremony whatever, constituted a valid marriage at Rome, as it does now in Scotland and several other countries of the civil law. It was only by a solemn marriage so called, that the *patria potestas*, with all its monstrous consequences, was conferred on a husband; and even then, if his wife had not been emancipated by her father, she remained under her father's power, not her husband's. (*Brown, C. L.* i. 86.) And while upon this point, we may observe, that, as a consequence of the marital authority of the husband over his wife, she, as the mother of his children, did not participate in his power over them, which was paternal merely, not parental. They were alike subject to the master of the family. (*D'Arnay, Hab. des Rom.* 250.) 'A fiction of the law,' says Gibbon, 'neither rational nor elegant, bestowed on the mother of a family the strange character of sister to her own children, and of daughter to her own husband or master, who was invested with the plenitude of paternal power.' (*Rom. Emp.* ch. 44.) A solemn marriage among the Romans was effected in three ways; 1. By prescription, when a woman, having the consent of her parents, went to her husband's house with intent to contract matrimony, and lived with him uninterruptedly one full year; 2. By confarreation, when the parties partook of sacrifices, and eat in communion from a consecrated wafer; and 3. By coëmption, which was a supposed mutual purchase, each delivering to the other a small piece of money, and repeating certain set words of contract. (*Heinec. Antiq. Roman.* l. 1. t. 10.) When thus married, the bride was said to come into the hands of her husband. (*Taylor, Civ. L.* 283.) She thereby resigned to him all her goods, and gave him full power over her person, acknowledging him for lord and master. She became his *consort* for life, the partner of all his rights, civil and sacred; and if he died intestate, she inherited his estate equally with his children, and if he left no children, she was his sole heir. Indeed so many important legal effects followed a solemn marriage, when celebrated with appropriate rites, that these, making no part of its essence, nor being requisite to render the contract complete, gradually fell into desuetude, as the increasing wealth of the city caused the rights of property to be more complicated, and foreign conquests introduced greater refinement of manners. Marriage by consent, a mere civil contract, supplied the place of the ancient religious ceremonies.

After the Romans had carried their arms out of Italy, when a taste for science and the arts began to gain ground in the republic, the education of woman was no longer confined to the humble sphere of household cares. Ladies of rank and fortune became ambitious to acquire the charms of mind as well as person; literature ceased to be cultivated by the male sex alone; and woman sought to drink at the same fount that inspired the world of poets, philosophers, and orators around her. Cicero commemorates several Roman ladies of his age, remarkable for highly finished education. The two Gracchi, as distinguished by their eloquence as their tragic destiny, were taught the graces of speech, by which they reigned in the assemblies of the people, under the tuition of Cornelia, who was a model of purity in the use of her native language. (*Plutarch. Tib. Gracchus, Cic. Brut.* c. 58.) And Tacitus, or whoever else was the author of the beautiful dialogue on oratory, places alongside the example of Cornelia, that of Aurelia, the mother of Julius Cæsar, and of Atia, the mother of Augustus, who presided over the education of those future masters of the world. (*De Orat.* c. 28.) Appian preserves the speech of Hortensia, daughter of Tully's rival in the forum, who, when the triumvirs required an arbitrary and forced contribution from fourteen hundred ladies of rank, in order to raise levies against Brutus and Cassius, boldly pleaded the cause of herself and her companions before the tribunal, to which the oppressed people dared not to lift their eyes. (*Appian. Civil.* l. 4, *ed. pr. Steph.* p. 310.) Cicero was on terms of close intimacy with a lady named Cærellia, famous for her literary taste. (*Epist. Attic.* xiii. 21.) He applauds the elegant latinity of Lælia, daughter of C. Lælius, and her two daughters by Mucius Scævola the augur, one of whom married the orator L. Crassus, and had daughters, equally celebrated with the rest of their family for elegance of understanding and the judicious pursuit of letters. (*Cic. Brutus*, c. 58.)

The augmented consequence, which such examples of cultivated female taste conferred on the sex, could not fail to produce a melioration of the extreme rigor of the laws of marriage. A change for the better, as it would seem, must have taken place gradually, like most radical changes in the manners of a nation, and almost imperceptibly. It began by the disuse of the rites of confarreation, the most solemn form of marriage. At what precise period this happened, does

not clearly appear; but probably before the time of Cicero, because the orator, in his defence of L. Flaccus, alludes to marriage as contracted only by coëmption and by prescription. (*Cic. pro L. Flac.* c. 34.) The disuse, however, is distinctly averred in a remarkable passage of Tacitus. In the reign of Tiberius, a question arose concerning the choice of a *flamen dialis* in the place of Servius Maluginensis; and the emperor's rescript recommended some new provision upon the subject. 'According to the ancient usages,' said Cæsar, 'three patricians, born of parents married by confarreation, were to be nominated, and one of them must be chosen for *flamen dialis;* but the number of them was now greatly diminished, the rites of confarreation being obsolete, or observed by few. For this many causes might be assigned; a principal one being the inconsiderateness of either sex; but the ceremony itself was purposely avoided, on account of the embarrassments attending it.' 'The senate ought to provide a remedy either by a decree or law; just as Augustus had softened many of the barbarous forms of antiquity into the existing improved usages.' (*Tacit. Annal.* iv. 16.)

A Cato or Brutus might have replied, perhaps, had there been a Roman of the old republican stock alive to address the tyrant with free speech, that among those customs derived *ex horridâ illâ antiquitate*, which Augustus had discarded, the sacred bulwarks of liberty had fallen; and that the *præsens usus* which Tiberius applauded, was the arbitrary despotism of usurpers. But the mitigation of the *patria potestas* in the hands of a husband was not the less a benefit; nor the substitution of intellectual pursuits for the female sex in the place of mechanical ones, the less an improvement. If the ladies of Octavianus Cæsar's family wrought his garments in evidence of their skill, or as voluntary testimonials of their regard for the emperor, it might be well; but really our opinion of his taste and good sense would be greatly lowered, if we could believe that he exacted it in obedience to some of the primitive Roman notions of domestic economy. When the wealth of the city was such that a patrician would possess a vast family of slaves, to the number of hundreds, and in some cases of thousands (*Athenæus*, vi. 20), having in the comprehensive language of Tacitus, whole nations of either sex in his household (*Annal.* iii. 53. xiv. 44), educated to perform every duty therein except that of its head, it would be strangely preposterous if ingenuous

Roman matrons must waste their time upon the same housewifery accomplishments, that were in vogue when thatched cottages occupied the future site of the marble basilica of the Palatine.

To form a just idea, therefore, of the condition of women at Rome in respect of property, we must look to the law as understood in the latter years of the republic and the early ones of the empire. Considering marriage by consent as the established form, the civilians founded upon it the doctrine, that husband and wife might grant to and contract with each other, and mutually sue and be sued; only it was provided, lest one party should ever be tempted to take ruinous advantage of the other's fondness, and affection become the dupe of art, that gifts between them without a valuable consideration were void. To prevent either from injuring the other's property, the contracts of the husband were inoperative upon the wife, as hers were upon him, and they were wholly unconnected in their agreements with a third person. Hence a wife might sue or be sued separate from her husband; and although he was obliged to maintain her, yet if he failed to do this, it only gave her a right to sue him for alimony, but did not subject him to liability for debts of her contracting. (*Brown, Civ. L.* 82.)

In order to understand the legal state of a wife's property during marriage, it must be premised, that her estate was divided into two portions, namely, *bona dotalitia*, and *bona paraphernalia;* the first being, properly speaking, her marriage portion or dowry, the second being any property over and beside her dowry, and not confined, as with us, merely to wearing apparel, jewels, and the like. Property included in the latter denomination, whatever its quantity or quality, was absolutely at her free disposal, to be used or aliened by her at pleasure, without her husband's consent or authority. It was otherwise with the dowry, when no special agreement had been made concerning it. The marriage operated a transfer to the husband of all the *bona dotalitia*, conferring upon him a qualified property therein, subject to his wife's right of restitution if she survived him, or on the dissolution of the marriage during their lives.

According to Pothier's view of the matter, which seems to us rather artificial, she was not proprietor of the dowry during marriage, but only creditor of her husband for its restitution; on account of which right of restitution it is, he says, that the

texts of the law call it her property and patrimony. (*Puissance du Mari*, 710.) But it is evident, from consideration of the fact, that it was far more proper to call her the owner. No part of it survived to the husband by law, even if there were children by the marriage. If it consisted of immoveables, he received the rents and profits, in consideration of his supporting the charge of the marriage state; but he could alienate no part of the capital *(fundus dotalis)* without her consent, nor bind it with her consent. If the dowry consisted of moveables, he was permitted, for the interests of commerce and because of the necessity of disposing of perishable articles, to alienate them; but he was bound to make good the value; and to assure her of this, he gave security by the *donatio propter nuptias* out of his own property, for the restitution of her fortune, or an equivalent for it, on the dissolution of the marriage. This security he could neither alienate nor mortgage, even with her consent, unless in certain specified cases of extreme necessity, or by providing an equivalent. In addition to this she had a general lien upon all his property to the amount of her dowry, and was entitled to preference over all other incumbrances, even those of prior date. If he became insolvent or embarrassed in circumstances, she might take possession of her portion or the security, or bring her action for it. (1 *Brown's Civ. L.* 266).

Now these rules we conceive to be, in the main, most equitable and just. From this encomium we should except, perhaps, only a single thing, the provision, namely, preferring the wife's claim to those anterior in date; which seems to us injurious to the rights of *bonâ fide* creditors. How different our own law is in every respect, will appear in the sequel. But the foregoing principles are acknowledged in all countries whereof the jurisprudence is founded upon the civil law, subject to greater or less modifications, introduced by the barbarian conquerors of the empire, by the christian clergy, or by changes incident to the lapse of time. Take the old custumary of Paris for an example. The law distinguished the wife's property into her private estate, and estate held in community, which is the technical term for the species of partnership in effects created between husband and wife by the marriage. He had entire control over the goods of the community, so long as it lasted, with the right to dispose of them without his wife's interposition. But she and her heirs became creditors of the community

to the amount of her contribution, having a lien therefor upon all the specific effects in the hands of the husband or his heirs at the dissolution of the marriage. The private property of the wife, so called, consisted of immoveables, or estate having the nature of a perpetuity, and such moveables as by the marriage contract should be expressly excluded from the community. Over all this, a husband possessed certain rights of bailment and administration, comprised principally in three particulars. First, titles of honor, baronial rights, allegiance, feudal duties, and everything honorary attached to her private estate, belonged to him during the marriage. Secondly, he was entitled to receive all the rents and profits of her estate. Lastly, he had a right to administer and manage the property for their common advantage, including the power of making short leases. (*Poth. Puis. du M.* 2.) And more recently the *Code Napoleon* (L. iii. t. 5.) authorized parties to declare in a general manner, that they intended to be married either under the law of community or the law of dowry, that is, subject to the customary or the civil law, and provided specifically for the rights and duties which should flow from either alternative.

The relaxation of the primitive rigor of marital rights at Rome, favorable as it was to the pecuniary condition of woman, was unfortunately brought about by means, which introduced a pernicious facility of divorce. We say pernicious, because, notwithstanding the specious reasoning of Milton and some other writers who have maintained the contrary, it seems to be conceded by the soundest lawyers and moralists, that the experience of republican Rome and of republican France settles the dispute. (4 *Johns. C. R.* 197, 503; 1 *Haggard*, 36). The fluctuations which the Roman law underwent are remarkable. Originally, it may be supposed, when the paternal power existed in all its rigor, the husband might sell his wife as well as his children, or harshly expel her from his bed and house. (*Gibbon*, ch. 44.) Romulus permitted the liberty of divorce to the husband, if his wife violated the conjugal faith, used false keys, or drank wine without his knowledge. The right was denied to the wife; but if abused by the husband, he forfeited his goods, one half to his injured wife, and the other half to the goddess Ceres. (*Plutarch. Romulus.*) Divorce, it is supposed, was also sanctioned, and the privilege of it extended to both sexes, by the Twelve Tables. (*Cic. Philip.* ii. c. 28.) But, to the honor of Roman domestic

character be it said, no example occurs of the exercise of this privilege by a husband until the year 523 A. U. C., when Spurius Carvilius Ruga, remembered only for this act, repudiated a fair, a good, and, as our authors affirm, a beloved wife, because of her barrenness. (*A. Gellius*, iv. 3; *Val. Max.* ii. 1.) For this 'he was questioned by the censors,' to use the language of Gibbon, 'and hated by the people; but his divorce stood unimpeached in law.' But in process of time, the right was greatly abused, as passion, caprice, or interest suggested motives to the husband or the wife for the dissolution of their union.

A marriage contracted in the most solemn forms could be terminated by some corresponding solemnity; for confarreation, there was the opposite sacrament of diffarreation; and they who were united by mutual purchase could be separated by remancipation. And in later times, when marriage was merely a voluntary union by consent, it could be dissolved, like any other *community*, and by the slightest act, word, or writing, that distinctly signified the will of the parties. The marriage contract might be torn in the presence of witnesses, or the keys taken from the wife, or the words '*Res tuas tibi habeto*,' pronounced by a freedman, or despatched in a written message; and the most tender and solemn of human connexions was thus lightly thrown off at will. (*Adam's Rom. Antiq.* 511.) If the divorce was made without any fault of the wife's, she received back all her property; but if she was culpable, the husband retained part of her dowry, as a consideration for his remaining subject to provide for the support and education of their children; and if she was repudiated for infidelity, she was punished by the loss of all her dowry. (*D'Arnay*, 238.) Such a consequence might sometimes prove not unacceptable to a mercenary husband; and that entertaining old gossip, Plutarch, mentions one Tinnius, who married Fannia, a woman of notoriously bad character, and then divorced her, as it seems to have been suspected, out of speculation, in order to secure her dowry. (*Plut. Marius.*) When the exercise of the right of repudiation had grown less odious then at first, the facility of divorce gave rise to many cases of the deepest individual affliction. The great Æmilius Paulus divorced his wife Papiria, the mother of a family of heroes, without any assigned cause, or any reason whatever, which his friends could divine. (*Plutarch. Paulus.*) C. Sulpicius Gallus repudiated his wife because she appeared in public with her head uncovered. Sempro-

nius Sophus repudiated his, because she went to the theatre without his knowledge. Q. Antistius Vetus did the same, because his wife conversed in public with a woman of low condition. (*Val. Max.* vi. 3, *no.* 10, 11, 12.) Julius Cæsar divorced his third wife, Pompeia, the niece of Sylla, because Clodius gained admission into her house, in the disguise of a female musician, while she was celebrating the mysteries of the Bona Dea; yet, when questioned on the subject, he admitted that he did not believe Pompeia to be guilty, but that Cæsar's wife must not even be suspected. (*Plutarch. Cæsar; Sueton. Jul.* 6.) Cicero divorced his wife Terentia, at the close of the civil war, after living with her more than thirty years, alleging that her temper was overbearing, and that she had deranged his domestic affairs by want of economy. Ere long, however, he married Publilia, a young heiress of whom he was guardian, as Terentia said, on account of her beauty; but his freedman, Tyro, affirmed that it was because of her wealth, which he needed to discharge his debts. But after he lost his daughter Tulliola, Cicero repudiated his new bride, because he thought she rejoiced at Tulliola's death. (*Plutarch. Cic.*) Augustus separated from his wife Scribonia, either for her bad character, or because she complained too much of his own infidelity, and then compelled Tib. Claudius Nero to repudiate his wife Livia, although with child at the time, in order to marry her himself. (*Stem. Cæs. ad fin. Tac. no.* 45, 66.) Considering all the facts, too much censure, we conceive, has been cast upon the younger Cato for surrendering his wife, Marcia, to his friend Q. Hortensius. Cato regularly repudiated his wife, and she was regularly married to Hortensius; there being nothing peculiar in the case, except that he repudiated her for this very purpose. (*Kennet*, 319.) After the death of Hortensius, Marcia was again married to Cato. These examples might be multiplied to a great extent; but we have deemed it enough to select a few cases by way of illustration, either remarkable in themselves, or on account of the individuals principally concerned.

The instances we have given are all of repudiation by the husband; but women did not fail to avail themselves of the privilege. We have a parallel even for the case of Paulus Æmilius; for Cœlius, in one of his letters to Cicero, tells him, among other news of the day, that Paula Valeria, the sister of Triarius, had seen fit to repudiate her husband without any

particular reason, upon the very day of his return from the province; and was now about to marry D. Brutus. (*Epist. ad Div.* viii. 7.) Seneca sarcastically observes, that many women, in his day, counted the years, not by the number of consuls, but of their husbands (*De Benefic.* iii. 16); and Juvenal alludes to the same state of manners in his satires (*Sat.* vi. 20). Yet it never became reputable for women, whether divorced or widows, to have several husbands. We read in Propertius of a lady, who prided herself that she had been *uni nupta*, 'married to but one husband,' and desired to have it engraven upon her monument. And *univira*, 'once married,' is found in many ancient inscriptions as an epithet of honor. None, who married a second time, were permitted to officiate at the annual sacred rights of Female Fortune. Yet examples were not rare of ladies of rank and character, repeatedly married. Fulvia, the imperious wife of Antony, had been previously married, first to Clodius, and afterwards to Curio. Terentia, after being divorced by Cicero, married his enemy, Sallust, and had Messala for her third husband. Nay, Dio relates that Vibius Rufus, who was consul in the reign of Tiberius, boasted of possessing two things, which belonged to the greatest men of the preceding age, namely, the wife of Cicero, and the chair in which Cæsar sat when he was assassinated. Tulliola, scarcely a year after the death of C. Piso, was wedded to M. Furius Crassipes; and being soon afterwards repudiated by him, was married the third time, to Cn. Dolabella, whom she quitted on account of his bad temper. Indeed, without citing these particular instances, it is evident that second marriages were frequent, since otherwise it would not have been deemed so honorable to live in widowhood; for public respect is apt to follow those acts, which are less common, and, which, indicating superior exertion or superior self-denial, therefore attract the greater applause. (*D'Arnay*, 239.)

It should be added that the Romans, with all their licentiousness and laxity of manners, never sanctioned polygamy, except for a short time in the reign of Valentinian the First, who, wishing to marry a second wife himself, made the right universal. But the practice did not generally obtain, and the old prohibitory laws were revived by Justinian in compiling the Code and Digest. Plutarch, indeed, considers Antony as having violated the principle, and married two wives at the same time, Octavia and Cleopatra; but as by the laws of Rome a legal mar-

riage could be contracted only between free citizens, Cleopatra was not, and could not be married to Antony (*Taylor, C. L.* 345), nor Berenice, queen though she was, be the wife of Titus (*Gibbon*, ch. 44). Well aware of the injurious consequences attending the extreme facility of divorce, Augustus attempted various expedients for checking and chastising its license, none of which proved very efficacious. The prevalence of celibacy in Rome at this period has been ascribed partly to the fact, that freedom of divorce was less favorable to males than females, because it left the former burthened with all the children who sprung from the marriage. To remedy the evil, Augustus passed the famous law Papia-Poppæa, imposing various disabilities upon the unmarried, and conferring correspondent advantages upon the father of a family. So earnest was the emperor in the promotion of this object, that he gave Hortensius a sum of money to enable him to marry according to his condition, and prevent the extinction of the illustrious family of the Hortensii; a case strongly contrasted with that of a nobleman in England, George Nevile, Duke of Bedford, who was degraded from the peerage in the reign of Edward the Fourth, by act of parliament, on account of his poverty. When the christian religion had gained a permanent footing in the empire, a struggle ensued between religious principle, which tended to restrict, and the customs of the country, which continued to protect, divorces by consent, until long after the time of Justinian. (*Gibbon*, ch. 44; *Poth. Con. de Mar.* 436.) But with the declining power of the western emperors, a new jurisprudence on this subject arose, more compatible with the dignity and purity of the matrimonial connexion. Marriage again resumed, in the countries of the civil law as well as elsewhere, the sanctity which originally attached to the contract, without which everything most venerable and most to be cherished in domestic life would fall a sacrifice to irregular passion. It is not probable that any nation will soon renew the experiment, which was tried in France during the revolution, when marriage was again reduced to a union so loose and transitory, that it was justly described as 'the sacrament of adultery.' (*Scott's Napoleon*, i. 240.) The Code Napoleon (*No.* 275 *et seq.*) checked, indeed, the unlimited freedom of divorce, by throwing obstacles in the way of sepation by consent, but still suffered it to take place, if the parties persisted in desiring it. (4 *Johns. Ch. R.* 194.)

Preparatory to entering upon a detailed explanation of the rights of woman by our own law, it is proper to state the general principle, on which all the particular doctrines are founded. This cannot be put in stronger language, nor in terms more to our purpose, than Sir William Blackstone uses. 'By marriage, the husband and wife are one person in law, that is, the very being or legal existence of the woman is suspended during the marriage, or at least is incorporated and consolidated into that of the husband; under whose wing, protection, and *cover*, she performs everything; and is therefore called in our law French a *feme covert;* is said to be *covert-baron*, or under the protection and influence of her husband, her *baron*, or lord; and her condition during her marriage is called her *coverture*. Upon this principle, of a union of person in husband and wife, depend almost all the legal rights, duties, and disabilities, that either of them acquires by the marriage.' (1 *Com.* 442.) If any confirmation of the legal correctness of the illiberal doctrine laid down in the foregoing extract were needed, it might be derived from a comparison of the condition of a married woman with the nearest analogous case, that of a person under age.

Various disabilities attach to the condition of minority. Infants, that is, persons under age, are supposed to be destitute of sufficient understanding to contract. The law therefore protects their weakness and imbecility, so far as *to allow them to avoid* all their contracts, by which they may be injured; but in favor of infants, they are bound by all reasonable contracts for their maintenance and education, and also by all acts, which they are obliged by law to do. (6 *Mass. Rep.* 78.) For the most part, their bargains are not void, but voidable only; which they may rescind or ratify at their election on their arriving at full age. They may ratify the agreement, if they think it for their advantage, and rescind it if it was inexpedient. But the disabilities incident to a married woman are not designed for her benefit and protection; but for the security of her husband. Hence her contracts are not voidable merely, upon a given contingency, or at the election of her husband, but with few exceptions, they are absolutely void; and this simply on the ground of the suspension of her legal existence during the coverture. For this monstrous doctrine of our law no better reason can be assigned, we imagine, than Bingham alleges, namely, the right of the stronger. (*Coverture*, 182.) It is sanctioned neither by justice, nor public policy, nor the exi-

gencies of social life. On the contrary, it is a principle, whose antiquity is its only commendation, and which, in its operation, has involved the courts in continual embarrassment.

It is unjust, because it throws the wife and her property entirely into the hands of her husband, and leads to acts of oppression on his part, and of suffering on hers, as numerous as they are remediless. It is idle to apprehend, that to allow her any separate and independent rights would occasion domestic dissension, or impair that reasonable preëminence, which ought to belong to the master of the family. The experience of the great body of the civilized nations of Europe demonstrates the reverse. The knowledge possessed by both parties, that each retained valuable rights, notwithstanding the union of persons, would necessarily promote mutual forbearance and respect. It is not enough to say, that because man has more experience of the world, greater knowledge of and aptitude for business, therefore woman should be deprived of legal existence. All the advantage of his superior skill is attainable by allowing him the government of his family, and the administration of all the property belonging to him and his wife. That the extent of her disability is against public policy, and contradicted by the exigencies of society, clearly appears; because, for three centuries past, the law in this respect has been constantly making progress from the barbarous severity of its original institution into an improved state, more consonant with the complicated relations of property at the present day, and with the refined opinions and feelings of a lettered and cultivated age, in which woman has ceased to be the handmaiden, and has risen up to be the choicest companion of man. We have seen how the course of improvement in manners at Rome unloosed the rigorous bonds which fettered the condition of woman. In England and in our country, the melioration has been less considerable, either in fact or in theory; but legislative assemblies have occasionally done something; and the courts, obeying the necessity of the times, have done more, by moulding the plastic substance of the common law into such form and consistency as their discretion approved. Still, as a cursory review of female rights by our law will show, even with all the benefits derived to woman by the irregular interposition of the courts of chancery, her legal condition is honorable neither to the generosity nor to the good

sense of that sex, which alone exercises the right of establishing laws.

Whether these observations are well founded or not, will be ascertained from examination of the doctrines of the common law, as they are expounded in the books. The cases adjudged upon this subject cannot be more conveniently classed, than by discriminating between them as they relate, first, to the person, and, secondly, to the property, of individuals in the married state.

To begin, then, with the relations in which woman is considered *criminaliter*. By the common law, it is no higher crime for a husband to kill his wife, than if he killed a stranger; but if the wife murders her husband, it is considered a more atrocious act. She is regarded not only as violating the restraints of humanity and the ties of conjugal affection, which would be equally true of the husband if he were the offending party; but, by help of an absurd fiction, she is further adjudged to have broken the *allegiance* which she owes to her lord, and to be guilty of the crime of treason. And for this offence she was liable, previous to the statute 30 George III, ch. 48, to the same punishment as if she had murdered the king, namely, to be burned alive; although petit treason, when committed by a man, as if the servant killed his master, was only punished by hanging. There is no question as to the legal principle of the difference; and it would be idle to attempt to disguise it. The murder of the baron by his feme was put upon precisely the same footing with the murder of the noble by his vassal, or of the bishop by a clergyman in his diocess; that is, of treachery to the person's liege lord and immediate sovereign. (4 *Bl. Com.*) And yet if we look to the true end and aim of all punishment, the prevention of crime, nothing is more absurd and mischievous. The husband is the stronger party; frequently he is bred to arms; more frequently still his profession or mode of life renders him familiar with deeds of violence. Under whatever system of laws, and in every country, the temper of the female sex is comparatively domestic, affectionate, and averse to cruelty; whilst the male sex are not unapt to lose their relish for the kindly charities of home in the stirring scenes of war, business, or politics, and are but too prone to acquire acerbity of feeling and harshness of character amid the stormy conflicts of life. Man bears the disappointments inseparable from our lot with less equanimity

than woman; temptations to vicious excess, resentment, sickness, his failure in favorite plans, unforeseen obstacles in the path of life, the daily altercations to which he is subject in the world; a hundred causes, from whose operation woman is altogether exempt, or which she meets with superior fortitude, all betray man into those occasional bursts of passion, which either precede or accompany the commission of violent crimes. Hence it is, that examples of the murder of the husband by his wife are extremely rare; while, to the disgrace of human nature, the opposite case has but too often occurred. And the inference we consider to be most plain, that if either party in the married state should be punished more than the other, for a domestic murder, it ought to be, not the wife, as by the common law, but the misguided wretch, who raises his hand to take away the life of his defenceless companion. It is the wife, and not the husband, who needs the protection of the law.

Another curious difference between the conditions of the two sexes in criminal matters, by the common law, arose out of the immunities claimed of old in favor of the clergy. Originally it was held, that no man should be admitted to the privilege of clergy, that is, of exemption from trial and punishment by the lay tribunals, except such as actually bore the clerical habit and tonsure. But in those days of ignorance, the mere ability to read soon came to be regarded as sufficient evidence that the party was a *clerk (clericus)*, and entitled him to the benefit of clergy. Afterwards, when the blessings of knowledge began to be more generally disseminated, and learning was no longer exclusively confined to the church, laymen as well as divines, gained admission to the privilege of clerkship, under certain modifications by statute, provided they were able to read. But women, being debarred by their sex from taking holy orders, were denied the benefit of clergy, however learned they might be; and remained subject to capital punishment for the first offence in simple larceny, manslaughter, and other felonies; although for the same offence, a man, who could read, was liable only to burning in the hand and a few months' imprisonment. However, in the reign of William and Mary, statutes were enacted, allowing women, guilty of any clergyable felony, to claim the benefit of the *statute*, in like manner as men might claim the benefit of *clergy*. (4 *Bl. Com.*)

The barbarous punishments, denounced by the common law against the crime of treason, are too well known to require recapitulation here. A part of the sentence, inflicting the most shocking outrages upon the body of the unhappy malefactor, was modified at an early period, in favor of women; for, as decency forbade the exposing and publicly mangling of their bodies, their sentence was, to be drawn to the gallows and there burned alive. But let it be observed, that while the law, merciless as it seems to be, shrunk from the brutality of the ordinary punishment in one particular, it took care to be more severe in another, by way of compensation for this imperfect leaning towards humanity. For the male traitor was first hanged, then mangled and burned, and finally decapitated and quartered; but the female was burned alive in the outset. (4 *Bl. Com.*) We shudder at the detail of these horrible cruelties, perpetrated in the abused name of justice. Happily some approaches to a better state of things have been forced upon parliament in later times; since by the statute 30 George III, ch. 48, before cited, it is enacted, that females, convicted of treason, shall be merely condemned to be drawn and hanged; and the milder character of penal jurisprudence in this country has preserved us from the degradation of legalizing such enormities.

As a corollary from the doctrine recognised by the common law, of the legal subjection of a wife to her husband, it was adjudged, in Lister's case (1 *Strange*, 478), that where a wife makes undue use of her liberty, either by squandering away her husband's property or by resorting to improper company, it is lawful for the husband, in order to preserve his honor and estate, to lay her under reasonable restraint. Nay, in Hardyman's case (2 *Str.* 875), where a husband declared his wife should neither sit at his table, nor have the government of his children, but be confined in a garret, by reason of her misconduct, Lord Raymond very cavalierly observed, that she deserved no better usage.

But although the husband may confine his wife, yet he may not imprison her. (*Prec. Chancery*, 492.) And if the parties are living apart, under articles of separation, the court will not permit the husband to seize the person of his wife; as was decided in a case where the celebrated John Wilkes figured to little advantage. The report of the case is worth transcribing, as relating to a personage of so much importance in his day.

'KING'S BENCH, EASTER TERM, 31 GEO. II.
Rex vs. *Mary Mead.*

'A *habeas corpus* having issued in the last vacation, at the instance of John Wilkes, Esquire, to bring up the body of Mary Wilkes, wife of the said John Wilkes, and daughter of the said Mary Mead, before Mr Justice Dennison, Mrs Mead now brought her into court.

'The substance of the return was, that her husband, having used her very ill, in consideration of a great sum which she gave him out of her separate estate, consented to her living alone, executed articles of separation, and covenanted never to disturb her, or any person with whom she might live; that she lived with her mother at her own earnest desire; and that this writ of *habeas corpus* was taken out with a view of seizing her by force, or some other bad purpose.

'The Court held the agreement to be a formal renunciation, by the husband, of his marital right to seize her, or force her back to live with him. And they said, that any attempt of the husband to seize her by force and violence would be a breach of the peace.. They also declared, that any attempt made by the husband to molest her, in her present return from Westminster Hall, would be a contempt of the Court; and they told the lady, she was at full liberty to go where, and to whom she pleased.' 1 *Burrow*, 542.

Thus much for one side of the question. But we nowhere discover that the courts of law authorize or countenance any attempt to make the right of restraint reciprocal. The disinterested makers of law take good care not to commit such a solecism. And yet far greater necessity exists for affording protection to the 'honor and estate' of the wife against the extravagance or the profligacy of her husband, than for the reverse. It is not in the power of a wife, to waste her husband's property by lavish expenditure, without his consent; nor, indeed, her own property either. Of his income or his capital she can obtain no more than he pleases to bestow; and he is liable, as will be explained at large hereafter, for no debts of her contracting, except they be for necessaries. But he, on the other hand, can profusely squander away most of his own property, and most of hers beside, in riotous living, or risk it upon the throw of a die, or embark it in desperate speculations, in consequence of which she may be reduced instantaneously from affluence and ease to indigence and wretchedness.

Again, there is little danger that a wife will abandon her husband's bosom, unless she be driven from it by ill usage, or

corrupted and seduced by some profligate friend, whom he himself domesticates at his fireside. And this, compared with the instances wherein a husband deserts his wife, is a rare case. She is bound to his house and his hearth by the nature of her duties, by the care of her children, by the laws of the land, and by the despotic usages of society, more imperative and imprescriptible by far than all the codes in the universe. Her functions are domestic; her education is domestic; her temper is domestic; the constitutions of Providence have made her domestic; her happiness, her pride, her glory, all that exalts her in estimation above the other sex, lies in the round of endearing charities, which enliven, bless, and purify the domestic circle. She may be drawn from it, for a season, to mingle in the amusements of the world, and the pleasures of general society, which occupy their appropriate place among the agents that form her character; but it is on home, that her affections must finally and chiefly rest. It is a principle too firmly implanted in her soul to be shaken by slight causes.

Not so with the other sex. Wherever a man's heart may be, his serious pursuits and regular occupations are abroad, in his counting-room, or his office, upon the exchange, or in the forum, or wherever else the calls of interest, ambition, or duty may demand his presence. His being is not so essentially domestic. It is always in his *power* to abandon his abode, if caprice or evil passions prompt him, without of necessity losing his claims to free admission in society, certainly without fatal prejudice to his means of subsistence and of enjoying life. It by no means follows, because he is a wanderer, that he is therefore miserable; nor because he is homeless, that he is therefore an outcast. His sex is to him a charter of freedom; and if he possess a few grains of the ingenious Quesnay's *poudre de prelinpinpin*, he bears the universal passport, the warranty of welcome in every land. Hence it happens, we believe, and the records of justice will make good our assertion, that for one wife, seduced from home, there are many husbands, who abandon it; and for a single case in which a husband is under the necessity of asking aid of the laws to reclaim his wife, very many occur in which the wife is consigned to more than the sorrows of widowhood by the desertion of her unfeeling husband.

Anciently, it was held in England, that a husband might inflict moderate chastisement on his wife for her domestic government,

subject to the same restrictions which applied to the right when exercised upon children or servants. (1 *Bl.* 444.) In Fitzherbert, there is the form of a writ of *supplicavit* for binding over the husband to security of the peace on account of his threatening his wife's life, or mutilation of her limbs. (*Fitz. N. B.* 80.) The writ commands the sheriff to see that the husband shall do no injury to the body of his wife, other than such as, for the purposes of domestic correction and government, may lawfully and reasonably appertain to a husband. (See *Moor*, 874; 2 *Johns. C. R.* 141.) But in Lord Lee's case, Sir Matthew Hale said, that *moderate castigation* in the register, was not meant of beating, but only of admonition and confinement to the house, in case of extravagance. (3 *Keble*, 433.) Therefore it is that Blackstone says; 'With us, in the politer reign of Charles the Second, this power began to be doubted; and a wife may now have security of the peace against her husband, or in return a husband against his wife. Yet the lower rank of people, *who were always fond of the old common law*, still claim and exert their ancient privilege.' (1 *Com.* 445.) If we are to judge of the excellence of 'the old common law' by this its adaptation to the vulgar feelings and habits of the most degraded members of the community, it would hardly seem deserving of much commendation. Indeed the remark instantly suggests the parallel case, in which Sir William's annotator declares that 'general terms of scurrility may be used with impunity, and are part of the rights and privileges of the vulgar.' (3 *Com.* 125, *Christ. note.*) To those only, we feel sure, who are lost to all sense of shame, would the privilege of striking a wife be now extended by the courts, either in England or America.

Indeed, this right was doubted much earlier than the reign of Charles the Second. For in Sir Thomas Seymor's case (*Moor*, 874, *more full in Godbolt*, 215), it is said; 'Cook, chief justice, held, that the husband could not give correction to his wife; but Nicols and Warburton, justices, held the contrary.' This opinion is creditable to the feelings of Sir Edward Coke; but true it is that the old authorities are against him. Bracton has the expression; 'There are some persons under the rod (*sub virgâ*), such as wives. (*Lib.* i. c. 10, p. 2.) And the well known opinion, respecting this point, pronounced at *nisi prius*, by Sir Francis Buller, a judge, as every lawyer must concede, whose character and talents adorned the bench, we imagine has been censured by many, who never entirely com-

prehended its import. He is reported to have sanctioned the doctrine of the husband's right of domestic chastisement; and when questioned as to the dimensions of the rod or thong with which it should be inflicted, to have assimilated it, with great simplicity and *bonhommie*, to the size of his own thumb; which gave occasion to the fair sex to express much very pardonable curiosity concerning the magnitude of that part of his lordship's hand. But the similitude itself is traced to the times of Bracton; who, tradition reports, was much more unfortunate than Sir Francis Buller, because the women of the town where he lived punished him for his disregard of their comfort by plunging him in a horsepond. (12 *Serg. & Raw.* 226.) The principle, stating the thing in a naked abstract shape, certainly is admitted by the law; and Sir Francis may have said so; but if the principle were put to the test by an actual case, we do not believe a court or jury would justify the battery of a wife by her husband much sooner, nor under much less aggravated circumstances, than if it were the opposite fact, of the battery of a husband by his wife. No judge or jury, we apprehend, could be found to outrage public opinion by lending their countenance to such violence on either side, unless in the contingency of some unhappy female of masculine character, in the deepest debasement of moral and social condition.

In the ecclesiastical courts in England many decisive cases on this point occur. Thus Sir William Scott says, the court will not interfere on account of ordinary domestic altercations, but that whenever 'words of menace' are proved, the wife may claim protection. (2 *Phil.* 111; 1 *Hag.* 458.) So like security is there extended to the husband (1 *Hag.* 409); and if a wife wilfully provokes her husband to violence, she loses all right of legal redress for it, unless his resentment was altogether disproportioned to her own misconduct. (2 *Phil.* 133; 1 *Hag.* 364.) But acts of domestic oppression much short of a blow, such as continued insult, indirect efforts to inflict distress, as by cruelty towards a child for the purpose of wounding the mother's feelings, and the like, afford, in strong cases, adequate ground for allowing a separate maintenance. (2 *Phil.* 207.) And we state this right of protection as being reciprocal by the principles of the law; because it undoubtedly is so in England, and the decision of Chancellor Kent to the contrary rests upon the particular terms of the statute of New York. (4 *Johns. C. R.* 503.) And the last named eminent judge confirms the

position above stated that, although mere petulance, and rudeness, and sallies of passion, might not be sufficient, yet acts of perpetual violence, danger of life, limb, or health, or just apprehension of bodily hurt, will entitle the wife to the protection of the court. (4 *Johns. Ch. R.* 189.) But the judicious remarks of Sir William Scott, in a case in the Consistory Court, are particularly deserving of attention. He observes;

'What merely wounds the mental feelings is in few cases to be admitted, where they are not accompanied with bodily injury, either actual or menaced. Mere austerity of temper, petulance of manners, rudeness of language, a want of civil attention and accommodation, even occasional sallies of passion, if they do not threaten bodily harm, do not amount to legal cruelty; they are high moral offences in the married state undoubtedly, not innocent surely in any state of life, but still they are not that cruelty, against which the law can relieve. Under such misconduct in either of the parties, for it may exist on the one side as well as on the other, the suffering party must bear in some degree the consequences of an injudicious connexion; must subdue by decent resistance or by prudent conciliation; and if this cannot be done, both must suffer in silence.' 'Still less is it cruelty, where it wounds not the natural feelings, but the acquired feelings arising from particular rank and situation;' 'of course, the denial of little indulgences and particular accommodations, which the delicacy of the world is apt to number amongst its necessaries, is not cruelty.' 1 *Haggard*, 38, *Evans* vs. *Evans*.

Whether it be that peers are more pugnacious at home than commoners, or that their domestic affairs are scrutinized and reported more faithfully, certain it is that many examples of their domestic tyranny have made their way into the books. Perhaps it may be because peers can be put under recognisance to keep the peace only by the courts of king's bench or chancery. (4 *Bl. Com.* 251.) Among the examples of dishonorable notoriety are the cases of Lord Lee, the Marquess of Carmarthen, Lord George Howard, Lord Vane, the Earl of Stamford, Earl Ferrers, and Lady Strathmore. (1 *Hawk.* 255, *note.*) The case of Lawrence, Earl Ferrers, two years afterwards convicted of murder, and executed (*Foster*, 138), who frequently suffered himself to be betrayed into violent transports of passion, to the imminent peril of his lady, a sister of Sir William Meredith, is interesting in a legal point of view, as illustrative of the admirable juridical character of Lord Mansfield. Earl Ferrers had been commanded, by writ of *habeas corpus*

issuing from the king's bench, to bring up the body of his countess, on complaint of her friends; and the earl, disobeying a first and second writ, was at length compelled to appear by a peremptory writ of attachment. On that occasion the question was canvassed and settled, whether the king's bench could issue an attachment against a peer during the sitting of parliament for contempt of court only; and Lord Mansfield successfully maintained the affirmative, on the bench and in the House of Lords. When Earl Ferrers came to Westminster Hall, he sent a message to the chief justice, desiring to speak with him; but Lord Mansfield bid the messenger tell the earl, that when an affair was depending before the court, he could not speak with any body upon it *but* IN *court*. Thereupon the parties came into court, Lady Ferrers having articles of the peace ready to exhibit. The earl then desiring to interrogate his lady, Lord Mansfield told her she was not obliged to answer any questions previous to swearing the peace; and the earl or his counsel, seeking to draw an answer from her by intimating that it might prove for her interest to reply, Lord Mansfield immediately said he had before told her she *need not* answer them; and now he would *not suffer* her to answer them; and the earl accordingly gave the security required without further delay. (1 *Burrow*, 631.)

Our ungallant fathers of the common law provided a peculiar punishment for common scolds, but carefully confined the crime and the punishment to scolds of the female sex. Scolds are defined in the books to be 'troublesome and angry women, who, by their brawling and wrangling amongst their neighbors, break the public peace, increase discord, and become a public nuisance to the neighborhood.' (*Tomlins' Jacob*, s. voc.) Our ancestors thought, perhaps, that men being indictable as common barrators or movers of suits and quarrels, and there being no precedent of such an indictment having fallen upon a woman (2 *Rolle's Rep.* 39), although Hawkins thinks there is no good cause why it should not lie (1 *P. C.* 525), therefore it was not amiss for the latter to be exclusively liable to punishment for scolding. The barrator is only subject to fine or imprisonment; but the scold was indictable as a common nuisance, and if convicted was sentenced to be placed on a certain engine of correction called a castigatory, trebucket, or cuckingstool, and after being exposed thereon to be plunged in the water. (4 *Com.* 168, 1 *Hawk.* 361, 365; *Toml. Jacob*, s. voc. *Castig.*)

Several cases are reported in England of questions arising on such prosecutions. The indictment is insufficient if she be merely charged as *communis calumniatrix* (2 *Strange*, 849), or as a *common brawler* (2 *Str.* 1246); it must use the technical phrase *rixatrix* or scold (6 *Modern*, 11); and must lay the scolding to be to the common nuisance of the neighborhood (2 *Hawk.* 325). In queen Anne's reign a poor woman, of the name of Foxby, had the misfortune to be indicted for this misdemeanor, but by resolutely standing upon her defence, fairly baffled her persecutors. Her case comes up no less than four times in a single book of law reports. Being convicted, she moved an arrest of judgment, because the indictment ran, that she was a common *calumniatrix* instead of *rixatrix;* and judgment was arrested. But when the exception was taken at Trinity term, Chief Justice Holt jocosely suggested to her, that 'it were better ducking in Trinity than in Michaelmas term.' She was again indicted, it would seem, as *communis rixa;* and this being held to be defective (*Ld. Raymond*, 1094), judgment of the court below was reversed upon writ of error in the king's bench. It was requisite that the error should be assigned by the party in person; and when she moved the court for permission to appear by attorney, on account of illness, the court refused it, but allowed further time for her appearance. The court said; 'Scolding once or twice is no great matter; for scolding alone is not the offence; but frequent repetition of it to the disturbance of the neighborhood makes it a nuisance, and as such it has always been punishable in the leet, and so indictable.' It is added; 'They enlarged the time till next term, to see how she would behave herself in the mean time; for Chief Justice Holt said, ducking would rather harden than cure her, and if she were once ducked, she would scold on all the days of her life.' (6 *Mod.* 11, 178, 213, 239.)

We are not aware, that this relic of ancient coarseness has been recognised in this country, as adhering to any of the American codes; and a recent English writer speaks of the punishment as being antiquated and almost obsolete. A case lately decided in Pennsylvania may be considered as furnishing a safe precedent for all the other states in the Union. The Court of Quarter Sessions for the county of Philadelphia, in October, 1824, convicted Nancy James of being a common scold, and in obedience to several precedents in the same court, but none later than 1782, sentenced her to the cuckingstool and

to be three times plunged in the water. Upon writ of error, brought in the Supreme Court, this tribunal had sufficient manliness to resist the attempt to revive the barbarous usage, and pronounced that the punishment itself had no legal existence in Pennsylvania. (12 *Serg. & Rawle*, 220.) In Massachusetts it is settled that this mode of correction, as singular and ludicrous as it is cruel, is incompatible with a provision of the constitution, which prohibits the infliction of all 'cruel and unusual punishments.' (*Davis's Justice*, p. 525.)

Generally, a *feme covert* is held to answer as much as if she were *sole*, or unmarried, for offences against the common law, or a statute, and may be separately punished for them by way of indictment; for this being a proceeding grounded on the infraction of a law, it would be unjust that her husband should be included in it for an act to which he is in nowise privy. Thus we have precedents of indictments against women for treason, murder, robbery, theft, burglary, forcible abduction, riot, assault and battery, trespass, slander, usury, and many other crimes, which it is needless to enumerate. But if a married woman incur the forfeiture of a penal statute, her husband may be made a party to the process, and shall be liable to answer for the penalty recovered. (1 *Hawk.* ch. 1, s. 13.)

But the doctrine of the legal subjection of a wife to her husband is brought to bear greatly to her advantage upon criminal matters. She is so far favored in respect of the power and authority which he has over her, that a *feme covert* shall not suffer punishment for larceny or burglary committed in company with, or by coercion of her husband. (*Kelyng*, 31.) Indeed, Blackstone lays down the principle much more broadly, saying that in such cases she is not punishable for theft, burglary, or other civil offences against the laws of society, she being considered as acting by compulsion, and not of her own will. (4 *Com.* 28; 10 *Mass. Rep.* 152.) But he afterwards subjoins, that the rule does not apply to crimes that are *mala in se*, for the perfectly satisfactory reason, that 'it would be unreasonable to screen an offender from the punishment due to natural crimes by the refinements and subordinations of society. But if she commit robbery in company with, or by coercion of her husband, she is punishable; and the reason assigned for punishing in this instance, and not doing so in that of burglary or larceny, is because in the latter case the wife is, by a

fiction of law, supposed not to know what property her husband may have in the goods clandestinely taken (10 *Mod.* 63), but in the former the presence of the true owner of the goods constituting the essence of the crime, she cannot but know in what right they are taken (1 *Hawk.* 4). For the same cause of her legal subjection to her husband, she is not deemed accessory to a felony, for sheltering her husband who has been guilty of it, as the husband shall be for receiving her; nor if she receive her husband, when he has committed treason, is she punishable as a principal in the crime, because being under his power, the law presumes she is constrained to receive him; neither is she affected by receiving jointly with her husband any other offender. (1 *Hawk.* 4.)

But if she commit a theft of her own voluntary act, or by the bare command of, and not in company with, or by coercion of, her husband, she is no longer protected. Nor shall the plea of coverture avail the wife, nor any presumption of the husband's coercion extenuate her guilt, if she commit treason, murder, or manslaughter; because of the enormity of the act in respect of all these crimes, and in respect of the first for the further reason, that the law will not suffer the husband to claim that obedience from his wife, which he himself as a subject or citizen has refused to pay. (4 *Com.* 29.) And at the present time courts are much more strict in requiring proof of the husband's coercion than formerly; and it may be doubted whether the mere presence of her husband would be considered to furnish more than a *primâ facie* presumption of coercion. (2 *Starkie's Ev.* 705.) Indeed, the practice seems to have been originally encouraged out of tenderness to her sex, and in order to evade the unjustifiable rigor of the law, which denied the benefit of clergy to the wife; for it would have been extremely odious, where a husband and wife had jointly committed the same felony, to execute the wife and dismiss the husband with a slight punishment. (*Christian's note*, 4 *Bl. Com.* 29; 2 *Stark. Ev.* 704.) Therefore, since the statute, extending the benefit of clergy to females, was enacted, it has been held, that nothing short of the actual presence of the husband, and his direct personal participation in the act, will excuse the wife. (2 *Starkie's Ev.* 581.)

Another distinction contained in the books is worthy of note for the singularity of its operation. As a husband and wife are considered but as one person in law, a *feme covert* cannot

be guilty of larceny by stealing her husband's goods; because, say the lawyers, it is tantamount to a man's committing theft upon himself. Furthermore, the husband, by endowing the wife, at their marriage, with all his worldly goods, communicates to her a qualified interest in them; for which cause even a stranger cannot commit larceny in taking the husband's goods by the delivery of his wife; but he may, by taking away the wife by force and against her will, together with the goods of the husband. (1 *Hawk.* ch. 33, s. 19.)

Many other illustrations of this part of our subject might be given; but to avoid the hazard of fatiguing our readers with too much crown law, we shall pass on to a different class of considerations. And ere we enter upon the rights of a *feme covert* as to property, we crave to be indulged in stating here certain consequences of the matrimonial relation, as to legal proceedings, which stand by themselves. Thus it was anciently holden, that no woman was competent evidence to prove the legal condition of a man, as whether bond or free. (*Coke Lit.* 6 b.) So also women, together with peers, children under twelve years of age, and the clergy, were exempt from the general attendance at the sheriff's court-leet, where all other persons were compelled to appear. (*Stat. Marleb.* c. 10.) It is another curious point of the old law, that a woman could not be an *approver*, that is, one, who, standing indicted for treason or felony, confesses his guilt, and to obtain a pardon undertakes, at his peril, to convict his partners in crime; and the reason of it was, because the *appellee*, or party accused by the approver, was entitled to the wager of battle to prove his innocence; and a woman, being incapable of waging battle in person, was debarred the privilege of approving. (2 *Hawk.* 294.)

But it is a rule of law of more importance, since it is one of daily use, that the husband and wife cannot be witnesses for each other, because their interests are identical; nor against each other, because this would be contrary to the policy of marriage, and might create domestic dissension and unhappiness. (1 *Com.* 443.) It is edifying to observe the reasons which the old lawyers give for the rule. Thus Sir Edward Coke very summarily settles it on the ground, that *they twain are one flesh.* (*Coke Lit.* 6 b.) Sir William Blackstone says, 'if they were admitted to be witnesses *for* each other, they would contradict one maxim of law, *Nemo in propriâ*

causâ testis esse debet; and if *against* each other, they would contradict another maxim, *Nemo tenetur seipsum accusare.*' But this is altogether artificial; and the simple reason is the right one, their identity of interest and affection. That this alone is the true reason is confirmed by the fact, that identically the same incapacity exists by the civil law, which even goes further, and refuses the reciprocal evidence of father and son, and brother and sister. (*Brown. C. L.* 85.) Without entering at large into the numerous applications of the principle, it will suffice to observe, first, where either husband or wife is a party in any proceeding, civil or criminal, the rule is universal, that the other is altogether incompetent to testify. Secondly, where one of them, not being a party, is interested collaterally in the result, neither is witness *for* the other; and if the husband be disqualified by reason of interest, the wife is also disqualified; but in certain cases, where the husband's interest does not protect him from examination, neither will it protect the wife. Thirdly, where neither of them is either a party to the proceeding or interested in the result, the husband or wife is competent to prove any fact, provided the evidence does not directly criminate the other. (2 *Stark. Ev.* 706–714.) These explanations are sufficient to elucidate the operations of the general principle, to which there are few exceptions, and those only in cases of evident necessity, as, for instance, the wife is admissible to prove a charge against her husband of violence committed on her person.

We proceed to consider the consequences of the constructive unity of the husband and wife, in its influence upon the rights of property, where it operates with the greatest hardship against the wife. The reader must bear along in his mind this fundamental principle, that they are one person in law, and he will readily see why it was that, according to the common law, by no conveyance could the husband give an estate to his wife, nor the wife to her husband, unless through the intervention of trustees. (*Coke Lit.* 187 b; 1 *Greenl.* 394.) And for the same reason, if a woman owns any estate of freehold and marries, her husband shall be seized, and have a freehold in the lands, in his wife's right; and he becomes absolutely entitled to the rents and profits of it during her life, and the rents and profits may be aliened by him or taken in execution for the payment of his just debts. The fee remains in her, but he is entitled to the administration of the property, and to all the

income it may afford. Chattels real, that is, estates for a term of years and the like, are also vested in him by the marriage, and he may dispose of them or forfeit them for crimes, and they may be extended upon for his debts; but he cannot devise them away by will, and if he omit to make any disposition of them in his lifetime, they survive to his wife. As to the wife's personal property, the law makes this distinction; the marriage operates as an absolute gift to the husband of all her personal property in possession, such as money, goods, cattle, furniture, and the like, so that he may make any disposition of them at his pleasure, without his wife's consent, and if she survive him they go not to her, but to his legal representatives. And the marriage operates in like manner as a gift to the husband of all the wife's personal property not in possession, such as annuities, claims in law, obligations, provided the husband reduces them into possession by receiving them, or by recovering them at law; but if he fail to do this, they survive to his wife. The rule is the same with respect to every species of property, whether owned by the wife at the time of the marriage, or whether it accrues to her during the coverture. And, finally, if the husband have by his wife issue, male or female, born alive, which by any possibility may inherit, and the wife dies, her husband is entitled to hold all her real estate by a peculiar tenancy called the curtesy of England. (*Bingham*, ch. ii, *Comyn*, *Bacon*, *Blackstone*, &c.) Such are the husband's rights in his wife's property.

Now let us look at the other side of the picture, and consider what it is, in a pecuniary point of view, that the wife gains by the marriage, in consideration of her parting with all her personal property for ever, and all her real estate during her husband's life. He is, in the first place, liable for all her debts contracted before marriage, and this whether he received any portion with her or not; because he took her for better or worse, and it is to be presumed that he informed himself of her condition before he assumed the burden of matrimony.

Secondly, he is obliged to maintain her, and may be compelled by law to provide her with all necessary food, apparel, and attendance, according to his rank or circumstances; and if he refuses or neglects to do this, she may by the common law sue out a writ of *supplicavit* to compel him to supply her exigencies (*Per Sir M. Hale*, 1 *Sid.* 109; and see 2 *Ves. Jr.* 195), or she may sue him for alimony, or she may contract

debts to obtain necessaries for herself, children, or family, which the creditor may sue him for in law and force him to pay. But in the leading case upon the subject (*Manly* vs. *Scott*, *Sid.* 109 and 1 *Mod.* 128), Sir Matthew Hale pronounced a very elaborate opinion, in a part of which he carefully decides that a wife has, upon the marriage, no 'original, inherent, primogenial, and uncountermandable power to charge the husband for her necessities.' In order, therefore, to prevent the theory of the law from openly violating the plainest principles of common sense and common humanity, the sages of our jurisprudence say that, although the husband is not bound by an original and inherent right of the wife to support, yet an implied precedent assent of his to her contracts for necessaries may be raised upon the fact of their cohabitation in the state of lawful marriage. Such is the labyrinth of absurdities and overstrained niceties of distinction, into which the theory of our law relative to female rights betrays the wisest judges. However, they contrive to admit that in one shape or another he is liable, and this even if her character be dissolute, provided he permits her to reside with him as his wife. Nor can he throw off the obligation by abandoning her, or by expelling her from his house, or forcing her by ill usage to leave him of her own accord; only if he allows her a separate maintenance, he is not liable for her debts so long as that is duly paid; and he is not liable to particular persons whom he has prohibited, not by a general warning in the newspapers, but specially, from giving her credit. So that, so long as a husband is in good credit and in the possession of property, his wife is assured all the necessaries and conveniences of life, according to her condition and degree. (*Bacon's Ab. B. and Feme*, H.)

Thirdly, upon the death of her husband, his widow is entitled to demand her dower in all the lands and tenements of which he was seized at any time during the coverture, a regulation which Tacitus found in full rigor among the ancient Germans (c. 18). The unlearned reader should carefully distinguish between the word *dower* as used in the civil law, where it signifies a wife's marriage portion, and the same word as it occurs in our law, where it merely imports an estate for life in one third of all the husband's real estate. By the ancient forms, a husband usually proceeded, openly at the church door, after affiance made and troth plighted, to endow his newly married bride in the whole of his lands or such part as he

should specially designate; a custom of which evident traces still remain in the beautiful and appropriate marriage service of the episcopal church. But the endowment of the wife in one full third of her husband's real estate has been long the established law of England, and of all those countries which borrow their jurisprudence from the English code. By the common law, the widow cannot be deprived of dower by any deed, devise, or other legal act of her husband alone; but she may be barred of it by elopement, divorce, being an alien, treason of her husband, and in other ways; but the most usual method is by means of a jointure, or competent estate, settled upon the wife, to take effect immediately upon the death of her husband, in lieu and in full satisfaction of her dower. (2 *Bl. Com.* 129.) Besides the ordinary modes of barring the widow's dower, the customary law of Massachusetts and of several of the United States provides the further course, of a wife's voluntary relinquishment of dower in all or any specific part of her husband's lands, by executing a deed thereof jointly with her husband, expressly releasing her claim of dower. (7 *Mass. Rep.* 14, *Fowler* vs. *Shearer*, *&c.*) We may subjoin, that a wife cannot be barred of her dower in the United States, as she may in England, by the treason of her husband, nor by any means whatever except her own free act and deed, her dower not being liable for the payment of his debts, and being thus absolutely secured to her, after her husband's death, in every contingency.

Lastly, by the English statute of distributions, the substance of which, under various modifications, has been transferred into the jurisprudence of the several United States, if a person die intestate, leaving a widow and children, one third part of his personal property goes to the widow, and the residue in equal proportions to all the children; but if he leaves no children, then one half to his widow, and the other half to his collateral heirs. (2 *Bl. Com.* 515.) But the husband still retains full power to dispose of all his personal estate by incurring debts which it shall go to satisfy, or by deed of gift or sale during his life, or by devise to take effect afterwards; so that it is in the power of a cruel or improvident husband if he was never seized of any real estate during the coverture, to leave his wife in absolute indigence at his death, and this although he may have died in a state of affluence, and of affluence derived from the marriage of the wife herself. So that, on a fair statement of

the balance of pecuniary advantages and disadvantages to each party, it will appear that, during coverture, the husband is entitled to all the profits to be derived from the joint estate of both husband and wife, to live in splendor upon the income of the lands, or speculate in commerce upon the capital of her money and chattels, subject only to the charge of providing her with necessaries; that on the death of the wife, if she have had children, he enjoys all her lands for life, and her personal property is wholly and absolutely his at all events; but that on the death of the husband, his widow can claim only one third of his estate of inheritance, and one third, or more, or none at all, of his chattel estate, according as his caprice and the operation of the law may determine.

The unjust partiality of the common law to the male sex is manifested, in a remarkable manner, by two or three differences between tenancy by dower, and the corresponding estate of tenancy by the curtesy. Attainder for high treason operated the forfeiture of all the traitor's lands and tenements of inheritance, if he were of the male sex, including his wife's dower by express provision of a statute (5 and 6 *Edw.* VI. ch. 11), in order, it is said by the lawyers, to deter men from the commission of this crime by the prospect of the total poverty, added to loss of rank and mental suffering, which it must entail upon his wife and children. But the gallant barons and loyal knights and burgesses, who so liberally and generously provided for the impoverishment of their unhappy widows, if they themselves should be attainted of treason, were too wary and cunning to subject themselves to the like penalty. And therefore if the wife be attainted of treason, yet her husband shall be tenant by the curtesy of all her lands. (4 *Bl. Com.* 380.) Again, it is well settled that a husband shall be tenant by the curtesy in an equity of redemption belonging to his wife (*Cashborne* vs. *Inglis*, 2 *Eq. Abr.* 728; 1 *Atk.* 603); and although the two estates exist in the same species of right, it seems to be decided in England, although contrary to the opinion of many sound jurists in this country, that a widow cannot be endowed of her husband's equity of redemption. (See *Reeve's Dom. Rel.* 33; 4 *Day*, 306; 13 *Mass. R.* 227; 15 *Johns.* 319; 2 *Southard*, 885.) Again, it has always been holden, and we think *wrongly* decided, that a wife cannot be endowed of her husband's estate in trust (3 *P. Wms.* 234); and yet Lord Cowper has made it to be the law, that a husband

shall be tenant by the curtesy in his wife's trust estates. (2 *Vernon*, 681; 1 *P. Wms.* 108, and 2, 713.) We cannot but consider these contrasted differences to be very striking, especially when we reflect, as every lawyer ought, upon the very unsatisfactory and inconsequent reasoning by which the stronger sex have settled the two last cases against the weaker one, and doubly in their own favor.

It is far from our intention to disparage the law under which we live, whose many and great excellencies we feel proud to acknowledge. But regarding the present topic as one of its most defective portions, we venture to touch upon one other class of cases in which woman is placed in a state of subjugation to the male sex, namely, in respect of all contracts. For it is generally true that a *feme covert* has no power to make a contract in her own right without her husband; and therefore such a contract is absolutely void. And if a wife sell or dispose of the money or goods of her husband without his assent, the sale is void, and the husband may bring an action to recover possession of the property. Nay, it is the same if she loses money at cards. (1 *Sid.* 120.) And if she buy goods, or contract to buy them, the price cannot be recovered in law, unless they consisted of necessaries, as we have before stated. So far is this incapacity extended, that by statute in England (32 *Hen.* VIII. c. i.), and by decisions in most of the United States, a *feme covert*, although she may dispose of money by will with her husband's assent, yet even with that she cannot make a devise of her lands so as to bar and exclude her heir at law. (12 *Mass. Rep.* 525. But see *Reeve's Dom. Rel.* ch. 11 and 12.) And all actions for her benefit, whether relating to her own separate property, or for injuries done to her person, must be sued either in her husband's name or in their joint names, according to various technical distinctions applicable to particular circumstances. (*Comyn's Dig. B. and F.*)

Some few cases occur in the books, wherein a married woman is entitled to make contracts for her benefit, and to sue and be sued, from the necessity of the thing. It is where the husband is dead in law, and therefore disabled to sue or be sued in the right of his wife; for in such case, if she were not treated as a *feme sole*, she would be without remedy for any injury sustained by, or claim accruing to her, and persons of whom she purchased necessaries would be equally remediless. Thus if a husband has abjured his country, or is banished

either for life or for a limited time, or if he is an alien residing abroad, leaving his wife resident here, she is considered competent to contract. And by the custom of London, a married woman who trades by herself in a traffic with which her husband does not intermeddle, is regarded so far as having separate rights, and capable of bringing or defending a separate action. (*Bacon's Abr. B. & F.*) But the extreme rigor of the common law maxims in this respect press so heavily upon the female sex, in various contingencies, that the courts of chancery in England have assumed jurisdiction in order to afford parties that relief which equity requires. In those of the states, such as New York, for example, where a court of chancery exists with competent powers, a wife can obtain suitable protection for her separate rights; but it is otherwise in those states, where, as in Massachusetts, for example, the want of correct information upon the subject has kept alive an illiberal and unfortunate spirit of jealousy towards equity jurisdiction. With a brief statement of the salutary operation of chancery herein, we shall close our protracted remarks on this head.

In chancery, if a wife claims any rights adverse to those pretended by her husband, she may procure an order to sue or be sued separately. The general circumstances in which equity lets in the wife to exercise this privilege, are where anything is given or accrues to her separate use, or the husband refuses to perform marriage articles, or articles for a separate maintenance, or where the wife, being deserted by the husband, acquires property by her individual skill or labor. An example will elucidate the salutary tendency and effects of this authority more clearly than the most elaborate reasonings. Thus, a husband was attainted of felony, and his sentence commuted for transportation; and in the mean time his wife became entitled to some personal property, which the husband undertook, as he lawfully might, to gain possession of at common law. Lord Chancellor King compelled him to relinquish his claim, and ordered the money to be vested in government securities for the wife's benefit. (3 *P. Wms.* 37.) A husband deserted his wife and children for fourteen years, and then returned, and, exercising his common law rights, took possession of property earned by her labor during his absence; but a decree was obtained from Sir Joseph Jekyll, obliging him instantly to restore it all to his injured wife. (1 *Atk.* 278.)

Again, a husband abandoned his wife for the space of twenty years, after which she became entitled to personal estate by inheritance, and her husband came forward and claimed it; but Chancellor Kent, upon a bill being filed, ordered the money to be invested and secured to the wife's use. (4 *Johns. C. R.* 318. And see 3 *Cowen*, 590.) In all these, and a multitude of analogous cases, the injured party could have no adequate remedy at law (*Bacon's Abr. B. & F.; Comyn's Dig. B. & F.;* and *Chan. 2 M.*); but is protected by a court of equity, which acts, in this particular, upon the principles of the civil law.

We abstain from remarking upon the rules governing marriage and divorce, pertinent as they are to our subject, because we feel admonished that we are overstepping the limits assigned us. But an explanation may be permitted, in conclusion, concerning a peculiarity in the laws of succession, which essentially affects the condition of woman, namely, the much talked of salic law; a text usually considered as affording authority for the exclusion of females from the throne of France. The salic law is a code of one of the ancient Frankish tribes, and the precise text, upon which inferences so important are built, is in the following words, 'No portion of inheritance in the salic land shall pass to females; but this belongs to the male sex, that is to say, the sons shall succeed to the inheritance itself.' (*Montesq. Es. des Loix*, l. xviii. ch. 22.) It is satisfactorily shown by Montesquieu, and indeed appears from inspection of the law itself, that it was only a municipal regulation, designed for the succession of the private property of individuals, having no reference to the crown, and least of all to that of the kingdom of France. By the phrase 'salic land,' neither the French territory, nor, as others suppose, a country in Germany, is intended. It signified, in its original acceptation, as used among the ancient German tribes, the *curtilage* of a dwellinghouse, the space reserved by each individual around his abode, according to the usage noticed by Tacitus. *(De Mor. Germ.)* The origin of the law is thus explained. The lands cultivated by the ancient Germans were given them only for a year, at the expiration of which they reverted to the community. Each individual owned in severalty no land except the curtilage of his house, which was called the *salic land*, and descended with the house itself to the male who was to occupy it as the master of the family.

If a female had been permitted to inherit the salic land, the consequence would have been, that she might carry it by marriage to her husband, who, contrary to the true design of the thing, would thus possess two houses with the respective curtilages of each, that is, two shares of salic land.

But simple as the law was in the beginning, it acquired a wider comprehension when the Franks, having subjugated so large a portion of the Western Empire, and becoming the masters of extensive fiefs, naturally enough had recourse to the analogous case of their salic land for a rule by which to govern the succession of their new territorial possessions. The necessities of a barbarous monarchy, supported only by deeds of violence, tended to strengthen the analogy as applied to the succession of princes during the first race; because the rude warriors of that age demanded a ruler of the male sex, and one as rude as themselves, to lead them in battle. Precedents, therefore, frequently occurred of the exclusion of females from the throne during the history of the first race, and occasionally in that of the second; and the crown happened to descend from father to son during eleven generations of the third race; so that when Louis Hutin died, leaving only a daughter, the states of the kingdom solemnly and deliberately declared the exclusion of females from the crown to be the law of the realm, and raised Philip the Long to the throne, as they did successively Charles the Fair, and Philip of Valois, in each case to the prejudice of females more nearly related to the crown. And notwithstanding the imperfect foundation in law for this exclusion, still, having been acted upon for nine hundred years, it must be admitted the states of the kingdom were perfectly justified in pronouncing it to be part of the fundamental constitution of the monarchy. Yet the alleged illegality of this exclusion was the pretext for repeated invasions of France by English princes, who pretended a right to the throne derived through females, and who seemed to think, with the archbishop of Canterbury, in Shakspeare's 'Henry the Fifth,' that the dispute could be settled in their favor by astute criticisms upon the salic law. It is clear that a principle of succession uninterruptedly observed for nearly a thousand years required no confirmation, and could gather little strength from an obscure old text of the Frankish conquerors.

Of the wisdom of such a provision, however, there is much ground to doubt, and still more of its justice. We speak not

of the question in reference to a savage state of manners; but if we did, many safe precedents could be adduced in favor of admitting women to an equality in this respect with the male sex. Grant that the tales of the ancient Amazons are in some sort apocryphal, and that Spanish or Portuguese friars, who would have us believe similar governments exist in America, err a little on the side of the marvellous. Still we know that among many warlike tribes, of the old world and of the new, women have been permitted to assume the honors of royalty. Cases abound in America; nor are they wanting in Europe and Asia. In ancient as in modern Britain, women could aspire to empire (*Tac. Jul. Agric.* c. 16), as the illustrious name of Boadicea may well attest. The influence of the female sex, and the authority of their counsels are apparent in every page of the history of the ancient Germans, notwithstanding they originated the principle embodied in the salic law. The names of Semiramis and of Catharine of Russia, if they raise the recollection of some personal weaknesses, are also associated with reigns of prosperity, splendor, and glory; nor would any masculine hand have been likely to sway the sceptre of empire with more of princely dignity and power. Zenobia might boast that but for the fatal supremacy of the Roman arms, she would have continued to show herself as worthy to reign as Aurelian himself. And if talent and fitness are good titles to power, certainly the proudest male of the line of Tudors, or Plantagenets before them, did not possess a right to rule more divine, a more clear and legitimate charter by nature, than Elizabeth of England. Indeed, it is one of the singular anomalies, which sometimes find a place among human institutions, that, in countries where woman is debarred access to all inferior political dignities, the right of succeeding to the crown should be made an exception in her favor. And it is, therefore, a subject of gratulation, that, in a great majority of instances, when exalted to the highest of all political stations, woman has proved competent for the arduous duties she had to discharge.

ART. III.—1. *Travels in the Central Portions of the Mississippi Valley; comprising Observations on its Mineral Geography, Internal Resources, and Aboriginal Population.* By HENRY R. SCHOOLCRAFT. New York. 1825. 8vo. pp. 459.

2. *A Vindication of the Rev. Mr Heckewelder's History of the Indian Nations.* By WILLIAM RAWLE. [Read at a Meeting of the Council of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, February 15, 1826, and published in the Second Part of the First Volume of their Memoirs.]

MR SCHOOLCRAFT is advantageously known to the literary community as an accurate and judicious observer and an enterprising traveller. His researches have been directed to the works of nature, and to man, where man has little besides the physical faculties which nature has given him. Mr Schoolcraft has traversed the immense trans-Allegany regions, whose geographical features present an aspect of magnitude and solitary grandeur, impressive, and almost overpowering. There the lakes and rivers, the forests and prairies, are formed on a gigantic scale, still stretching before the eye of the traveller, like the distant horizon, which may be followed, but never approached. Within the memory of the present generation, this vast plain, extending from the barriers of the Atlantic to those of the Pacific, was the home of the red man, and of the animals which ministered to his subsistence and comfort; and even now, notwithstanding its population of two millions, the portion reclaimed by the hand of civilization is scarcely visible on the vast panorama, which it presents.

In following the relations of travellers through these regions, we are carried back to the days of La Salle and Hennepin. In all but the uncertainty before them, and the perils around them, the great features of the landscape are unchanged. There is yet a freshness in the birch canoe, and in the songs of the *voyageurs*, which time has not impaired, and they are associated with all our notions of a northwest journey.

Mr Schoolcraft was appointed secretary to the commissioners, who negotiated the treaty of Chicago in 1821, and he accompanied one of them from Detroit to that place. Most of the journey was performed in a birch canoe, and the travellers crossed the western arm of Lake Erie, and ascended the

Maumee to Fort Wayne, near its source. Here they passed the height of land, and embarking upon the Wabash, descended that river to its mouth. They then traversed the state of Illinois, and reëmbarking in their frail vessel at St Louis, ascended the Illinois river to the Rapids, where they abandoned the water and travelled over the vast *steppes*, which intervene between that spot and Chicago. The incidents and reflections which occurred on the journey, together with the circumstances attending the progress of the treaty, form the subject of Mr Schoolcraft's work.

Mr Schoolcraft, in a former work, directed the attention of geologists to the western regions of this country, and he is the first author in the United States, who has published a detailed account of a mining district. His 'View of the Lead Mines of Missouri' has been for some years before the public, and it excited expectations, which subsequent events have fully justified. Some of the peculiar opinions advanced in the work require confirmation, and the arrangement of the facts is injudicious. But it evinces a precision and accuracy in its details, and a power of observation, which will render it valuable as a permanent book of reference. Mr Schoolcraft's 'Narrative Journal of Travels' has been already examined in a former number of this Review, and we shall therefore pass without further introduction to the work, whose title is placed first at the head of our article.

This author is among the numerous examples, which our country has afforded, of individuals, who have made their way to distinction, without any adventitious aid. We have understood, that his education was limited, and that he has been the architect of his own fortune. There is a visible improvement in his successive works, creditable to his judgment and application. In his 'View of the Lead Mines' there was little of the tact of authorship; while in his more recent book the style is clear, the diction pure, and the arrangement happy. There is however, at times, an evident search after words, not always sanctioned by the best usage. Mr Schoolcraft should recollect, that he will express himself most forcibly, when he expresses himself most easily.

The route, which our traveller followed, presented scenes and incidents, and gave rise to recollections and anticipations, of which he has availed himself. The interest of the narrative is unbroken.

The daring character of General Wayne, the 'Mad Anthony' of the revolutionary war, is happily illustrated by an anecdote related by Mr Schoolcraft, in his description of the ruins of Fort Maumee.

'When General Wayne arrived before this work, after his victory over the Indians at Presque Isle, he caused a general destruction and devastation of the buildings and improvements for a considerable distance, both above and below the fort. Some of the buildings were within pistol shot of the garrison, who remained silent spectators of this scene. Small parties of the American troops frequently went so near the works as to enter into conversation with the sentinels on the walls. Nor did General Wayne himself shrink from a similar exposure. There is a copious spring of pellucid water situated near one of the angles of this work. Conversations held at this spring could be clearly understood within the fort. Here General Wayne, after riding round the works, halted with his attendants, and maintained, for some minutes, a familiar conversation on the events of the campaign. Those who know his enthusiastic character, need not be told that he made use of several very pointed expressions. The General dismounted, took off his hat, and drank from the spring.'

Mr Schoolcraft's historical notices of the military expeditions, which have at various times penetrated the country intersected by his route, are interesting; and many new facts, illustrative of the causes of their success or disasters have been gleaned by him from tradition, or from cotemporary accounts. He does justice, and only justice, to General St Clair, whose misfortune it was, to be twice placed in situations, from which neither talents nor intrepidity could rescue him. He was the victim of public opinion, but a military tribunal, in both cases, honorably acquitted him, and history has confirmed the sentence.

'Notwithstanding these ingenuous statements,' (alluding to the official report of the unfortunate commander), 'General St Clair is said to have brought off his men in tolerable order, with most of the wounded. During the action he had himself many narrow escapes; eight balls having passed through his clothes. The attack was conducted with astonishing intrepidity on the part of the Indians. After giving one fire, they rushed on, tomahawk in hand.'

In this campaign, as well as in that of Harmer, the result was not justly attributable to any imbecility on the part of the commanding general. The situation of the government ren-

dered it necessary, that both expeditions should move with all possible celerity. The troops were undisciplined, their physical and moral qualities were bad, and the theatre of operations was so distant from the places of supply, that the *matériel* of each army was wretchedly deficient. It is matter of surprise, not that they were discomfited, but that they penetrated so far, and that any portion of them returned.

We have seldom met with a more spirited sketch, than the following description of a scene upon the Maumee, and it is equally faithful and animated.

'The river has its course through a heavy forest of trees, clothed with a profuse foliage, some of which overhang the water, and others, riven from their very tops by strokes of lightning, project their bleached and denuded limbs amid the greenest foliage. When we throw over a scene like this, the strong and deep lights and shadows of the living landscape, with its most minute objects reflected in the clear mirror of the stream; with here and there a small log cabin on shore, surrounded with a few cattle; and the whole enlivened by the occasional flight of land birds, or the sudden flapping of a flock of ducks on the water, a pretty correct idea will be formed of a morning's voyage upon this broad and clear stream.'

Our author omits no opportunity of investigating, and of investigating well, all subjects connected with his favorite studies. In the thirteenth chapter he adverts to his previous publications on the mines, and describes in a clear and methodical manner, the principal formations of limestone, sandstone, and granite, of which latter mineral, an insulated field is found in the mining district. He also devotes some attention, and it could not have been better devoted, to the consideration of the metalliferous marl or clay, which has thus far been found the principal repository of the galena of that region; and points out the distinction between this substance and the diluvial clay or gravel; the latter of which forms the upper series of the various deposits. This singular feature in the position of the Missouri lead demands further investigation. The only analogous fact we recollect, is that recorded by Professor Buckland, as occuring in the vale of Clwydd in North Wales; but this is not in exact coïncidence, as the lead ore mentioned by Buckland exists in the form of pebbles in a bed of 'diluvial gravel,' very much in the manner of the stream tin ore in Cornwall.

The oldest species of limestone (to speak in accordance

with the doctrines of the Wernerian school) which Mr Schoolcraft found in the mining district, he denominates 'inferior,' arranging it with the transition, and not with the primitive class of limestone, to which latter he had previously referred it in his 'View of the Lead Mines.' Other corrections in the details of his former descriptions are made, for which we have not room.

Some just observations are introduced respecting the importance of the proposed canal from Chicago to the Illinois, and on the nature of the country, and the difficulties to be surmounted. There is not perhaps on the globe a spot, where such a mighty physical revolution could be produced with so little human labor, as by opening a communication between Lake Michigan and some of the upper tributaries of the Illinois. The Des Pleines, which is a considerable stream, rises in the country between the Mississippi and Lake Michigan, and pursuing a southeasterly course, approaches within twelve miles of the lake. The intermediate land is a level prairie, stretching in every direction, as far as the eye can reach. Its extreme elevation above the surface of the lake is seventeen feet, and that feeble barrier is all that is interposed between this mighty mass of water and the rich valley of the Mississippi, which it overhangs, like an avalanche on the summit of the Alps. It would be a matter of curious speculation to calculate the consequences of turning to the Gulf of Mexico one of those immense reservoirs, which are the fountains of the St Lawrence. The Delta of the Mississippi would be inundated and destroyed, and its low bottoms overflowed by a deluge, whose extent and duration no man can estimate. A gradual diminution would take place in the waters of Lake Michigan, which would be felt in Huron and Erie, and Chicago would present some of the imposing features of the entrance into the Niagara river.

It has long been known that boats can pass by water from the Illinois to Lake Michigan, but we have never seen a satisfactory explication of this singular fact; and as it has fallen to our lot to make this voyage, and to pass a night in a birch canoe upon the great Saganashkee marsh, through which the route passes, and that too with the *pleasant* accompaniments of intense heat, a violent thunder storm, and swarms of musquitoes, such as are known only to those who have traversed the western forests, we shall briefly recall our impres-

sions of the scene. Between the Des Pleines and Lake Michigan, but east of the Portage path, there is an extensive marsh, to which we have just alluded. In a wet season it assumes the appearance of a lake, almost covered with the large water lily, whose yellow flowers and broad leaves overspread the surface, so that it would be difficult for a boat, without a skilful pilot, to find her way through it. This lake generally discharges itself into the Des Pleines, but when that river is high, its waters fill the channel of communication and flow into the lake. The *voyageur* enters this channel, and follows the track made by some other boat, or works his own way, slowly and laboriously. As he approaches the natural termination of the marsh, the water becomes more and more shallow, and his progress more and more difficult. He at length arrives at the boundary, and finds himself at the summit level of the country. An inclined plane of seven miles in extent, and with a depression of seventeen feet, stretches between him and Lake Michigan. And we very much doubt, whether the water of the Des Pleines ever surmounted this summit level and mingled with the Chicago, until this route had been frequently passed. The communication at present existing, has apparently been effected in a long course of years, by drawing the boats through the mud at the extremity of the marsh, and thus forming a small channel, which is soon increased by the velocity of the current, occasioned by the rapid descent of the country toward the lake. This channel is called the Rigolet, and bears every appearance of the origin we have assigned to it. A boat descends it with great rapidity, and about two miles from the marsh enters the Chicago creek, a deep and sluggish stream, at this point on a level with the lake.

In some cursory remarks upon the large mounds in the vicinity of St Louis, Mr Schoolcraft justly observes, that 'enough has certainly been written on the subject of our mounds, to prove how little we know, either of their origin, or of their interior structure.' These remains of ancient art have attracted the attention of travellers since the first settlement of the country; and standing as they do, the sole monuments of human industry, amid interminable forests, it is not surprising, that curiosity should be busy in investigating the age and objects of their founders. But little, however, has been effected to satisfy the rational inquirer, and before much progress can be made, all the facts connected with the topographical situa-

tion and construction of these works, and with the remains of earthern and metallic instruments found in and about them, should be collected and preserved. The Reverend Isaac Mc Coy, the Principal of the Missionary Establishment upon the St Joseph of Lake Michigan, a man of sound judgment and rigid integrity, has observed a class of works in that country, differing essentially from any which have been elsewhere found. As his account of them is interesting, we shall transcribe the letter he has addressed to us.

'Aware of the interest you feel in everything relating to the character and condition of the Aborigines of our country, I do myself the pleasure to enclose to you a plot of a tract of land, which has been cultivated in an unusual manner for this country, and which was abandoned by its cultivators ages ago.

'These marks of antiquity are peculiarly interesting, because they exhibit the work of civilized, and not of savage, man. All, or nearly all, the other works of antiquity, which have been found in these western regions, convince the observer, that they were formed by men, who had made little or no advance in the arts. If we examine a number of mounds in the same neighborhood, we find them situated without any regard to order in the arrangement, precisely as modern savages place the huts in their villages, and plant the corn in their fields. If we observe a fortification made of earth, we shall find it exhibits no greater order in its formation, than necessity in a similar case would suggest to an uncultivated Indian of modern days. If it be a wall of stone, the stones are unbroken, as they were taken from the quarry, or rather from the neighboring brook or river.

'In the works, to which I now allude, we find what we suppose to have been garden spots, thrown into ridges and walks with so much judgment, good order, and taste in the arrangement, as to forbid a thought, that they were formed by uncivilized man. The plans sent you, by no means represent the most striking works. I procured these, because the places were near my residence. I can find several acres together, laid out into walks and beds, in a style which would not suffer by a comparison with any gardens in the United States.

'These places were not cultivated by the early French emigrants to the country, because,

'1. They evince a population at least twenty times greater than the French ever had in any of the regions of the lakes in

those early times. In the tract of country, in which I have observed them, of one hundred and fifty miles in extent, north and south, from Grand River to the Elksheart, I think the number and extent of these ancient improvements indicate a population nearly or quite equal in density to that of Indiana.

'2. The early French establishments were generally made on navigable streams. But these improvements are spread over the whole country. Scarcely a fertile prairie is found, on the margin of which we do not observe these evidences of civilization.

'3. These works were abandoned by their proprietors long before the country became known to the Europeans. The timber, standing, fallen, and decaying, on these cultivated spots, has precisely the same appearance in respect to age, as that immediately adjoining. On a cluster of these beds, a plan of which I send you, I cut down a white-oak tree, which measured three feet two inches in diameter two and a half feet above the ground, and which was three hundred and twenty-five years old, if the real age of a tree is indicated by the number of its concentric circles.

'From the indications yet remaining, it is certain that most of these works have disappeared. We find none in the beech, ash, or walnut land, because here the earth is loose and mellow to the surface, and not bound with grass. We find them rarely in the prairies far from the timber, because the places of which I speak have been, as I suppose, not fields, but gardens, convenient to dwellinghouses, which were probably placed in the vicinity of the timber for the same reasons which induce our present settlers to select similar sites for their residence. In what we call barrens, adjoining prairies, the surface of the earth is bound by the grass, in the same manner as that of the prairie itself, and by these means the ridges are preserved. And notwithstanding the causes which are in daily operation to destroy these works, I am confident I have seen acres of them which will exist for centuries, if assailed by no other hand than that of nature. The Indians of Grand River informed me, that these appearances are found on all the waters of that river, and that they extend south upon the waters of the Kekalimazoo. A few are found near Michillimackinac. To use their expression, "the country is full of them."

'The Indian tradition on this subject is, that these places were cultivated by a race of men, whom they denominate

Prairie Indians, and that they were driven from the country by the united tribes of Chippewas, Ottawas, and Potawatomies. The few who survived the calamities of war, went westward, and some may even yet exist beyond the Mississippi. But not the smallest reliance can be placed on any Indian tradition relating to a remote period.'

The remarkable impressions in the limestone rock in the vicinity of Saint Louis, have attracted the attention of this author. Their formation seems to be doubtful. While Mr Schoolcraft attributes it to the actual contact of the living member with the material of the rock before its induration; Colonel Benton, in a note annexed to the account, supposes that these impressions were produced by human labor. They are certainly curious relics, whether of nature or art. We understand, they have been found in various places in Missouri, and exhibiting different parts and postures of the human body. The resemblance in all is said to be perfect, and it undoubtedly is so in those we have seen. Even the muscular parts of the feet are distinctly shown; and if they are the work of the chisel, they evince a state of the arts, in ages long gone by, of which no other monument has survived. Colonel Benton has stated the difficulties attending either hypothesis, and although we are inclined to differ from him in his conclusions respecting the origin of these remains, yet our confidence in his judgment induces us to doubt, and await the result of farther investigation, for which we know of no one better qualified than that gentleman.

Our general impressions concerning Mr Schoolcraft's work may be collected from the preceding observations. It abounds in accurate and animated descriptions, and in just and philosophical reflections. There is a reach of thought pervading it, and evidence of powers of research, alike creditable to the author and satisfactory to the reader. The region he traversed and describes, is one of the most important and interesting in all the elements of future power and productiveness, which our wide spread country offers to those, who look forward with solicitude to her destiny. Mr Schoolcraft has placed this region before us, with its forests and prairies, its rivers and lakes, its animate and inanimate kingdoms, and he has described and lamented the decline and fall of its former possessors, and the exterminating march of those who are succeeding to them.

The various notices of the Indians interspersed through this volume must constitute its principal charm with the general reader. Mr Schoolcraft enjoyed favorable opportunities for investigating the character and condition of these people, and he has surveyed them with the eyes of a cautious and judicious observer. He has avoided the extremes of reproach and panegyric, and has seen and described them as they are. It is certainly important, that a correct estimate should be formed of the situation and prospects of our aboriginal neighbors. It is important in relation to our general knowledge of the human family. And it is still more important in its application to the great moral problem, whose solution attracts the attention of the American government and people, and upon which must depend the renovation or extinction of this devoted race.

Among the best known works on this subject is that of Mr Heckewelder, and the observations of Mr Rawle afford us an opportunity, at this time, of investigating his character as a judicious and faithful historian. Those who have followed the progress of opinion on subjects connected with the Indians, are well aware, that almost all the previous writers, English or French, who have recorded their own observations, or collected those of others, have described these people, as possessing the ordinary proportion of virtues and vices, which accompany human nature in its uncultivated state. The sketch was sometimes brighter, and sometimes darker, deriving its color from accidental circumstances, and perhaps from the constitutional temperament of the artist. But the general outline was faithful, and the world was content to believe, that moral and physical evil was found in the American forests, as well as in every other region, occupied by any branch of the dispersed family of man.

But it was reserved for Mr Heckewelder to introduce a new era into our knowledge of these subjects. He has surveyed the character and manners and former situation of our aboriginal inhabitants under a bright and glowing light. His account is a pure, unmixed panegyric. The most idle traditions of the Indians, with him become sober history; their superstition is religion; their indolence philosophical indifference or pious resignation; their astonishing improvidence, hospitality; and many other defects in their character, are converted into the corresponding virtues. And Mr Rawle is not the only respectable writer, who has been deceived by these partial representations. No one can look upon the passing literature of the day, without

being sensible of the effect on the public mind, which has been produced by this worthy old missionary. His favorite tribe, the Lenni Lenape, constitute the very *beau idéal* of a perfect savage. The great Indian family, however widely dispersed, is brought to this Delaware standard, and the *plastic* materials in the possession of Mr Heckewelder have enabled him to produce a uniform appearance, for which we shall vainly seek a prototype in nature. Many, and no doubt sincere regrets, have been expressed at that masterstroke of policy, by which the Iroquois persuaded the Delawares, that they were too fierce and powerful for men, and ought to assume the dress and duties of women; and then, by some magic spell, prevented them from resuming their pristine employment. And notwithstanding the commentary of Mr Rawle upon these and other traditions recorded by Mr Heckewelder, we shall find, that the character of this author for sound, discriminating judgment, is not redeemed from previous impressions. Mr Rawle conceives that Mr Heckewelder is not responsible for these stories, because he relates them as traditions. And he then observes, that the 'author who professes to give an account of the history of a nation among whom he has resided, would perform his part imperfectly if he disregarded their own traditions.' All this is well, but it leaves untouched the only real topic of inquiry. This is, not whether Mr Heckewelder has recorded Indian traditions, but whether he has recorded them as grave facts to which he assented himself, and to which he was desirous of procuring the assent of his readers. If these traditions are inconsistent with other and more authentic sources of information, or if they are incompatible with acknowledged principles of human nature, we may safely refer their origin to similar circumstances with those, which have elsewhere led to so much fabulous history. The slightest examination will show, that there is a spirit of credulity in the narrative of these legends, utterly irreconcilable with the cautious deliberation of an historian. No Delaware could relate them with a graver manner, nor with a firmer conviction of their truth. Nor is it probable that any one could be found, more anxious to impress this conviction upon others. The subject occupies more than twenty pages of Mr Heckewelder's work, and that it is discussed *con amore* is evident from the most cursory examination. If any one will read from the twenty-eighth to the fifty-fourth page of that book, he will find the most idle tales gravely

related, and a sympathy displayed for the fallen fortunes of the Delawares, which leaves no doubt of the author's sincerity.

Mr Heckewelder's work comprises a series of chapters, and the letters which passed between himself and Mr Duponceau. The first part of the former is devoted to the history and traditions of the Delawares, and the latter to philological investigations. The manners and customs and condition of these Indians occupy the residue of the work. As the object we have now in view, is merely to ascertain the claims of this author to the confidence of his readers, we shall here confine our examination to his picture of Indian society. This branch of the subject occupies thirty-nine chapters. To place in a more striking point of view the total absence of all just discrimination, and the strain of panegyric in which the author indulges, we shall give his own synopsis of these chapters, and the commencement of a part of them. Our readers can then judge for themselves how far they are prepared to adopt the 'new views' of a writer, whose prejudices present themselves in such bold relief.

The five first chapters are historical. The sixth treats of *The General Character of the Indians.* It thus commences;

'The Indian considers himself as a being created by an all powerful, wise, and benevolent Mannito; all that he possesses, all that he enjoys, he looks upon as given to him, or allotted for his use by the Great Spirit, who gave him life; he therefore believes it to be his duty to adore and worship his creator and benefactor; to acknowledge with gratitude his past favors, thank him for present blessings, and solicit the continuance of his good will.'

'VII. *Government.*

'Although the Indians have no code of laws for their government, the chiefs find little or no difficulty in governing them. They are supported by able, experienced counsellors, men who study the welfare of the nation,' &c.

'VIII. *Education.*

'It may justly be a subject of wonder, how a nation without a written code of laws or a system of jurisprudence, without any form or constitution of government, and without even a single elective or hereditary magistracy can subsist together in peace and harmony, and in the exercise of the moral virtues.'

'XI. *Oratory.*

'The eloquence of the Indians is natural and simple; they speak what their feelings dictate without art and without rule;

their speeches are forcible and impressive, their arguments few and pointed, and when they mean to persuade, as well as convince, they take the shortest way to reach the heart.'

'XIV. *Intercourse with each other.*

'It is a striking fact, that the Indians in their uncivilized state should so behave towards each other, as though they were a civilized people.'

'XV. *Political Manœuvres.*

'In the management of their national affairs, the Indians display as much skill and dexterity, perhaps, as any people upon earth.'

'XVI. *Marriage and Treatment of their Wives.*

'There are many people who believe, from the labor that they see the Indian women perform, that they are in a manner treated as slaves. These labors are hard indeed, compared with the tasks imposed upon females in civilized society; but they are no more than their fair share, under every consideration and due allowance of the hardships attendant on savage life. Therefore they are not only voluntarily but cheerfully submitted to,' &c.*

'XVII. *Respect for the Age.*

'There is no nation in the world, who pay greater respect to old age than the American Indians.'

'XVIII. *Pride and Greatness of Soul.*

'The Indians are proud, but not vain; they consider vanity as degrading, and unworthy the character of a man.'

'XIX. *Wars, and the Causes which lead to them.*

'It is a fixed principle with the Indians, that evil cannot come out of good, that no friend will injure a friend,' &c.

'XX. *Manner of surprising their Enemies.*

'Courage, art, and circumspection are the essential and indispensable qualifications of an Indian warrior.'

'XXI. *Peace Messengers.*

'While the American Indians remained in the free and undisturbed possession of the land which God gave to them, and even for a long time after the Europeans had settled themselves in their

* Of all the astonishing mistakes made by Mr Heckewelder, there is none which displays greater ignorance of the subject than this. The life of an Indian woman is a life of labor, and servitude, and fear. She is considered as an inferior being, made to work for her family and to obey her husband. And every person, who has resided a single day in an Indian camp, must be aware of the brutality, with which the women are treated.

country, there was no people upon earth, who paid a more religious respect than they did, to the sacred character of ambassadors.'

'XXII. *Treaties.*

'In early times, when Indian nations, after long and bloody wars, met together for the purpose of adjusting their difference, or concluding a peace with each other, it was their laudable custom, as a token of their sincerity, to remove out of the place where the peacemakers were sitting all warlike weapons and instruments of destruction, &c. "For," said they, "when we are engaged in a good work, nothing that is bad must be visible. We are met together to forgive and forget,"' &c.

'XXIII. *General Observations of the Indians on the White People.*

'The Indians believe that the whites were made by the same Great Spirit who created them,' &c. 'They will not admit that the whites are superior beings,' &c. 'But that they [the Indians] have no need of any such book, to let them know the will of their maker; they find it engraved on their own hearts,' &c.

'XXVI. *Dances, Songs, Sacrifices.*

'The dances of the Indians vary according to the purposes for which they are intended.' 'It is a pleasing spectacle to see the Indian dances when intended merely for social diversion and innocent amusement. I acknowledge, I would prefer being present at them for a full hour, than a few minutes only at such dances as I have witnessed in our country towns,' &c.

'XXX. *Physicians and Surgeons.*

'By these names I mean to distinguish the good and honest practitioners,' &c. 'With this only exception, the Indian physicians are perhaps more free from fanciful theories, than those of any other nation upon earth.'

'XXXII. *Superstition.*

'Great and powerful as the Indian conceives himself to be, firm and undaunted as he really is, braving all seasons and weathers, patient of hunger, careless of danger, fond of displaying the native energy,' &c.

'XXXVIII. *Friendship.*

'Those who believe that no faith is to be placed in the friendship of an Indian, are egregiously mistaken, and know very little of the true character of these men of nature.'

'XLIV. *The Indians and the Whites compared.*'

'If lions had painters!' We need not quote from this chapter. It contains the quintessence of all that precede it.

The other chapters of this work embrace topics not readily admitting these encomiastic introductions. They relate principally, though not altogether, to the physical condition of the Indians, and to those arbitrary customs, which have no connexion with the moral qualities of a people. These are; 'Computation of Time;' 'Preachers and Prophets;' 'Funerals;' 'Drunkenness;' 'Insanity;' 'Suicide;' 'Initiation of Boys;' 'Doctors and Jugglers;' 'Bodily Constitution and Diseases;' 'Scalping, Whoops, &c.;' 'Dress, &c.;' 'Food and Cookery.'

Let it be recollected, that the quotations here made, are not selected for the purpose of exhibiting the peculiar views of the author, but that they are his own leading observations, introducing the various topics he proposes to examine and discuss. And with these facts in view, our readers may well coïncide in sentiment with Mr Rawle, when he says, that 'He,' Mr Heckewelder, 'presented to us some new views of the Indian character,' however they may differ from him in his opinion, that 'the whole account of them was conveyed in a manner so plain and unaffected, with such evident *candor* and apparent *accuracy*, that conviction generally, if not universally, followed.' Mr Rawle's character is deservedly high, but in these observations he does not appear to us to have displayed his accustomed powers of discrimination, nor the acumen of his profession.

We protest with equal earnestness and sincerity against any construction of our language which would impute to us a design to throw the slightest doubt upon the moral qualities of Mr Heckewelder. He has gone, where our praise and censure are equally worthless to him; but we shall say of him what we knew of him, that in the integrity of his purposes, in the blamelessness of his life and conversation, and in his devotion to the great objects before him, he approached the models of the primitive ages. We say this, because the spirit of our observations on a former occasion has been misunderstood, and because we disclaim all intentions of disparaging the memory of this venerable man, by whomsoever such a design may be imputed to us.

But Mr Heckewelder's work is a part of the general stock of literature, open to examination, and from the nature of its topics, inviting it. That various opinions should prevail, concerning its merit and fidelity, ought to have been anticipated; particularly as the author 'has impressed us,' in the language

of Mr Rawle, 'with the belief, that these people were still more acute, more politic, and in in some respect more refined than had been generally understood.' And if, on the first appearance of the work, its statements and conclusions were not called in question, Mr Rawle will find the true reason in the subject itself, of which few had any personal knowledge, and not in a general acquiescence in its doctrines and details among those qualified to estimate them. We well know the impression produced by it upon the minds of many, who are conversant with these matters; and in stating our own opinion, we state the opinions of persons competent to form one on the subject, that as a record of Indian history, as a description of Indian condition, and as a picture of Indian society and manners, it is little better than a work of the imagination. Let its general views be contrasted with a *summary* of Indian character lately published in a contemporary Journal;* and it will be obvious, that its author wrote under the influence of warm attachments and strong prejudices. To the fidelity of this general summary, it affords us pleasure to bear witness. It describes the Indians, as we have found them, with some virtues and many vices; prone to action more than reflection; yielding to the fiercest passions; with few efforts to acquire knowledge, and still fewer to improve the heart; and fading, wasting, disappearing before our vices and their own.

By examining Mr Heckewelder's 'History of the Moravian Missions,' his memoir, submitted, with other documents, to the Senate of the United States in 1823, and his history of the Indians; the nature of his intercourse with the various tribes, and his opportunities of surveying and describing them may easily be ascertained. It will be found, and such we know to have been the fact, that he had no general acquaintance with the Western Indians. His intercourse was confined to a small band of the Delaware tribe, who during many years received the humane attentions of the Moravians, and who had lost many of their own distinctive traits without acquiring ours. This band, after various migrations, settled upon the Muskingum river, about seventy miles west of Pittsburgh, and here Mr Heckewelder's knowledge of the Indian character was principally acquired. His band was removed from this place by the British authorities during the revolution-

* The Western Museum.

ary war, to the river Huron of Lake St Clair, and Mr Heckewelder accompanied and remained with them a short time. One journey to Vincennes, and two or three shorter excursions upon the business of the mission, and we have the whole history of his intercourse with the Indians. Of the Wyandots, the Ottawas, the Chippewas, the Potawatamies, the Miamies, the Shawnese, the Kickapoos, all tribes of that region, he knew nothing. And if a comparison be instituted between his 'Narrative' and 'Memoir' and his 'History,' it will be obvious that the latter has passed through other hands, and has assumed an appearance its author could never have given it. These three works, as they appear before the public, were never written by the same person.

If it be now asked, What peculiar claims had Mr Heckewelder to our confidence, and upon what is founded his right to unsettle our knowledge of these subjects, and to introduce 'new views of the Indian character?' the answer must be, Neither the powers of research or observation he has displayed, nor the advantages of situation and intercourse enjoyed by him; neither the constitution of his own mind, nor the circumstances in which he was placed. At the extremity of a long life, and after his attention had been many years withdrawn from kindred topics, he was called upon for his collections and recollections, for a minute account of all he had seen, and heard, and done during half a century. With enfeebled faculties (and we trust we may say this with reference to human nature generally, and not subject ourselves to any charge of unkindness towards this venerable man), he undertook his task, and it should excite no surprise, that his work is almost a collection of anecdotes, to which he had listened in his earlier life with the faith and fondness of a Delaware.

We have said that the effect of this work is visible upon the literature of the day; and a stronger illustration of this fact cannot be found, than in the various sketches of Indian condition and character interspersed through the novels of Cooper. With the powers of invention and description displayed by this writer, it is a source of regret that he did not cross the Allegany, instead of the Atlantic, and survey the red man in the forests and prairies, which yet remain to him. If he would collect his materials from nature, instead of the shadowy representations he has studied, he might give to the world a series of works, as popular and interesting as any that adorn

the literature of the day. Nor is there in the whole range of literature, a subject more happily adapted to that union of powerful invention and faithful delineation, which forms the charm of modern novels. Should our popular novelist adopt this course, he would discover how far he has wandered from nature in following the path marked out by Mr Heckewelder. He would find that an Indian does not always speak in figures and parables. In the 'Last of the Mohicans,' and in the 'Prairie,' scarcely a conversation can be found, in which questions are directly asked and directly answered. We quote a few specimens of this manner.

'A gull fans a thousand miles of air to find the sea; the women and children of a pale face cannot live without the meat of a bison; a head is white, but there is a forked tongue; the leaves cover the trees in the season of fruits; a tongue with two ends, like a serpent; they listen like deer to the step of a cougar; no one can tell the number of the stars. Is the Tetou a fish, that he can see it in the river? The eagle at the falls of the endless river was in its egg, many snows after my hand had struck a Pawnee. If any of his words fall to the ground, they will pick them up and hold them to their ears. He gave them tongues, like the false call of the wild cat-bird; hearts like rabbits; the cunning of the hog (but none of the fox), and arms longer than the legs of the moose. Let the eyes of a dying eagle gaze on the rising sun. He has only manisfested, that he is a singing bird. Look at the sun; he is now in the upper branch of the hemlock. Before the sun could go his length, the little water would be in the big.'

This is not the manner in which Indians talk, nor is it the manner in which any people talk. When strongly excited and in their public councils, they express themselves figuratively, but even then, not so generally as has been often represented.

There seem to be set phrases, applicable to solemn occasions, which are introduced into their public addresses. In ordinary conversation, their language is plain and unornamented, and as free from the labored conceits, we have quoted, as they themselves are from affectation. They are not of the Hudibrastic school;

> 'he could not ope
> His mouth, but out there flew a trope.'

'They number,' says one of the speakers in the Prairie, 'as many as the fingers of my hand.' No Indian from Patagonia to Hudson's Bay ever used this periphrastic expression for the

simple word *ten*. It is rather difficult to believe the author can be serious. An Indian will hold up his fingers if apprehensive he cannot be understood, and appeal by significant gestures to the eye; but to those who understand him he will use the proper numeral.

The most extravagant conceit, however, is, that 'to an Indian eye a humming-bird leaves his track in the air.' It was doubtless such an eye, that enabled the party in pursuit of the lost daughters of Monro to distinguish the moccasin tracks of Le Renard Subtil and Magua, and actually to turn a rivulet from its course, and discover in its bed, the traces of their enemies.

The author has been led into these extravagances by the authority of Mr Heckewelder. It is visible in the whole narrative of this flight and pursuit. With sagacity and perceptions beyond the lot of man, the slightest impressions disclose to them the path of their enemies, and the incidents of their journey are developed with unrivalled acuteness. But in real life, such a result would be impossible. The objects interesting to an Indian are almost confined within the circle of his animal wants and desires. They are comparatively few, and his attention is therefore directed to them with undivided force. His powers of observation are invigorated by daily habit; as the sight of the sailor, and the hearing of the blind man, are sharpened by the exercise of these faculties. But an Indian can be lost in the woods, as we know from our own observation, and whole families too often perish from hunger.

Mr Heckewelder's account of the costume of the Indian jugglers is also transferred to the 'Last of the Mohicans,' and a man actually walks and growls through an Indian camp in a bear-skin, and is mistaken by the Indians for a bear. We have seen these dresses, and can assure our readers, that a man thus encased looks like anything rather than a living quadruped; and it is a poor compliment to an Indian's sagacity, to suppose he would be thus deceived.

But it is not alone in the objects and incidents of external life, that the author of these novels has consulted the book of Mr Heckewelder, instead of the book of nature. He describes beings with feelings and opinions, such as never existed in our forests. They possess elevated sentiments, pure morality, delicacy of feeling, and disinterested attachments; such as are oftener found in the pages of romance, than even in the highest

walks of civilized life. And they equally excel in the minor virtues. 'The Pawnee,' so we are told in 'the Prairie,' 'gracefully threw his shield over one shoulder, and placing a hand on his chest, he bent his head in deference to the grey locks,' &c. An Indian bowing to old age with his hand on his breast! Such a scene would indeed be new. In the thousands we have seen, a spectacle like this never met our eyes.

We have no disposition to pursue this subject. We have derived too much pleasure from these works, and feel too deep an interest in the reputation of the author, to find the task of pointing out his errors an agreeable one. Where he has drawn from his own abundant resources, he has been eminently successful, but in his delineations of character, and in those touches of nature which form the distinctive traits of different people, he has failed. His Uncas, and his Pawnee Hardheart, for they are both of the same family, have no living prototype in our forests. They may wear leggins and moccasins, and be wrapped in a blanket or a buffalo skin, but they are civilized men, and not Indians. They have the never failing impress of civilization in the dignity of their sentiments, and in the whole spirit of their conduct and conversation. They are the Indians of Mr Heckewelder, and not the fierce and crafty warriors and hunters, that roam through our forests.

On a former occasion, we expressed our doubts of the accuracy of Mr Heckewelder's philological investigations, and of his knowledge of the Delaware language. Our opinions have been called in question; and as the school he has formed has able and zealous disciples, it is important, in the future progress of similar inquiries, that his qualifications should be rigidly examined, and his labors properly appreciated. With these views, we annex a critical examination of a part of the vocabulary appended to his work; and if we are not greatly deceived, it will be manifest, that his acquaintance with the language was superficial, and that little confidence can be placed in the process he adopts, or in the conclusions he attains. In fact, there is a visible confusion in his ideas and a looseness in his translations, utterly incompatible with that severity of research and exactness of knowledge, which give to investigations into the philosophy of language, their principal value.

That we are warranted in these remarks, will, we think, appear from the following examination of some of the words and phrases appended to Mr Heckewelder's observations on the Delaware language.

N'gaúwi, 'I drink.' This should be *n'gówe*, and means, 'I sleep.'

N'wachpácheli, 'I awake.' This is a Munsee word. In Delaware it is *n'doghchéla*, 'I awake.'

N'papommissi, 'I walk.' This is a Munsee word, and means 'I am walking about.' The Delaware word for 'I walk,' is *n'baupomúskaw*.

N'mamentschi, 'I rejoice.' This is Munsee. In Delaware it is *n'oldun'doom*.

N'dachwil, 'I swim.' This should be spelt *n'das'chewil*.

N'nanepauwi, 'I stand.' This is Munsee, and means 'I stand in different places.' In Delaware, *n'epí* means 'I stand.'

N'schiweléndam, 'I am sorry.' This word is Munsee, and is pronounced *n'gewalun'dum*. In Delaware it is *n'jealun'dum*.

N'nipitine, 'I have the tooth-ache.' This should be *n'wepeteéne*.

N'schawússi, 'I am weak.' This should be *n'jow'see*.

N'túppocu, 'I am wise.' There is no such word in the Delaware. It should be *n'lup'po*.

N'nanólhand, 'I am lazy.' This word means, 'I am always lazy.' *N'ólehund*, is 'I am lazy.'

Gótschemunk, 'Go out of the house.' The word is *gotschémink*, and means 'out' only. To express 'go out,' they must say *gotsh'emink awl*, 'out go' or rather 'move.'

Ickalli aal, 'Away with you.' *Aal* or *awl* signifies 'to move,' whether going or coming and *ickalli* is 'there.'

N'nipauwi, 'Stop there.' This is Munsee, and means 'stand there.' In Delaware it is *nenepaúe*, 'there stand.'

Undachâal, 'Come here.' This should be *won'dach awl*, 'this way' or 'that way' (indicated by pointing) 'move.'

Tauwúnni, 'Open the door, lid,' &c. This is Munsee, and means 'open it.' In Delaware, *tunkshánee k'paúhoon*, signifies 'open the door.'

Pisellissu, 'Soft.' This means 'shrivelled.' *Tóka* is 'soft.'

Kulupatschi, 'Otherwise, on the other hand, else, however.' *K'quilap'djee*, is the word intended, and it is used when anything happens contrary to expectation, as if a man arrives by one road, when he is expected by another.

Nahaliwi, *Eiyeliwi*, 'Both,' (of them.) { The first word is intended for a Delaware word,

but it should be written *nauhalé*, and means 'notwithstanding'; as, 'I will do it notwithstanding it is wrong.' There is no such word in Delaware or Munsee as *eiyeliwi;* the word meant is *alêwe*, 'both.' *A'lee* is the Delaware word for 'both.'

Attâne lêwi, 'It is not true.' This is Munsee. It should be *mut'ta ne láee.*

Alla gaski lewi, 'It cannot be true.' This is neither Munsee nor Delaware. It should be *mut'ta gus'ki láee*, 'Not can be true.'

Bischi, 'It is so.' *Pish'e* is the proper orthography.

N'wingallauwi, 'I like to hunt.' This is Munsee. It is in Delaware *n'wingaulaúe.*

N'sching'i mikemósi, 'I don't like to work.' It means, 'I hate to work.'

N'winginammen, 'I like it.' This means, 'It is pleasing to the sight.' From *n'win'ge*, 'I like,' and *n'áman*, 'I see.'

N'mechquihn, 'I have a cold, cough.' This is Munsee. It is in Delaware *n'oquéena*, 'I have a cough.'

Undach lennemáuwil, 'Reach it to me.' This is Munsee.

N'schauwihilla, 'I am weak, faint.' This is Munsee. It should be *n'jauéhela*, which means, 'I am wearied with exertion.' 'I am weak' is *n'jow'see.*

N'daptessi, 'I sweat.' This is Munsee. It is in Delaware *n'daupteck'see.*

N'dágotschi, 'I am cold, freezing,' &c. It is 'I am cold.'

N'dellennówi, 'I am a man.' This should be *n'dunnow'e.*

N'dochquéwi, 'I am a woman.' *N'dochquáe.*

N'dam'andommen, 'I feel.' This means, 'I feel it.'

Lécheen, 'To exist, breathe,' &c. This word is never used by itself.

Ili klehelêche? 'Do you draw breath yet?' A Delaware would not thus express himself. He would say, *Quiaúque hutch'k'lehelléha?* 'Yet you live?'

Lehelêche ili nitis N. N.? 'Does my favorite friend N. N. yet draw breath?' This expression would not be used by a Delaware.

Gooch ili lehelécheu? 'Does your father yet draw breath?' A Delaware would say, *Kooh'hutch quiaúque lehellahâo?* 'Your father yet live?'

Gáhawees ili lehelecheu? 'Does your mother draw breath yet?' *Gáhawees* is neither Delaware nor Munsee. *Kaúhaas* is 'your mother.'

Wàchelemi, 'Afar off.' Munsee. It should be *o'helemé*.

Péchuat, 'Near, nigh.'
Pechuwiwi, 'Near (not far off).'
Pechútschi, 'Near.'
} *Péchuat*, in English orthography, *páhowut*, is 'near.' *Pahoótshe* is 'nearer,' and *pahotit'e* is 'very near.' *Pechuwiwi* is Munsee.

Alige, 'if so, nevertheless.' The word meant is *oléka*.

Yu undachqui! 'This way,' &c. *Yu* is 'well,' or an affirmative. *Undáchqui*, properly *wondoc'que*, is 'this way,' or 'that way.' A Delaware would use it, when he said, 'You go this way,' 'you go that way,' and would indicate which by his gestures.

Ickalli úndachqui! 'Still further on that way.' *Ickálle* has already been stated to be 'there,' and *wondoc'que* to be 'this way,' or 'that way.' It is used when a person is seeking anything, and another wishes to tell him he is wrong, and must look elsewhere. If he were required to look farther, in the same direction, he would be told, *Ickawleétshe*.' If to one side or the other, *Wondaquétshe*, the speaker pointing in the proper direction.

Wullih, 'Yonder!' The proper word is *wollé*, 'yonder.'

Wullih teh! 'Beyond that.' *Wollé tá*, 'yonder there.'

Tauwihilla, 'Sunk, it has sunk.' Incorrect. *Qu'taihila* is 'sunk.'

Gachpallátam, 'Let us go out and go on shore.' *Gaupaútam* is 'Let us go ashore.' *Gaupallaútam*, 'Let us take him out.' *Gaupautoótum*, 'Let us take it out.'

Pusik! 'Embark (ye).' *Poóseckw'* is the word.

N'petalogálgun! 'I am sent as a messenger.' This is not Delaware. It should be *n'betaloogaúlook*, 'I am sent,' from *n'baat'*, 'I come,' and *aloogaúkuna*, 'a hireling.'

N'sagimaum petalogalgun yu petschi, 'My chief has sent me as a messenger to you.' *Yu* is 'well,' and *pet'schi* is an affirmative merely. The translation, after correcting it as above, is 'My chief has sent me, well, yes.' No Delaware would use the expression.

Sedpook! 'At day-break.' The word is *set'pook*, and means, 'early in the morning.' *Petaúpun*, is 'day-break,' from *paó*, 'come,' and *opun'*, 'day.'

N'dellgun lachpi gatta páame, 'I was told to hasten, and return quickly.' Munsee. Literally, 'He told me quick, try, return.'

N'mauwi pihm, 'I am going to take a sweat.' Munsee. The expression in Delaware is *n'maúee peemoóa*, 'I go to sweat.'

N'dapi pihm. The same.

N'dapellauwi, 'I am come from hunting.' In Delaware this is *n'dapallaúe*.

Notameschican, 'A fishing spear, gig,' &c. This is not so. It should be *notamenzeékun*.

Achquaneman, 'A bush net.' This is incorrect. It is a Munsee word, and is applied to any kind of net. *Okoneékun* is the Delaware word for 'net.'

Gophammen, } 'To shut up anything close, a door,' &c.
K'páhammen, } Neither of these words is ever used by a Delaware in this form. When connected with a proper person or object, they are both used in a different form.

K'pahi, 'Shut the door.' This is wrong. The proper translation is, 'shut it.' It may be applied to a door, trunk, or to anything, to which 'shut' may be applied. *K'pah'i k'paúhoon* means 'shut the door.'

K'paskhamen, 'To plug up tight.' This word is never used by itself, as observed of *gopham'men*. The proper meaning of the word, intended to be used here, is to 'shut with something soft.' From *k'pah'i*, 'I shut it,' and *sees'ko*, 'mud.' *N'gupskom'men*, 'I shut it,' (with something soft, as mud, moss, &c.)

Tauwun, 'Open the door.' } There is no such word
Tauwunni, 'Open the door for me.' } as *tauwun*. *Tauwun'nee*, is 'open,' and is applied whenever our word 'open' is applied. It is Munsee. *Tunkshaáne* is the Delaware word for 'open.' *Tunkshaáne k'paúhoon*, 'Open the door.' *Tunkshaánemoi k'paúhoon*, 'Open the door for me.'

N'tschu! 'My friend.' }
N'tschútti, 'Dear, beloved friend.' } *Netshoó* is a 'female friend,' and is applied by one female to another, when speaking to her friend. When speaking of her female friend to a third person, she says, *netshoos*. A man, when speaking of his male friend, says *nétees*, 'my friend.' When speaking to his male friend, he says, *n'jeú*. *N'jeute áte*, spelt by Mr Heckewelder *n'tschutti*, is used by a man, when speaking to his male friend, and means, 'my dear friend.'
Nitis, 'Confidential friend.' }

Pélelaan, 'It begins to rain.' The word is *pátelaen*.

Achwi sokelaan, 'It rains very hard.' *Achwi* is Munsee, and means 'much' or 'very.'

Peelhácquon, 'It thunders.' This is incorrect. The word is *Paathoc'quon*, 'It begins to thunder,' from *Paö*, 'to come,' and *hoc'quon*, 'thunder.'

M'chaquiéchen, 'The streams are up.' This is not Delaware. An Indian would say, *M'hauque'hun*. This is understood by them to mean, 'The river is high,' although river, which is *sépoo*, is not expressed. But when used in the plural, this omission is always supplied, and they say, *M'hauqué-hunno sépooa*, 'The rivers are high.'

Choppécat, 'The water is deep.' This is Munsee. In Delaware *heet'que* means 'deep,' but is used only with reference to water, and is thus understood, without adding *sépoo*, 'river,' or *nébé*, 'water.'

Meetschi higihelleu, 'The waters are falling.' 'Already falling.' Applied only to a stream.

Sichelleu meétschi. 'The waters have run off.' Not so.

Jatehúppecat, 'Shallow water.' This is Munsee. In Delaware *ga'hun* is 'shallow water.' Mr Heckewelder makes two words, and calls the former shallow, and the latter very low water.

Bulpécat, 'Deep dead water,' &c. There is no such word in the language. 'Dead water' is *K'lumpáhun*, and this is probably meant by the next word,

Clampéching, which Mr Heckewelder calls 'a dead running stream,' &c.

Kschächan, 'The wind.' *Kaash'hiuk* is 'wind,' and *k'shaúhun* means, 'It blows hard.' Which of these two words was intended to be written, does not appear.

Ta úndchen? 'From whence blows the wind?' This is Munsee, and literally means, 'Where wind?' In Delaware it would be *Ta hutsh won'hun*, 'Where wind?' from *ta*, 'where,' *hutsh*, a word used in all interrogations, *won'gee*, 'from,' *k'shaúhun*, 'wind;' the first and last syllables of which words are joined, and from *won'hun*, which implies the course of the wind.

Kschiechpécat, 'Clear water, &c. This is Munsee, and means 'water that has been muddy or dirty and becomes clear.' Never applied to a stream. *Wootup'pocut* is 'clear water.'

Achgumhocquat, 'Cloudy.' Munsee. *Kumhoc'quot*, is 'cloudy.'

Packenum, 'Dark.' It should be, *pees'ka*.

Pekenink, 'In the dark.' This is not correct. It should be *en'daupeeskáke*.

Pisgeu, 'It is dark.' Properly *Peeskáo*.

Pisg'eke, 'When it becomes dark.' This should be *Peeskaka*, and means, 'at dark.'

Nanni, *nan*, 'That.' There are two words for 'that.' One, *nanné*, applied to animate, and another, *nenné*, applied to inanimate objects. *Nan* is Munsee.

M'biak, 'A whale.' We know of no such word. *M'hing'wamaak* is 'a large fish.'

Yuh'allauwitan, 'Come, let us go a hunting.' The proper word is *Alleneétum*, and it means, 'Well, let us hunt.'

Nelema n'metenaxiwi, 'I am not yet ready.' This word should be written *n'matenaxé*.

K'metenaxi yucki? 'Are you now ready?' The word *yucki* should be written *yook'we*, and the expression is affirmative, and not interrogative, 'You are now ready.'

Nelema n'gischambelaniwash, 'I have not yet done tying up my pack.' *Neléma*, is, 'not yet,' *n'gisch'ambila*, is, 'I have tied him,' and is applicable to animate objects only. It cannot be applied to a pack. *Niwash*, is a Munsee word, signifying 'my load.' In Delaware, *N'weeoshóne*, is 'my load.' The literal translation of this compound of Munsee and Delaware is, 'Not yet I have tied him my load.'

Shuck soketaaw gachtauwi, 'But it will rain.' *Shuck* is 'but,' and *sókelaun* is 'to rain,' and a Delaware, after adding a proper termination to the verb, would say no more. *Gachtaúwe* signifies 'a desire to do anything.' *N'gachtaumeétsee*, 'I desire to eat.' If a Delaware wished to say, 'But it will rain,' he would thus express himself, *Shook' sókelauntsh*.

To hatsch gemauikeneen? 'At what place shall we encamp?' This should be, *Tatsh'hutsh kemaieekáneen*, 'Where shall we encamp?'

W'diungoakhannink, 'At the white-oak run.' This is not Delaware.

Meechek achsinink, 'At the big rock.' *Maátshe* is 'already,' *aughsún* is a 'stone,' and *ink* the mark of locality. The literal translation of this phrase, after correcting the orthography, is 'already at the stone.'

Gauwahenink, 'At the place of the fallen timbers.' *Kauoghhúnink* is the word intended to be written. It is formed from *taúhun*, 'wood,' and *kaueéheela*, 'to fall by wind,' and it here means, 'at the wind fall.'

Yapéwi, 'On the river bank.' There is no such word. *Yaupaáe* means the 'shore' or 'margin of a pond, creek, river,' &c. 'On' is not expressed here.

Gamink, 'On the other side of the river.' The word is *kaúmink*, and means, 'on the other side of any collection of water.'

Eli shingeek, 'On the flat.' *Elé* is 'along;' *shin'ga*, means 'level land,' and is principally applied to river bottom; *k*, or *ik*, is the mark of locality. The words mean, 'along the bottom.'

Fekinink, 'In the woods.' A Delaware would not suffix the *ink* here, because it is not applied so generally. It denotes a particular place.

Pockhapockink, 'At the creek between the two hills.' This is not Delaware. Those ideas could not be expressed by one word, in that language.

Menatheink, 'On the island.' This is wrong. *Menawtáyoonk* is 'island,' with the mark of locality.

Sakunk, 'At the outlet of the river.' This should be *endasákoóweek*, 'at the mouth of a river.'

Atta n'palleho, 'No, I missed him.' We know of no such word as *atta*. *Matta* is a Munsee negative. *N'bal'haú* is 'I missed him.'

Biesch knewa, 'Then you did see one.' This is Munsee. In Delaware it would be *Piohée k'náyau*, 'Then you saw him.

Nachen n'newa achluch, 'Three times I saw deer.' This should be *Náhun naóne autoókaak*, 'Thrice I saw deer;' the sentence literally translated, 'Thrice I saw him deer.'

Quonna eet k'pun gummachtil, 'Perhaps your powder is bad.' *Quonnaeet* cannot be separated. As the sentence now stands it is, 'Perhaps your powder bad.' It should be *Quon'neet k'pun'gum machtut'so*.

Na leu, 'That is true.' This is incorrect. It is Munsee, and means, 'Yes true.' A Delaware would say, *Nat'ta n'láho*.

Achtschingi packteu, 'It scarcely took fire.' *Achtsching'e* is 'scarcely,' and *packtáo* means 'sudden noise,' like the discharge of a gun.

Achtuchuik wennan, 'Are there plenty of deer, where you were?' This is not Delaware. It should be *Achtookeéka hutsh, way'nun*, 'Are deer plenty, where you came from.'

Atta ta husca, 'Not a great many.' Not Delaware. It should be *takoó*, 'not,' *whooská*, 'many very.'

Naugutti schuck n'peenhalle, 'I saw but few tracks.' This is wrong. *Naungoóte* means, 'sparsely, here and there;' *shook* is 'but;' and *n'peenhaúle* is, 'I tracked him.'

Biesch n'peenhalle mauchau, 'I tracked but one.' This is not Delaware.

Shuck n'dallemons mehane, 'But my dog.' *Mehane* should be *mor'kona*, and the phrase literally translated is, 'But my animal dog' *N'dal'lemoons* is generally prefixed to the names of domestic animals.

Palliuchaschiha, 'Drove him off.' This is not Delaware.

N'pachkhameu gachtawi, 'I want to get bled.' A Delaware would say, *N'gachtáuwee pack hamaúké.*

Woak n'nipitine, 'And have the tooth-ache.' It means, 'And my tooth aches.'

Witschhemil, 'Help me.' This word is confined to assistance rendered to a person's pecuniary concerns, labor, &c. It is never applied to relief from pain, sickness, &c.

Mileen, 'To give, the giving.' This word is not in the language.

N'milgun, 'It was given to me.' This should be translated, 'He gave me.'

Milo, 'Give him.' This should be *Méla.*

Milatamo, 'Let us give him.' This should be *Mélaútum*, 'Let us give him.' *Mélautum móke*, 'Let us give them.'

Seke, 'Hush.' *Sáh* is the proper word.

Eekhackewitschik mamachtagewak, 'The nations are warring against each other.' This means literally, 'the tribes are fighting.' The word translated 'nation,' is the one applied to the various Indian tribes.

Napenaltowaktsché, 'They will be scalping each other.' This word means, 'They will pursue one another.' There is nothing here which indicates scalping.

Lennape n'hackay, 'I am an Indian.' This means merely 'Delaware, my body.'

Taktani schuck n'tschupinawe, 'I don't know; but I mistrust him.' 'I do not know, but he appears strange to me,' or 'is a stranger.' There is nothing implying mistrust.

Gichgemotket quónna, 'Probably he is a thief.' *Kemookháo* is, 'He steals,' and *Gichemothet*, or properly *Kehkehmoótkaat*, is, 'He is in the habit of stealing.'

N'gemote muke n'dallemons nechnaunges, 'My horse has been stolen from me.' *N'dallemoons n'gemootemook'haan neghenaoon'gaas.* This is the Delaware for, 'My horse has been

stolen from me.' After correcting the orthography and the relative position of the words, the sentence given by Mr Heckewelder, would be, 'He stole my horse.'

Wichwinggi gemotgewak Mengwe, 'The Mingoes are very fond of stealing.' After correcting the orthography, the proper translation is, 'They are fond of stealing, the Mingoes.'

Yuh amachgidieu, 'They are vagabonds.' This is Munsee, and means 'Well, he does bad.' If a Delaware wished to say 'They are bad people,' he would thus express himself, *Amut'shee lus'sowuk.*

Schiki a na Lenno, 'That is a fine pretty man.' This is not Delaware, but bad Munsee.

Siquonne lappitsch knewi lehellecheyan! 'In the spring you will see me again, if I am alive.' This should be *sekon'-getsh*, 'next spring,' *lap'pee*, 'again,' *k'naáe*, 'you will see me,' *leh'eleaúne*, 'if I am alive. *Siquonne*, properly *sékonne* is the 'past spring,' from *sékon*, 'spring,' and *nee*, 'past.' The mark of the future, *tsh*, which should be applied to *sékon*, to indicate the 'next spring,' is erroneously applied to the adverb.

Yuh shuck mámschali! 'Well! but do remember me.' *Mamschaúle* means 'Think of me now.' It should be *Mamschaulemee*, 'Think of me hereafter.'

Natsch leu, 'It shall be so.' *Nutsh*, which is the word intended to be given here, is the mark of the future merely, and not a verb.

N'uuntschímke, 'I have been called.' The word is, *N'wenjeem'ka*, 'I am called.' *N'wenjeemkáhumb!* 'I was called.'

N'dochquéum, 'My wife.' This word means 'my female relation. *Ne hóushum* is 'my wife,' from *nee*, 'mine,' *hauooshésis*, 'an old woman.'

Quanna eet auween gatta napenalgun! 'Perhaps somebody is coming to attack and scalp us.' This should be rendered, after correcting it, 'Perhaps some person wishes to come and attack us.' The idea of scalping is not conveyed here.

Wulli ta pepannik! 'Yonder they are coming.' There is no such word as *papannik*. It should be *Wulli paoótsheek*, 'Yonder they come.'

Papomiscuak? 'Are they on foot?' This word is in the plural number of the imperative mood, and means 'Walk about.' *Pamuskaóoke hutsh'* is 'Do they walk?'

Gachtonalukguntsh matta uchschimuiénge, 'We shall be at-

tacked if we do not make off with ourselves.' *Gachtonalukguntsch* is a word made without authority, like many others in the collection. The author probably intended to form *Kuttoonalookoónaak*, which, from its elements, would mean, 'They desire to attack us.' The mark of the future should not be added. The residue of the sentence should be *Aléke w'sheemweétum*, 'Well let us run away.'

Mattapewiwak nik schwannakwak, 'The white people are a rascally set of beings.' This is Munsee, and properly translated means *Mattapawéwauk*, 'bad people,' *nik*, 'they,' *schuanaukwak*, 'whites.'

Pennan won, 'Look at that one.' *Pennan'* is 'see' or 'look at,' and *won* is any animate being.

Mamanúxu, 'He is angry.' *Manoónxee* is 'He is angry.' *Mamanoónxu* means 'He has been angry some time, and is yet angry.'

Pihmtónheu, 'He has a crooked mouth.' This means, 'He makes a wry mouth,' from *pelema*, 'crooked,' *p'tóne*, 'mouth,' and *háo*, 'to do' or 'make a thing.' *Pehm'tonea* means 'He has a crooked mouth.'

Ilau, 'He is a great war captain.' *E'lau* means 'a person who cannot be hit by a bullet.' It is one of the superstitious notions of the Indians, and the exemption is supposed to be derived from dreams. The word is a substantive, and there is no affirmation implied. Nor has it any relation to the qualities of a war chief. A person may be an *e'lau*, who never saw a gun and never went to war. *E'loiyo* means he is an *e'lau*.

Sakimau, 'He is a chief.' The word means 'chief' only.

Kschamehellátan, 'Let us run together.' The word merely implies 'Let us run.'

In the preceding corrections, the duplication of the vowel indicates its long sound, unless marked by a *diæresis*, when each vowel is to be pronounced.

It will be seen by our remarks hereafter, that when the meaning is rendered by *is*, *does*, &c. the auxilaries are used with much freedom. Our object has been to point out some of the prominent errors of Mr Heckewelder, not to give an exact notion of the idiom of the language. We have attempted this in the concluding part of the present article.

The structure of the Indian languages is a subject of interesting speculation. There is an intimate connexion between

the powers and process of the mind, and the means by which its operations are disclosed. Without adopting, to its full extent, the fanciful theory of the author of 'Hermes,' by which he accounts for those peculiarities, which characterize different languages, we may yet concede, that powerful causes, physical and moral, operating upon the condition and disposition of a people, may give a particular direction to their thoughts, and a particular modification to the vehicle, by which they are conveyed. After all the laudatory remarks, which have been made on the subject of the Indian languages, it will be found, that they partake essentially of the character of the people, who use them. They are generally harsh in the utterance, inartificial in their construction, indeterminate in their application, and incapable of expressing a vast variety of ideas, particularly those which relate to invisible objects. Curious coïncidences no doubt exist between these tongues and those of the eastern world, but discrepancies are also found, marking their different origin, and indicative of the circumstances and mental habits of their possessors. We have before observed, that the Indians are more prone to action than reflection, and this trait in their character has produced a corresponding effect upon their modes of speech. They employ few abstract terms, because their attention is directed to the visible objects around them, and to the relations, which these bear to themselves. A similar tendency existed in the Latin language, and led to the complaint of Cicero, that it was unfit for metaphysical investigations.

The conflicting statements of Roger Williams and Dr Edwards respecting the word *father*, in the Mohegan language, may be easily reconciled by adverting to this peculiar feature of the Indian character. The former asserts, that *osh** signifies 'father;' while the latter earnestly maintains, that this word is unknown in the tongue, and that the Mohegans can only say *n'osh*, 'my father,' *k'osh*, 'thy father.'

Now there is no doubt, but this word *n'och* is a compound term formed from the pronominal sign *n'* 'I,' and *och*, 'father,' and that if it became necessary for one of these Indians to express the idea conveyed by our word *father*, he would use the word *Och*. But this would require a process of abstraction,

* This word is thus spelt by Roger Williams. The true pronunciation is the guttural sound, familiar in the Irish, Gaelic, and several of the continental languages, but unknown in the English language.

rarely employed by them. The different degrees of consanguinity are almost always expressed by terms denoting actual subsisting relations.

In Delaware *n'och*, 'my father,' *n'och*, 'thy father,' *ohul*, 'his father,' *n'gahās*, 'my mother,' *n'gwese*, 'my son.' And in the Chippewa *n'osa*, 'my father,' *neengah*, 'my mother.'

That Dr Edwards greatly overrated his own knowledge o the Mohegan is evident, from his strange assertion, that there are 'no adjectives in all their language, unless we reckon numerals, and such words as *all*, *many*, &c. adjectives. Of adjectives, which express the quality of substances, I do not find, that they have any.' And Horne Tooke has appealed to this authority, in support of his speculations concerning the origin and use of this part of speech. But in this instance, as in some others, this acute philologer seems not to be aware, that we may trace etymologies so far, as to lose sight of the existing principles, which regulate the form and application of languages.

The Mohegan is a dialect, closely allied to the Delaware, and they are both branches of the great Algonquin stock, and cognate with the Chippewa, Ottawa, Shawnese, Potawatamie, Miami, Kickapoo, Menomonie, &c. The general structure of these various dialects is the same, and there is no important syntactical formation in one, which is not found in all. It is well known, that adjectives abound in all these languages, which have been investigated, and it would be strange indeed, if they were wanting in this affiliated dialect alone. But it is not difficult to discover the source of Dr Edwards's error, and it may be referred to a principle pervading these languages, of the extent of which he was apparently ignorant. The power of coälescence, if it may be so termed, possessed by the Indian languages is one of their most extraordinary features. Words, and parts of words, are detached and attached, so as to form others, conveying simple or complex ideas, and sometimes without any apparent connexion between the new word and its roots. Attributives, denoting qualities only, without reference to time or affirmation, are as abundant in these as in other languages. But they are not as often used; because their application is more abstract than comports with the mental habits of the Indians. It is seldom necessary for them to talk about a good horse, or a fat buck, or a brave warrior. But when these or similar topics are discussed, the good

horse, and the fat buck, and the brave warrior are identified, and assertions are made concerning them, which are understood, rather from the idiom of the language, than from the expressions employed. The auxiliary verbs are not used, and simple affirmation must be frequently deduced from the collocation of the words, the manner of the speaker, the context, or some other circumstance. An Indian cannot say, *he is strong*, *he is tall*, &c. but he says, *he strong*, *he tall*, &c. and the power of coälescence enables him to attach the mark of the past and future time to the adjective; as if we were to say in English, *he tall heretofore*, *he tall hereafter*.

These particles are,

	Past time.	Future time.
In Delaware,	*p*	*tsh.*
In Chippewa,	*bun*	*gah.*

And they may also be applied to substantives, pronouns, and we believe to every other part of speech.

In the Delaware, the duplication of the pronoun is said to be equivalent to the verbal assertion, as

*N'*DOLEMOUS, *my horse.*

*Nee n'*DOLEMOUS, literally, *my my horse*, and understood to mean, *it is my horse.*

*Nee n'*DOLEMOUSENAP, literally, *my my horse heretofore*, but understood to mean, *it was my horse.*

*Nee n'*DOLEMOUSEENTSH, *Neetsh n'*DOLEMOUS, literally, *my my horse hereafter*, but understood to mean, *it will be my horse.*

We incline to think, however, that this repetition of the pronoun is only to render the declaration more emphatic, as when the right of the party is doubted or denied, and we say in English *it is* my horse, with a particular stress upon the affirmation; but that this does not affect the syntax of the language. We have yet to learn therefore from what peculiar circumstances an assertion is inferred, when it becomes necessary to describe a substance or its quality, and there is no verb to denote the idea. Further inquiries may develope this process, by which an Indian distinguishes between 'a strong man' and 'a man strong,' when the latter expression is intended to include an affirmation. We at first supposed, that it depended upon the relative situation of the two words, but this opinion has been shaken, rather than fortified, by further investigations. In English the conversion of one part of speech into another, is a familiar operation; but the composition of the

sentence, and sometimes the accent, prevent any confusion of ideas. Our invariable arrangement and our auxiliary verbs and prepositions define the meaning to be attached to those words, which may be variously employed; as *like*, which is sometimes a verb, active and neuter, and sometimes a substantive, adjective, or adverb. But auxiliary verbs are wholly wanting in the Indian languages, and prepositions are very sparingly used.

We shall insert two other examples, both in the Delaware, of the use of these verbal adjectives and verbal substantives.

	Literal Meaning.	Meaning, as probably understood.
Sookelaun,	*rain,*	*it rains,*
Sookelaun *oop*,	*rain heretofore,*	*it rained,*
Sookelaun *tsh*,	*rain hereafter,*	*it will rain,*
Sookelaun *au*,	*rain perhaps,*	*it may rain,*
Sookelaun *oop* AU,	*rain heretofore perhaps,*	*it may have rained,*
Sookelaun *gad*,	*if rain,*	*if it should rain,*
Opa,	*white,*	*it is white,*
Opa *p*,	*white heretofore,*	*it was white.*
Opa *tsh*,	*white hereafter,*	*it will be white.*
Opa *u*,	*white perhaps,*	*it may be white.*
Opa *p* AU,	*perhaps white heretofore,*	*it may have been white.*
Opa *ka*,	*if white,*	*if it be white.*
Opa KE *pona*,	*if white heretofore,*	*if it have been white.*
Opa K *atsh*,	*if white hereafter,*	*if it shall be white.*

K is sometimes a definitive, and, suffixed to an adjective, restricts its application.

Opa*k*,	*the white,*	*that which is white.*
Opa KUP,	*the white heretofore,*	*that which was white.*

Hutsh always denotes interrogation.

Opa hutsh? *Is it white?*

Wug, the animate, and *wun*, the inanimate mark of plurality may be suffixed to adjectives.

Animate.

Miskwizzo, *red.* Miskwizze*wug*, *they red.*

Inanimate.

Miskwau, *red.* Miskwau*wun*, *they red.*

The principles, which regulate this use and conversion of the adjective, undoubtedly led to the erroneous opinion advanced by Dr Edwards, that this part of speech was wanting in the Mohegan. We have made some inquiry into this matter, and have the authority of three educated men of the tribe for saying, that adjectives exist in that dialect; and we have been furnished with the following among other specimens.

	Animate.	Inanimate.
Good,	wuwehi,	woonut.
Bad,	m'tuthow,	m'tut.
White,	waupauyook,	waupauyuk.
Black,	sakkauyook,	nauthkauyuk.
Red,	mukwayook,	mukwayuk.
Green,	shuskwayook,	uskuthtwayuk.

The opinion, which has been so generally prevalent, that the substantive verb is not found in the Indian languages rests in some measure upon the authority of Dr Edwards, but has been adopted by succeeding writers. We took occasion in a former number to controvert this opinion, but as our conclusions have been called in question, we shall briefly review the subject.

We have shown the manner in which assertions are made in the Indian languages; and such expressions as *horse mine*, *rifle good*, *I hungry*, are continually recurring. This anomaly could not but excite the attention of those, who were investigating these modes of speech, and no doubt led to the conclusion, too hastily adopted, that the substantive verb was unknown in them. So far as this verb may be employed to denote simple existence, we believe it is found in all the aboriginal dialects. And it would be as just to deny, that they have any verbs indicating action and possession, because the words *do* and *have* are not used as auxiliaries to other verbs, as it is to deny the existence of the substantive verb, so far as being is implied by it, because it does not perform in combination the office of asserting or affirming.

By the ladies of the family of Mr Johnston, of the Sault Ste Marie, we have been furnished with the conjugation of this verb in the Chippewa, and we shall submit it to our readers, merely observing, that to the accomplishments of civilized life, they add a perfect knowledge of this, their maternal dialect.

IAU, verb animate, *To Be.*

INDICATIVE MOOD.

1. *Present Tense.*

Singular.

1.	Neen DIAU,	*I am.*
2.	Kee DIAU,	*Thou art.*
3.	IAU,	*He* or *she is.*

Plural.

1.	Kee DIAU min,	*We are* (inclu.)
	Nin DIAU min,	*We are* (exclu.)
2.	Kee DIAU-m,	*Ye are.*
3.	IAU wug,	*They are.*

2. *Imperfect Tense.*

Singular.

1.	Nin gee IAU,	*I was.*
2.	Kee gee IAU,	*Thou wast.*
3.*		*He* or *she was.*

Plural.

1.	Kee gee IAU min,	*We were* (inclu.)
	Nin gee IAU min,	*We were* (exclu.)
2.	Kee gee IAU-m,	*Ye were.*
3.	IAU wug,	*They were.*

3. *Perfect and Pluperfect Tense.*

Singular.

1.	Nin gee IAU naubun,	*I have been.*
2.	Kee gee IAU naubun,	*Thou hast been.*
3.	IAU bun,	*He* or *she has been.*

Plural.

1.	Kee gee IAU minaubun,	*We have been* (in.)
	Nin gee IAU minaubun,	*We have been* (ex.)
2.	Kee gee IAU-m waubun,	*Ye have been.*
3.	Kee IAU buneeg,	*They have been.*

4. *First Future Tense.*

Singular.

1.	Nin guh IAU,	*I shall be.*
2.	Kee guh IAU,	*Thou*, &c.
3.	Tah IAU,	*He* or *she*, &c.

Plural.

1.	Kee guh IAU min,	*We shall*, &c. (in.)
	Nin guh IAU min,	*We shall*, &c. (ex.)
2.	Kee guh IAU-m,	*Ye shall*, &c.
3.	Tah IAU wug,	*They shall*, &c.

5. *Second Future Tense.*

Singular.

1.	Nin guh gee IAU naubun,	*I shall have been.*
2.	Kee guh gee IAU naubun,	*Thou*, &c.
3.	Tah gee IAU bun,	*He* or *she*, &c.

Plural.

1.	Kee guh gee IAU minaubun,	*We shall*, &c. (in.)
	Nee guh gee IAU minaubun,	*We*, &c. (ex.)
2.	Kee guh gee IAU-m wunbun,	*Ye*, &c.
3.	Tah gee IAU buneeg,	*They*, &c.

IMPERATIVE MOOD.

Singular.

1.	Nin gua IAU binuh,	*Let me be.*
2.	IAUn binuh,	*Be thou.*
3.	Tah IAU binuh,	*Let him* or *her be.*

* Having some doubts respecting the form of the pronoun here, we have omitted it.

Plural.

1.	IAU dau binuh,	*Let us be* (in.)
	Nin guh IAU-min binuh,	*Let us be* (ex.)
2.	IAU yuek binuh,	*Be ye.*
3.	Tah IAU wug binuh,	*Let them be.*

POTENTIAL MOOD.

Present Tense.

Singular.

1.	Nin dau IAU,	*I may be.*
2.	Kee dau IAU,	*Thou*, &c.
3.	Tah IAU,	*He*, &c.

Plural.

1.	Kee dau IAU min,	*We*, &c. (in.)
	Nin dau IAU min,	*We*, &c. (ex.)
2.	Kee dau IAUm,	*Ye*, &c.
3.	Tah IAU wug,	*They*, &c.

Imperfect Tense.

Nin dau IAU koossamau, *I might be.*

Perfect and Pluperfect Tense.

Nin dau gee IAU bun-koossamau, *I may have been.*

SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD.

Present Tense.

Singular.

1.	Kishpin IAU yaun,	*If I be.*
2.	Kishpin IAU yun,	*If thou be.*
3.	Kishpin IAUd,	*If he be.*

Plural.

1.	Kishpin IAU yung,	*If we be* (in.)
	Kishpin IAU yong,	*If we be* (ex.)
2.	Kishpin IAU yag,	*If ye be.*
3.	Kishpin IAU waud,	*If they be.*

The imperfect tense of this mood is the same as the preceding, except that the particle *we* is interposed between the conjunction and verb.

Perfect and Pluperfect Tense.

Singular.

1.	Kishpin IAU yaumbaun,	*If I have been.*
2.	Kishpin IAU yumbun,	*If thou*, &c.
3.	Kishpin IAU pun,	*If he*, &c.

Plural.

1.	Kishpin IAU yun ge bun,	*If we*, &c. (in.)
	Kishpin IAU yaun ge bun,	*If we*, &c. (ex.)
2.	Kishpin IAU ya ge bun,	*If ye*, &c.
3.	Kishpin IAU wau pun,	*If they*, &c.

The first future coincides with the preceding, except the introduction of the particle *we* between the conjunction and verb. The second future also coincides with the preceding, save the insertion of the particle *kee* between the conjunction and verb.

INFINITIVE MOOD.

Present Tense,	IAU,	*To be.*
Perfect Tense,	IAU-bun,	*To have been.*

PARTICIPLES.

Present,	IAUng,	*Being.*
Perfect,	IAUn ge bun,	*Having been.**

We are satisfied, that this verb is the root of the Delaware word *iasis*, animal, and that it is its derivitive *au*, which added to the names of persons, and to words denoting consanguinity, indicates in that language past existence or death. In the translation of the Lord's Prayer into Mohegan, the first sentence has been rendered,

Father our	*above*	*thou art.*
Naghnuh	ne spummuck	oieon.

A friend, in whose judgment and knowledge of this subject we have full confidence, has observed to us, that 'the whole tendency of the Chippewa, and in fact of the Indian languages generally, is to a system of negation. And it is only when compelled by circumstances, that the speaker is driven to the use of this verb, and when so used, full enumeration and strong emphasis are employed.'

Mr Du Ponceau has proposed as the shibboleth of this word the translation of the phrase, *I am that I am.* The selection is not a fortunate one, for the meaning of this expression is not very obvious to the mere English scholar, and there are not wanting respectable authorities, who condemn it as unmeaning. As an assertion however of independent existence, the substantive verb is here employed to convey very different ideas. It is a mere affirmative at the commencement of the sentence, while at its termination it becomes in fact a substantive. A

* We have inserted the above conjugation, as we received it, satisfied of the general form and use of the verb, but not altogether convinced, that the various modifications here given are familiar to the Indians. They are probably approximations toward the English translations, and not parallels to them; and like many similar attempts, are founded upon the artificial arrangement of other languages differing essentially in their principles and construction.

literal translation of such phrases is frequently a difficult task; but we have been assured, that an exact version of this sentence may be given in the Chippewa. It sometimes occurs in the war and medicine songs, where the most general and often ambiguous terms are employed. On these occasions great mystery is affected, and there is reason to believe, that the initiated endeavor to form their chorusses in such a manner as to be clearly understood by those only, who have been admitted into their medicine and *wabeno* societies.

Among the Miamis it is common for a contentious or quarrelsome person to accost another contemptuously, *Jarnesheshe nakosearn*, 'What are you?' To which the other replies with proper self-respect, *Eshinkosearn*, *eshinkosearn*, literally, 'I am, I am,' but understood to mean, 'I am what I am.'

We have reason to believe, that the distinction between animate and inanimate objects is a pervading principle in all our Indian languages, and it is probably the feature, by which they are most distinctly marked. In the Chippewa its influence is constantly exerted, and we may venture to say, that *no word* is employed without reference to it. The natural distinction of genders is merged in this principle, for there are very few words, and those in almost constant use, in which the gender is indicated by any change or inflection. And it is owing to this peculiar tendency, that there is no word to express *she*, as contradistinguished from *he;* a fact which has excited much surprise among all who have made these languages their study. The pronoun *ween* in the Chippewa, and its synonymes in the other dialects of the Algonquin stock, signify, *he*, *she*, *him*, *her*. The present state of our information on this point leads us to the conclusion, that *all words*, whether verbs, nouns, pronouns, participles, or particles, must be employed with reference to the existence or non-existence of life in the object. In some dialects, trees and plants are considered as possessing life, while in others it is predicated only of animals. But wherever the line of separation may be drawn, it is visible in all.

The power of coälescence, and this principle of application to animate and inanimate objects, have occasioned the various combinations called personal forms, the conjugations of which are said to occupy *fourteen* folio pages in Zeisberger's Delaware Grammar. The term itself has been derived from the Hebrew, where the objective pronoun may be incorporated with the verb, and thus form a perfect word.

The grammarians who have treated of our Indian languages, have fallen into the error, too common in all philological investigations, of forming their principles upon preëxisting models, and of transferring to these tongues rules of syntax, derived from, and applicable to, different 'plans of ideas.' A rigid analysis, however, will generally show, that, excepting those elements of universal grammar which are common to all tongues, because they are essential either to the objects of speech, or to their due attainment, the Indians are possessed of languages, having no affinity, either in their etymology or construction, to any others which are known to us.

There is no verb applicable to the great departments of animate and inanimate nature, which has not a form or termination indicating its proper class. Whatever may be said respecting the root of these verbs, it is in fact never used by the Indians. *Saug* is doubtless the root of the verbs *saugeau* and *saugetōn*, 'to love,' but it is never heard in this abstract form. *Au* is derived from *iau*, 'to be,' and when added to *saug*, it makes the application of the word to the class of animate objects. *Attōn* is a 'thing,' or inanimate matter, and when suffixed to the above root, the word becomes *suagetōn*, 'to love an inanimate thing.' And here it may be well to remark, that this privilege of coälescence is used with great freedom, and syllables are omitted or inserted, as they affect the euphony of the language. Harmony is thus preserved, and it is a more important consideration than we should be prepared to expect; but changes are introduced, by which the primary words are lost sight of, and these dialects are exposed to perpetual fluctuations.

Nee saugeau, signifies 'I love an animated being,' and *nee saugetōn*, 'I love an inanimate thing,' and whatever other word may be brought to coalesce with these, whether it be an adverb denoting negation or quantity, or a pronoun, or even a substantive, these changes do not constitute distinct forms of the verb, nor are they entitled to the character of separate conjugations. The verb itself is subject to no inflections. Its modal and temporal relations are expressed in these cases, as in all others, and the only change is in the addition or subtraction of an independent word, sometimes in juxtaposition, and sometimes in combination. No grammarian would think of arranging in various conjugations, phrases like these in English, 'I love you,' 'I love him,' 'I love it,' 'you love me,' 'you love us,'

'you love them,' 'I do not love you,' &c. 'I love you much, here, there, always,' &c. And there is no difference between these, and what have been called the personal forms in our Indian languages, except the great facility, already explained, with which the latter accommodate themselves to contractions. We have some formations in strict analogy with these negative conjugations; as, *can't*, *don't*, *shan't*, &c. And if these personal forms, depending upon the change of the actor or patient, and made by the transposition of the pronoun primitive or contracted, are entitled to the consideration given to them, the conjugations of verbs may be indefinitely increased, for this principle of intimate union exerts its influence through the whole language. Such distinctions would be as useless, as they would be endless.

The process, by which the time of action and the modal affections are indicated in the Chippewa is sufficiently uniform and simple. *Neen* signifies the first person, 'I,' *keen*, the second person, 'thou,' and *ween*, the third person, 'he' or 'she'; *neenowind*, 'we,' excluding the person addressed, *keeowind*, 'we,' including the person addressed, *keeowau*, 'ye' or 'you,' *weenowau*, 'they.' And it would be perfectly intelligible to use the pronouns thus distinctly, whenever they are placed in concord with a verb. But custom has changed the arrangement and almost the form of some of these pronouns, as it has required in English the substitution of *you* for *thou*. The pronouns of the first and second person singular are invariable in their position, and admit no other change in their form, than the elision of some of their letters. They become *n* or *nee*, *k* or *kee*, as the initial sound of the next word is open or close. The third person singular of the simple affirmative form seems to be the root of the Indian verb, for when thus used, it is understood to assert something respecting a third person. The letter *o* is, however, frequently the sign of this pronoun, but whence its derivation, or what are the rules of its application, we have not yet been able to ascertain. We are inclined to think, that its use indicates the presence, as its omission does the absence, of the person spoken of.

The peculiar idiom of these languages becomes more apparent in the application of these pronouns in the plural number.

Kee *saugeau* min,	*We love* (inclusive.)
Nee *saugeau* min,	*We love* (exclusive.)
Kee *saugeau*-m,	*Ye love.*
saugeau wug,	*They love.*

Nee and *kee* are respectively 'I' and 'thou,' *min* implies the 'others,' and *wug* is the mark of plurality, and the resolution of the examples will give us 'thou lovest others,' 'I love others,' 'thou lovest others,' 'he loves more than one.' Or in other words 'I and the others love,' 'you and the others love,' 'he and more than one love.' It will be perceived, that the second person plural and the inclusive form of the first person are distinguished from each other by the use of the word *min*, or its initial letter. Sometimes the whole pronoun is employed, and the monosyllable *won* is suffixed to the verb; but as ignorance is preferable to error, and as we do not know the reason or extent of this rule, we content ourselves with stating the fact.

As an example of the various modifications by which the time and accidents connected with affirmation are expressed in the Chippewa, we shall take the verb *saugeau*, 'to love an animate object,' and exhibit the process, by which the combinations of thought and expression are effected. It will be seen, that the verb itself is destitute of all inflection, and although we cannot trace the etymology nor define the meaning of all the auxiliary words, yet there is no reason to doubt, but they are the remains of primitive words originally having some analogous signification, and assuming their present form from that tendency to contraction, common to all languages, and above all to these. This peculiar feature strongly confirms one of the most plausible conjectures of the ingenious Tooke, where he contends, that mood, tense, number, and person are no parts of the verb, and it shows the inutility of multiplying the conjugations, as we have already remarked.

Ne,	*I.*
saug,	*love.*
e,	a connective.
au,	*an animated being.*

First Person.

Nee,	*I,*	saugeau,	*love* { *animated being.*	
Nee,	*I*		*loved*, &c.	bun.*
Ningee,	*I have*		*loved*,	bun.

* A mark of past time. A derivative of IAU, and equivalent to our aorist of the past.

Nin-GAH,	*I shall*	*love*,	
Nin GAH GEE,	*I shall have*	*loved*,	bun.
Nin GAH,	*Let me*	*love*,	beenuh.*
Nin DAU,	*I may*	*love*,	
Nin DAU GEE,	*I might*	*love*,	
Nin DAU GEE,	*I may have*	*loved*,	bun.
	Second Person.		
Kee,	*Thou*	*lovest*,	
Kee GEE,	*Thou*	*lovedst*,	
Kee GEE,	*Thou hast*	*loved*,	bun.
	Third Person.		
O,	*He*, saugeau, or saugeaw,	*loves*, &c.	
O GEE,			
O GAH, &c.			

The aorist of the past is formed by annexing *bun* to the verb, and that of the future by adding *gah* to the pronoun. The perfect past and the perfect future add *gee* to the pronoun and *bun* to the verb. *Kishpin*, 'if,' is the mark of the conditional affirmation, and *go*, added to the verb, forms the passive voice. By comparing this slight analysis with the conjugation of the verb *iau*, this part of the syntax of the language will be easily understood.

We are not prepared to say, that all the Chippewa verbs can be thus regularly varied, but the exceptions which take place may be considered anomalies, such as are found in all languages, or may be referred to some unknown principle of concord, which future investigation may probably develope.

In the regular formation of these verbs, the pronoun precedes, designating the person, and coalescing with the mark of past or future time; the root of the verb follows, with the sign of the class attached, which is in fact the only inseparable addition made to it. The mark of the aorist or of the definite time, completes the new combination. The inanimate class resembles the other in all respects, except that *toan* is the terminating active mark and *egoan* the passive.

There is a singular coïncidence between the formation of the present participle in the Chippewa and in the English, both suffix *ing* to the verb.

	Present.	Past.	Present Participle.
Love,	saugeau,	saugeau*bun*,	saugeau*ing*.
Walk,	pimmosa,	pimmisa*bun*,	pimmosa*ing*.
Dance,	nemee,	nemee*bun*,	nem*ing*.

Some verbs are converted into substantives by the addition of *win*.

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* This word signifies, *let me, permit me.*

Minnequa,	*to drink,*	minnequa*win,*	*drink.*
Aunoke,	*to work,*	aunoke*win,*	*work.*
Odewa,	*to traffic,*	odewa*win,*	*traffic.*

These languages admit no inflections of the substantives, and cases are therefore unknown. The mark of number and of time may be annexed to them, and there are a few compound words, which serve the purpose of prepositions, and which may be combined with nouns. But their meaning is not definite, nor their application extensive; like *ink* in the Delaware, which is a mark of locality, but which has been rendered 'at,' 'in,' 'on,' as the subject seemed to require. The annexation of particular circumstances to general terms, which is necessary from the impossibility of providing a separate term for every complex idea, and which is effected by cases or connectives, is either not done in the Indian languages, or it is done indeterminately. 'I went him town, and saw man head cut off,' is an expression, which marks great want of precision in the speech or thoughts of those who employ it; but it is such an expression as an Indian would use, and in fact from the structure of the language frequently must use. And although from the composition of this sentence, we may collect the meaning of the speaker, yet it is clear, that those words which do not coalesce and are not connected together, must be frequently employed, where their relative operation is indeterminate. And to this cause must be attributed much of the uncertainty attending our Indian translations, too obvious to those, who have heard them, and also the use of gestures in all their conversations, to make up for the poverty of the language.

A few prepositions, indicating local relations are employed, but they are very general in their application. These combine readily with substantives. From the formidable length of most of them, it is evident, that they are compound terms; and perhaps, if we were able to resolve them into their elements, we should find, that they are parts of nouns or verbs, labor-saving machines, expressing by contraction or corruption, in one word, what in the origin of language may have required sentences. But what Tooke has so ably performed for the English particles, we can never expect to see performed for the Indian.

We shall insert a few of these cumbrous appendages.

In the Miami.

Aupelaukontshee,	*behind.*
Shaupondee,	*through.*

In the Chippewa.

Iausewaun,	*without.*
Nasawüe,	*between.*
Peenjaie,	*within.*

The introduction of new animals or instruments among the Indians would naturally lead to the composition of new terms, descriptive of the qualities or appearance of the animals, and of the object or mode of operation of the instrument. And we accordingly find, that the domestic animals, and the productions of civilized life, which the Europeans have introduced among them, have received their appellations by this process.

A horse is called by the Chippewas *pabazhikogauzhee*, from *pabazhik*, 'single,' or undivided, and *ashkunzhee*, 'hoof.'

A plough is called *pegokummebedegun*, from *pegabedoan*, to 'break,' *akkee*, 'earth,' *e*, a connective, and *jegun*, 'instrument.' This word, *jegun*, is the terminating part of the compound words, descriptive of instruments.

Iskodakwaujegun, 'tongs,' from *ishkoda*, 'fire,' *takwaudun*, 'bite,' and *jegun;* 'the fire-biter.'

But there are in all these languages many names of animals indigenous to the country, which are compound terms, collecting together some of their most remarkable appearances or qualities. We will not fatigue our readers with the perusal of these long and harsh words, but shall merely exhibit the process, by which these dialects have accommodated themselves to the changes which circumstances have rendered necessary.

A spider is called by the Chippewas a *net-maker*, and a jay, a *bull-frog* bird.

By the Delawares the following appellations have been conferred.

A Panther,	*Long tail.*
An Otter,	*Long dive.*
An Opossum,	*White face.*
A Turkey,	*Scratcher.*
A Bald Eagle,	*White tail.**
Pike,	*Long bill.*
Catfish,	*Fat fish.*
Hornet,	*White stinger behind.*
Yellow Jacket,	*Yellow stinger behind.*
Honey bee,	*Sugar stinger behind.*

Very few, perhaps none of the names applied to animals, are arbitrary words, and they presuppose an established nomen-

* There are different words for the tails of quadrupeds, birds, fishes, and insects.

clature of the objects or qualities, associated in combination, before the formation and application of the specific term. The comfort, and in fact the existence, of the Indians depend so essentially upon a few of the fur-bearing and food-supplying animals, that it seems difficult to conceive any period in their history, when they had not some distinguishing appellation for these co-tenants of the forest. They could not look around them, without seeing a buffalo, a deer, a bear, or some other animal, destined for their subsistence by that Providence, which tempers the wind to the shorn lamb. And we believe, that this peculiar trait is a strong proof, that they do not now occupy the country in which their language was formed and matured. In ages long since passed, and probably in other regions, the animals known to them were different from those inhabiting this part of the world. These doubtless received names from them, as well as the other works of creation. But in the erratic migrations to which barbarous tribes are exposed, they perhaps reached a country, whose animal kingdom presented new features, and in applying distinctive appellatives to the objects thus made known to them, they would naturally consult the prominent habits of the animals or revert to their own former associations, and thus compound terms, conveying the new idea.

We shall briefly state a few leading principles, which regulate the construction of our Indian languages, and which give them a primitive character, among the various modes of human speech.

Their original words are probably monosyllabic, and the compounds have been formed, as circumstances required new terms.

Their distinction of animate and inanimate nature; their verbal adjectives and substantives; their want of genders; their tendency to combination and coälescence; the absence of all inflection in their verbs, to designate moods, time, number, or person; the want of all declensions in their substantives or adjectives; the paucity of connectives, and the consequent deficiency in precision; the absence of auxiliary verbs; the division of the pronouns, and the annexation of the temporal marks, partly to them and partly to the verbs, and the combination of the same marks with all the other parts of speech;— these prominent characteristics we have already stated and explained.

The order of arrangement in these languages is invariable, and necessarily so from their construction.

Definitives are little used, and we are not satisfied that the definitive article is at all known.* The numeral, *pazhik*, 'one,' in Chippewa, has been considered by some inquirers as an indefinite article; but we think it is used only when it has relation to number; as *one* man, when contradistinguished from none, or more than one, and not as *a* man, generally.

But a full consideration of this subject would carry us far beyond the limits we have prescribed for ourselves. Enough has been said to give a general view of some of the characteristic features of our Indian languages, and such a view is all we are able to offer, and perhaps more than our readers are willing to examine.

ART. IV.—*Hope Leslie; or Early Times in Massachusetts.* By the Author of 'Redwood.' 2 vols. 12mo. New York. 1827.

WE hold it to be a fortunate thing for any country, that a portion of its literature should fall into the hands of the female sex; because their influence, in any walk of letters, is almost sure to be powerful and good. This influence appears to us to be so peculiar in its nature, and so important in its action, that we venture to demand the attention of our readers to some remarks upon it, however unworthy of the subject our exposition may be.

To speak first of the influence of female literature on females themselves, we presume that the mere fact of the existence of such a literature produces a very sensible effect on the mental character of those, whom, if it were only for gallantry's sake, we must call the best part of our race. A woman feels a laudable pride in the knowledge that a sister has distinguished herself in an intellectual career; has won a prize in the competition of mind; has vindicated for her sex that equality with the other, which has been both doubted and denied. Her success is an argument which can be wielded at pleasure, and doubtless with

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* We make this remark, notwithstanding the effect, which the letter *k* is said, on page 390, to have upon the adjectives. We incline to think, that the translation there is too free to give a just notion of the idiomatic form of the language.

pleasure, against all who would underrate feminine capacity. And it is something more and better than an argument. It is a stimulus; acting on the generous ambition of the whole sex; prompting all to an exertion of their highest faculties; inducing a general disposition to read, to study, to think; making something desirable beside personal attraction, and something enviable, which shall last longer, and be more attainable, than beauty. The objects of pursuit will be exalted and refined. The consciousness of power will produce self-respect, and self-respect will lead to improvement.

Nor will this be the end. Woman, at the same time that she is thus raised in her own estimation, will be necessarily lifted up in the good opinion of man. He will acknowledge her claims on his respect, for the sake of the proofs she has offered of her spiritual endowments; and his behavior will tell her that he regards her neither as the queen nor the plaything of an hour, but as the real companion of his life. Then look at the happy light of this sentiment, as it is reflected back on the man. How much his own worth is increased, by the better opinions and more respectful feelings which he is obliged to entertain towards woman, and by the deportment and conduct which will be the natural result of those opinions and feelings. How much more estimable, useful, enlightened, he is like to be with an accomplished fellow creature, than with a brainless idol in his house and in his bosom. How different a being must man be, according as he is united to a companion, or tied to a plaything.

And who perceives not that the influence of woman, thus stimulated and directed, extends yet further, and acts on another generation; on the future men and the future women who are now infants under her care? Who can estimate the power of a mother over the mind of her offspring; and who will say, that this power will not be exerted with far happier prospects and probable consequences, if she is capable of becoming the instructer, than if she is only the nurse of her child?

If we have reasoned justly, it follows that the successful literary efforts of a few females, have a direct tendency to raise the whole mass of human intellect, in a manner, and to a degree, which could not otherwise be accomplished, and which are not to be estimated by common rules of calculation. That some bad consequences may follow a sudden taste or fashion for literature, is neither to be denied nor wondered at. That two

or three females may make themselves exceedingly troublesome to their acquaintance by the annoying perseverance of their high discourse at all times and tides; that a few more may prove too often and too glaringly how little good their reading has done them, by the questions they ask and the answers they give; and that a very few indeed may culpably and ruinously neglect their domestic duties for the circulating library or the goose-quill, are matters of undoubted fact and sad experience; but in a general view of the subject, their importance is inconsiderable. They are hardly worth an estimation, when we are weighing the quantity of good with which they come mixed up, the unavoidable refuse and dust. Who will be so uncourteous and illnatured as to refuse to make for them a due allowance? Who so perverse as to prefer a stupid and stationary ignorance without these evils, to a state of diffused cultivation and intelligence with them? Will any one forego all the advantages which must necessarily accrue to himself and society, from the intellectual improvement of those who sustain the high and responsible relations of wives and mothers, merely through the fear of a little pedantry or pretension? And is pretension confined to one sex alone? Are there no male pretenders? Are all the smatterers and idlers in literature, women? Not if our ears have given us a true report of the matter. Listen to a beau and a belle discussing one of Sir Walter's novels, or mayhap some graver book or subject, during a morning call, or the pauses of a cotillion; and you will find, where both parties are not on a melancholy equality, that, half the time at least, the advantage in judgment, discrimination, taste, and pertinent remark, will be on the side of the fair one. Throw us into promiscuous society anywhere, and for an hour's literary talk we are quite willing to take our chance with the ladies. The truth is, that wherever literature is at all in vogue, there will be literary pretenders and literary nothings; but the gentlemen will furnish a full quota of both.

We have not yet spoken of the character of female literature, but only of its existence; for its existence alone, whatever may be its character and objects, is capable of exerting, and does exert, all the influences which have already been noticed. A Carter and a Dacier may exalt the whole mental standard of the sex to which they belong, although few or none of those who feel the honor of their celebrity may be able to enter into their studies, and examine the grounds of their re-

putation as classical scholars. It is enough that their merit is allowed and respected; enough that their fame is shared with their sex, that emulation is kindled, and that attention is directed to intellectual acquisitions, employments, and pleasures.

But when the impetus has been given, and the noble pride of mind is brought into action; when an authoress is no longer a rarity, and many a titlepage has borne a female name, it will then appear, that female literature has its proper walks; that it is peculiar in its nature and distinct in its influence; and it will appear, too, that these walks are exactly those in which the greatest moral power may manifest and most directly exert itself. Into the paths of abstruse learning, few of the sex will bend their steps. Their situation, habits, and feelings lead them not there. They will be found in greener and more pleasant places, whither their own inclinations and capabilities will most naturally conduct them, and where their enchantments will exercise the most potent sway. A single glance at the library of female writers, which, by the way, is now a large as well as a respectable one, will satisfy us, that it comprises two main divisions; the instruction of youth, and what is called, though in some respects improperly and unjustly, the lighter kinds of literature. Books for the nursery and the school will occupy a conspicuous station on one side, while on the other we shall see novels, tales, essays, and poetry. And if we were asked to point out those descriptions of literature which are the most directly and extensively active on the manners, principles, and tastes, mental and moral, of a community, we think that these are precisely the kinds which we should name.

The power which well adapted books may exert on the minds of children, can hardly be stated in extravagant terms, and will be allowed by every one to be great. And when we consider further, that early impressions, though often weakened, are seldom entirely erased; that good seed on good ground affords an abundant return at the harvest time; that 'the child is father of the man;' that a strong direction once given is long, and, in a majority of cases, always retained; and, to put the subject in one other point of view, when we consider that the mother's influence, which, next to the influence of Heaven itself, is the best and dearest and most heavenly, and has been the most frequently and gratefully acknowledged by its objects, may be so effectually aided in its

operations by the hints which the parent receives, and the stores of auxiliary instruction and entertainment which are placed at her disposal, in judicious books for children, we shall regard such books not with pleasure alone, but with respect; we shall esteem it no act of condescension in ourselves, in any one, to turn over their pages; we shall perceive more solid instruction, more beauty, truth, power, in many a little work stitched up in colored paper, bearing a simple wood cut on each side, and thrown about the nursery with as much freedom of dissemination as the most ardent republican could desire, than in many a proud octavo, redolent of Russia, and tenacious of its standing on shelves of mahogany.

Such being the importance of juvenile books, who are the best qualified to make them? and who do make them? To the first question we answer, Women. They are the best qualified to make books for children, who are most in the company of children; who have almost the sole care of children; whose natural sympathies unite them most closely with children, even such of them as have never been mothers themselves; who best know the minds, the wants, the hearts of children; and whose tenderness and gentleness gracefully bend to the ignorance of children, and assimilate most easily and happily with their soft and confiding natures. The child, in its earlier years especially, has no guardian like woman, no friend like woman, and can therefore have no instructer like woman.

And, when we come to answer the next question, Who have really devoted their best talents and most anxious care to the education of children; who have written the best books for and about children? we are thankful that we again can answer, Women. Thirty years ago (if we had been in existence then), we could not have answered thus. We should have been compelled to say, There are no books for children; these important members of the human family are destitute; this immensely valuable, and infinitely fertile field lies neglected and runs to waste; no seed has been sown there for the propitious skies to mature; the grain has yet to be deposited; the weeds are yet to be eradicated; both man and woman pass it by, and take their labor to other places, and think not of redeeming it, nor know that by care and culture it may be made to blossom like the rose, and fill the earth with its fruits. This we should at that time have been obliged to say. But now

we can say, that those whose part and province it was to do this work, have done it, and done it well. We can point to the names of Barbauld and Edgeworth, Taylor and Hoffland, and confidently ask, where there are worthier. Men talk of eras in literature. The era of the two first named of those ladies, the era of the 'Hymns for Children' and the 'Parent's Assistant,' was a golden era, pure and bright, and full of riches, and deserving of a rank among the most glorious dates of improvement. Since that time laborers have been fast coming into the same field, and have worked well; though we must still say, that those who came first worked best. Our own countrywomen have been neither tardy in advancing to this delightful task, nor inefficient in their services. We believe that the best children's books which we have, and we have many which are excellent, are the composition of females; and if we felt ourselves at liberty to do so, we could repeat an honorable, and by no means a scanty list of the names of those who have earned something better than mere reputation, by contributing to form the minds and hearts of our children. Those who are conscious that they belong to the catalogue, have little to ask of fame, and certainly nothing to receive from it half so valuable as that which they already possess, the gratulations of their own hearts.

The department of juvenile literature, then, is almost entirely in female hands. Long may it remain there! Long, for the interests of virtue, and the improvement of our kind, may it be in the heart of woman to nurture the growth, and watch over and direct the early puttings forth of youthful intellect and feeling. While she retains the office, so delightful in itself, and so grave and momentous in its ends, and even adds to its beautiful dignity by the graceful and effectual manner in which she has hitherto performed its duties, she inspires us with an admiration of a deeper, and more lasting, and, we must also believe, more flattering character, than was the most glowing and romantic love of the days of chivalry. Talk not to us of chivalry, unless it be in poetry, and with the usual latitude and license of poetry. In truth, and in prose, the most refined devotion of knighthood and chivalry is no more to be compared, in purity and elevation, to the sentiments which female excellence now commands, than are those fair ones who then presided at the great duels which we read of under the poetical name of tournaments, and who by their presence and

plaudits animated the legalized and courtly slaughter which was raging and struggling beneath them, to be compared to the females of our own time, who, as beautiful, no doubt, and accomplished as they, find it their more appropriate privilege and pleasure to stimulate the fresh powers of childhood to the competitions of knowledge and virtue, and to hold out the meed of approbation to the exertions of innocent and ingenuous minds.

To pass from this department of woman's literary labors to the other, we come to a field, which, though she does not occupy it so exclusively, she occupies with honor, and in which she has done much good, and still may do more. It is a field, too, which, in common with the former, has been undervalued. We shall not stop to argue with those who contend that novels, and romances, poems and plays, should not be read. It is enough that people will read them as fast as they are written; that beyond other kinds of literature, they are widely diffused, and caught up with an unsatisfied avidity. In one sense, if in no other, they are truly light; for, like those seeds to which nature has given wings, they fly abroad with the four winds, rejoicing in their buoyancy, and disseminating themselves through every land. This lightness is of itself a vast advantage, and the true inquiry is, not whether the advantage shall be used, for that we cannot help, but how it may be best used. As thistle down, and nettle seed are in full possession of it, we ought to turn our attention to those worthier plants, whose seeds are also winged, and favor their culture, and encourage their maturity. The interest, the natural, irrepressible interest, which the passions of men will always take in lively descriptions of passion; the absorbing heed which their affections will render, while the world stands, to writings which address and excite them, should be turned to virtuous ends by all those who love virtue, to useful ends by all those who honor truth; and every patriot and every philanthropist, every well-wisher to his country or his kind, should rejoice whenever he sees those, who, with the magic wands of poesy and fiction and the potent spells of genius, might lead the spirits of men almost whither they would, and who yet would rather snap their wands asunder, and abjure their spells for ever, than wield them for a moment in league with the powers of darkness; who would rather die, than lure men, by any charms of theirs, from the paths of uprightness and life.

The purity and the goodness of woman have here done their proper work. They are seen and felt in the elegant literature of the times. They have greatly contributed to chasten the morals of literature, and establish a code of laws, by which offences against decency are condemned as offences against taste. We would hazard the opinion, that to their absence the prevailing licentiousness of old English literature is in some degree to be ascribed. There were no female authors in those days when ribaldry was deemed essential to the drama, if to no other species of writing; and when a novel was thought none the worse, perhaps all the better, for describing scenes, which we trust would now be the proscription of any book whatever. They have now come in, following the conduct of their own taste and peculiar powers, to try their skill in providing the intellectual entertainment of society; and a chaster tone of public sentiment has been, in part, the consequence of the trial. We would not give an unreasonable share in the reformation to the influence of female literature; but we have no doubt whatever, that the coöperation of that with other meliorating influences has been of the utmost importance to the final effect. How should it be otherwise? Why should not the modesty and delicate feeling of woman refine and soften the character of society as much in her writings, as in her manners and conversation and life?

That some females seem to have forgotten their sex, and to have prided themselves on throwing off their peculiar qualities, and adopting the coarser habits of men, in their literary performances, is true. But such cases are happily, and as we think, necessarily rare. The masquerade is out of nature, and gives no pleasure to those whose approbation is valuable. It is like the occasional adoption of masculine attire by heroines of the stage. All may not be disgusted with the metamorphosed individual, but certainly none can respect, and few can approve.

If there is a poison more subtle, more deadly, and, alas, more palatable than all others, it is the poison of passion, which is communicated far and wide through the medium of books of amusement. If there is a medicine more healthful, pleasant, and precious than others, it is the antidote of virtuous principle conveyed through the same medium, acceptable to all tastes, and spreading wherever the poison had spread. The hand of woman has been doing its proper office in largely administering the healing potion. The gentle and faithful

nurse of our bodily sicknesses has extended her care to our mental and moral constitution, assiduously and with success. Both services belong to her, and in both capacities she is at home. She cannot be false to her nature. The cause of virtue must always find in her an advocate. While she uses the pen, she must always use it to inculcate the graces which she loves, and in which she herself excels. If our literature needs a preservative against the deleterious infusions of licentiousness and folly, we look confidently to her, for we shall find it in the enthusiasm of her heart, and the strength of her good principles. But if our confidence should prove to be misplaced; if our anticipations should be disappointed; if woman should ever turn recreant to her own interest, her own happiness, her own nature; if she too should begin to blot the fair page of letters with unseemliness, and make the mind and soul instruments of their own degradation; then, though we are not apt to despair of anything that is good, then we should either give up the cause, or look for direct interposition from above, for vain would be the help of man.

These are our sentiments with regard to what we have called female literature. We fear not for their truth, but only that we have not done justice to their truth and the importance of the subject. The authoress of 'Hope Leslie' must not accuse us of neglecting her beautiful book, because we have not yet alluded to it; for our remarks were suggested by it, and, if they are worthy, may be applied to it, and to the rest of her writings. She has been a laborer in both of the departments of which we have spoken, and in both she has merited, and we believe received, the cordial approbation of the public.

'Hope Leslie' is the last of this lady's three larger works, and, in our judgment, the best. It bears the lineaments of the two others, so far as to entitle them to claim a family resemblance to it; but it is written with an easier, freer spirit than the others; its chain of beauty is less frequently interrupted; it contains a greater number of prominent characters; its style is more matured. In the whole three, however, there is the same purity and delicacy; the same generous, lofty sentiment; the same deep and solemn breathings of religion without parade, and of piety without cant or censoriousness; the same love of the grand and the lovely in nature, together with the same power so to express that love as to waken it up ardently, devotionally in others; the same occasional touches of merry wit and play-

ful satire; the same glowing fancy; and, spread through all, and regulating all, the same good sense, leading to a right apprehension of human life and human motives, restraining genius from extravagance, giving an air of reality to the narrative, and securing our constant respect for the narrator.

There is a natural advantage, if we may use such a phrase, belonging to the last of these tales, which, if the two former had been equal to it in other respects, would yet have clothed it with an interest greatly superior to theirs. This advantage is its date; the times and the scenes in which its plot is laid. At the same time that there is greater danger incurred, and greater care and skill demanded in writing an historical than any other kind of novel, yet when the care and the skill have been successful, and the danger obviously and confessedly escaped, the work makes a stronger appeal to our sympathies, and keeps a more tenacious hold on our memory, than a work of mere imagination from the same hand. The danger is in caricaturing, or feebly representing those men and manners of which there exist true portraits, so far as history is true, in the public mind. A caricature, or a weak, stiff, chalky delineation of a Cæsar or an Alfred, a Bonaparte or a Washington, is intolerable. We cannot pardon the stupid mimicry. But let them be brought out into bold, masterly relief, authentic, spirited, living, and breathing, and we confess the artist's power, by giving up our fainter images for his, which we immediately install in our own historical galleries, and make the gems of our memory.

It has been fully demonstrated by many an orator and writer of our country, that the characters of our first settlers, the peculiar features of their age, their troubles, their struggles, their wars, government, manners, opinions, and institutions, all fresh and singular, with the wild scenes amidst which they moved, and the wild men by whom they were surrounded, furnished the most admirable materials for literary fabrics of purely national manufacture, and original patterns, both in poetry and prose. What they said was as true as truth itself. Neither could any fault be found with the recipes which they kindly wrote out; for these were as correct and clearly worded as could reasonably be desired. But the difficulty was to follow them. The article in request was not forthcoming. A few attempts were made, and one or two of them were not entire failures. The authoress of 'Hope Leslie,' and hitherto she

alone, has been, at least to our satisfaction, completely successful. She has had the industry to study the early history of New England, the costume and carriage, the spirit and temper of the settlers and aboriginal inhabitants, and the talent to combine the results of her researches with the embellishments of her own resources, and present to us the whole, a beautiful work, to verify our theories, to enliven our ancestral attachments, to delight, instruct, and improve us.

The book has been so long before the public, and so generally read, that we do not intend to offer an abstract of its story. If there are any who have not read it, we advise them to do so at once; and in order to excite their curiosity, we will copy a few pages, which, on a second rapid perusal of the work, seemed to us to be fair specimens of it.

Very soon after the opening of the story, we are brought into what was then, 1630 or thereabouts, the western wilderness, if indeed one part of the country was more of a wilderness than another, and are introduced to the family of Mr Fletcher, a friend of Governor Winthrop, who has settled near the infant village of Springfield, on the Connecticut river. During the absence of the head of the family, they are all, with the exception of his son Everell, massacred by the Indians; a scene which the authoress describes with powerful effect. On the retreat of the hostile party, which consists of the chief Mononotto, two or three warriors, his son and daughter, Oneco and Magawisca, who had for some time been inmates of the Fletcher family, with the prisoners, Everell Fletcher and Faith Leslie, the sister of Hope, the following scene occurs.

'As the fugitives emerged from the narrow defile, a new scene opened upon them; a scene of valley and hill, river and meadow, surrounded by mountains, whose encircling embrace expressed protection and love to the gentle spirits of the valley. A light summer shower had just fallen, and the clouds, "in thousand liveries dight," had risen from the western horizon, and hung their rich draperies about the clear sun. The horizontal rays passed over the valley, and flushed the upper branches of the trees, the summits of the hills, and the mountains, with a flood of light, whilst the low grounds reposing in deep shadow, presented one of those striking and accidental contrasts in nature, that a painter would have selected to give effect to his art.

'The gentle Housatonic wound through the depths of the valley, in some parts contracted to a narrow channel, and murmuring over the rocks that rippled its surface; and in others, spread-

ing wide its clear mirror, and lingering like a lover amidst the vines, trees, and flowers, that fringed its banks. Thus it flows now—but not as then in the sylvan freedom of nature, when no clattering mills and bustling factories threw their prosaic shadows over the silver waters—when not even a bridge spanned their bosom—when not a trace of man's art was seen, save the little bark canoe that glided over them, or lay idly moored along the shore. The savage was rather the vassal, than the master of nature; obeying her laws, but never usurping her dominion. He only used the land she prepared, and cast in his corn but where she seemed to invite him by mellowing and upheaving the rich mould. He did not presume to hew down her trees, the proud crest of her uplands, and convert them into "russet lawns and fallows grey." The axman's stroke, that music to the *settler's* ear, never then violated the peace of nature, or made discord in her music.

'Imagination may be indulged in lingering for a moment in those dusky regions of the past; but it is not permitted to reasonable, instructed man to admire or regret tribes of human beings, who lived and died, leaving scarcely a more enduring memorial, than the forsaken nest that vanishes before one winter's storms.

'But to return to our wanderers. They had entered the expanded vale, by following the windings of the Housatonic around a hill, conical and easy of ascent, excepting on that side which overlooked the river, where, half-way from the base to the summit, rose a perpendicular rock, bearing on its beetling front the age of centuries. On every other side, the hill was garlanded with laurels, now in full and profuse bloom; here and there surmounted by an intervening pine, spruce, or hemlock, whose seared winter foliage was fringed with the bright tender sprouts of spring. We believe there is a chord, even in the heart of savage man, that responds to the voice of nature. Certain it is, the party paused, as it appeared from a common instinct, at a little grassy nook, formed by the curve of the hill, to gaze on this singularly beautiful spot. Everell looked on the smoke that curled from the huts of the village, embosomed in pine trees, on the adjacent plain. The scene, to him, breathed peace and happiness, and gushing thoughts of home filled his eyes with tears. Oneco plucked clusters of laurels, and decked his little favorite, and the old chief fixed his melancholy eye on a solitary pine, scathed and blasted by tempests, that rooted in the ground where he stood, lifted its topmost branches to the bare rock, where they seemed, in their wild desolation, to brave the elemental fury that had stripped them of beauty and life.

'The leafless tree was truly, as it appeared to the eye of Mononotto, a fit emblem of the chieftain of a ruined tribe. "See you, child," he said, addressing Magawisca, "those unearthed roots? the tree must fall—hear you the death-song that wails through those blasted branches?"

'"Nay, father, listen not to the sad strain; it is but the spirit of the tree mourning over its decay; rather turn thine ear to the glad song of this bright stream, image of the good. She nourishes the aged trees, and cherishes the tender flowrets, and her song is ever of happiness, till she reaches the great sea—image of our eternity."

'"Speak not to me of happiness, Magawisca; it has vanished with the smoke of our homes. I tell ye, the spirits of our race are gathered about this blasted tree. Samoset points to that rock—that sacrifice-rock." His keen glance turned from the rock to Everell.

'Magawisca understood its portentous meaning, and she clasped her hands in mute and agonizing supplication. He answered to the silent entreaty. "It is in vain—my purpose is fixed, and here it shall be accomplished. Why hast thou linked thy heart, foolish girl, to this English boy? I have sworn, kneeling on the ashes of our hut, that I would never spare a son of our enemy's race. The lights of heaven witnessed my vow, and think you, that now this boy is given into my hands to avenge thy brother, I will spare him for thy prayer? No—though thou lookest on me with thy mother's eye, and speakest with her voice, I will not break my vow."

'Mononotto had indeed taken a final and fatal resolution; and prompted, as he fancied, by supernatural intimations, and, perhaps, dreading the relentings of his own heart, he determined on its immediate execution. He announced his decision to the Mohawks. A brief and animated consultation followed, during which they brandished their tomahawks, and cast wild and threatening glances at Everell, who at once comprehended the meaning of these menacing looks and gestures. He turned an appealling glance to Magawisca. She did not speak. "Am I to die now?" he asked; she turned shuddering from him.

'Everell had expected death from his savage captors, but while it was comparatively distant, he thought he was indifferent to it, or rather, he believed he should welcome it as a release from the horrible recollection of the massacre at Bethel, which haunted him day and night. But now that his fate seemed inevitable, nature was appalled, and shrunk from it; and the impassive spirit, for a moment, endured a pang that there cannot be in any "corp'ral sufferance." The avenues of sense were closed,

and past and future were present to the mind, as if it were already invested with the attributes of its eternity. From this agonizing excitement, Everell was roused by a command from the savages to move onward. "It is then deferred," thought Magawisca, and heaving a deep sigh, as if for a moment relieved from a pressure on her overburthened heart, she looked to her father for an explanation; he said nothing, but proceeded in silence towards the village.' pp. 138–143.

In the bosom of poor Magawisca, during her residence, or captivity, at Bethel, as Mr Fletcher's house is called, there had grown up a strong affection for young Everell, and she is determined to save his life, which the Indians are as firmly determined to sacrifice. In order to prevent her interference, her father confines her, on their arrival at the Indian village, in one of the huts, from which she beholds the agonizing sight of the savage procession moving to the sacrifice-rock, where Everell is to meet his death. She finds means, however, to elude the watchfulness of her guard, and arrives to the rescue in the manner thus described.

'Seated around their sacrifice-rock—their holy of holies—they listened to the sad story of the Pequod chief, with dejected countenances and downcast eyes, save when an involuntary glance turned on Everell, who stood awaiting his fate, cruelly aggravated by every moment's delay, with a quiet dignity and calm resignation, that would have become a hero or a saint. Surrounded by this dark cloud of savages, his fair countenance kindled by holy inspiration, he looked scarcely like a creature of earth.

'There might have been among the spectators, some who felt the silent appeal of the helpless, courageous boy; some whose hearts moved them to interpose to save the selected victim; but they were restrained by their interpretation of natural justice, as controlling to them as our artificial codes of laws to us.

'Others of a more cruel, or more irritable disposition, when the Pequod described his wrongs, and depicted his sufferings, brandished their tomahawks, and would have hurled them at the boy, but the chief said—"Nay, brothers—the work is mine—he dies by my hand—for my first born—life for life—he dies by a single stroke, for thus my boy was cut off. The blood of sachems is in his veins. He has the skin, but not the soul of that mixed race, whose gratitude is like that vanishing mist," and he pointed to the vapor that was melting from the mountain tops into the transparent ether; "and their promises are like this," and he snapped a dead branch from the pine beside which he stood, and broke it in fragments. "Boy, as he is, he fought for his mother,

as the eagle fights for its young. I watched him in the mountain-path, when the blood gushed from his torn feet; not a word from his smooth lip betrayed his pain."

'Mononotto embellished his victim with praises, as the ancients wreathed theirs with flowers. He brandished his hatchet over Everell's head, and cried, exultingly, "See, he flinches not. Thus stood my boy, when they flashed their sabres before his eyes, and bade him betray his father. Brothers—My people have told me I bore a woman's heart towards the enemy. Ye shall see. I will pour out this English boy's blood to the last drop, and give his flesh and bones to the dogs and wolves."

'He then motioned to Everell to prostrate himself on the rock, his face downward. In this position the boy would not see the descending stroke. Even at this moment of dire vengeance, the instincts of a merciful nature asserted their rights.

Everell sunk calmly on his knees, not to supplicate life, but to commend his soul to God. He clapsed his hands together. He did not—he could not speak; his soul was

> "Rapt in still communion that transcends
> The imperfect offices of prayer."

'At this moment a sunbeam penetrated the trees that enclosed the area, and fell athwart his brow and hair, kindling it with an almost supernatural brightness. To the savages, this was a token that the victim was accepted, and they sent forth a shout that rent the air. Everell bent forward, and pressed his forehead to the rock. The chief raised the deadly weapon, when Magawisca, springing from the precipitous side of the rock, screamed—"Forbear!" and interposed her arm. It was too late. The blow was levelled—force and direction given—the stroke aimed at Everell's neck, severed his defender's arm, and left him unharmed. The lopped, quivering member dropped over the precipice. Mononotto staggered and fell senseless, and all the savages, uttering horrible yells, rushed toward the fatal spot.

'"Stand back!" cried Magawisca. "I have bought his life with my own. Fly, Everell—nay, speak not, but fly—thither—to the east!" she cried, more vehemently.

'Everell's faculties were paralyzed by a rapid succession of violent emotions. He was conscious only of a feeling of mingled gratitude and admiration for his preserver. He stood motionless, gazing on her. "I die in vain then," she cried in an accent of such despair, that he was roused. He threw his arms around her, and pressed her to his heart, as he would a sister that had redeemed his life with her own, and then tearing himself from her, he disappeared. No one offered to follow him. The voice of nature rose from every heart, and responding to the justice of

Magawisca's claim, bade him "God speed!" To all it seemed that his deliverance had been achieved by miraculous aid. All—the dullest and coldest, paid involuntary homage to the heroic girl, as if she were a superior being, guided and upheld by supernatural power." pp. 154–157.

This escape is almost too wonderful, but it is countenanced by the best authority in numberless instances, and also by a few such marvellous occurrences in the history of real life. Magawisca, we must say a word of her, is one of those creations of genius of which it is hard to speak one's impressions in adequate terms, and therefore we shall say of her only a word. Some have questioned her verisimilitude as an Indian. They assert that she is too noble, too delicate, too spiritual for an Indian. This we are disposed to deny. That there were ever many Magawiscas, we indeed doubt ourselves, and therefore we would not propose her as a fair sample of the Indian character; but that the best features of her character have had a real existence in savage life, that she is a possible Indian, we have no doubt whatever; and this is all which is claimed for her in the truly modest preface of our authoress. Possible or impossible, she is a glorious creature, and even if she had no right to her creation, we welcome her to our heart of hearts.

Sir Philip Gardiner we detest. We are sorry that the writer meddled with a rascal of exactly his grain. Nevertheless, if he is necessary to the apprehension, imprisonment, and trial of Magawisca, we cannot spare even him; though we should still think that Rosa might be left out with advantage. A part of this trial scene we will here insert, as our last extract.

'The governor replied, with a severe gravity, ominous to the knight, "that the circumstances he had alluded to certainly required explanation; if that should not prove satisfactory, they would demand a public investigation. In the mean time, he should suspend the trial of the prisoner, who, though the decision of her case might not wholly depend on the establishment of Sir Philip's testimony, was yet, at present, materially affected by it."

'"He expressed a deep regret at the interruption that had occurred, as it must lead," he said, "to the suspension of the justice to be manifested either in the acquittal or condemnation of the prisoner. Some of the magistrates being called away from town on the next morning, he found himself compelled to adjourn the sitting of the court till one month from the present date,"

'"Then," said Magawisca, for the first time speaking with a tone of impatience, "then, I pray you, send me to death now.

Anything is better than wearing through another moon in my prisonhouse, thinking," she added, and cast down her eyelids, heavy with tears, "thinking of that old man—my father. I pray thee," she continued, bending low her head, "I pray thee now to set my spirit free. Wait not for his testimony"—she pointed to Sir Philip—"as well may ye expect the green herb to spring up in your trodden streets, as the breath of truth to come from his false lips. Do you wait for him to prove that I am your enemy? Take my own word, I am your enemy; the sunbeam and the shadow cannot mingle. The white man cometh—the Indian vanisheth. Can we grasp in friendship the hand raised to strike us? Nay—and it matters not whether we fall by the tempest that lays the forest low, or are cut down alone by the stroke of the axe. I would have thanked you for life and liberty; for Mononotto's sake I would have thanked you; but if ye send me back to that dungeon—the grave of the living, feeling, thinking soul, where the sun never shineth, where the stars never rise nor set, where the free breath of heaven never enters, where all is darkness without and within"—she pressed her hand on her breast—"ye will even now condemn me to death, but death more slow and terrible than your most suffering captive ever endured from Indian fires and knives." She paused—passed unresisted without the little railing that encompassed her, mounted the steps of the platform, and advancing to the feet of the governor, threw back her mantle, and knelt before him. Her mutilated person, unveiled by this action, appealed to the senses of the spectators. Everell involuntarily closed his eyes, and uttered a cry of agony, lost indeed in the murmurs of the crowd. She spoke, and all again were as hushed as death. "Thou didst promise," she said, addressing herself to Governor Winthrop, "to my dying mother, thou didst promise, kindness to her children. In her name, I demand of thee death or liberty."

'Everell sprang forward, and clasping his hands exclaimed, "In the name of God, liberty!"

'The feeling was contagious, and every voice, save her judges, shouted, "Liberty!—liberty! grant the prisoner liberty!"

'The governor rose, waved his hand to command silence, and would have spoken, but his voice failed him; his heart was touched with the general emotion, and he was fain to turn away to hide tears more becoming to the man, than the magistrate.

'The same gentleman who, throughout the trial, had been most forward to speak, now rose; a man of metal to resist any fire. "Are ye all fools and mad!" he cried; "ye that are gathered here together, that like the men of old, ye shout, 'Great is Diana of the Ephesians!' For whom would you stop the course of justice? for one who is charged before you, with having visited

every tribe on the shores and in the forests, to quicken the savages to diabolical revenge!—for one who flouts the faith once delivered to the saints, to your very faces!—for one who hath entered into an open league and confederacy with Satan against you!—for one who, as ye have have testimony within yourselves, in that her looks and words do so prevail over your judgments, is presently aided and abetted by the arch enemy of mankind!—I call upon you, my brethren," he added, turning to his associates, "and most especially on you, Governor Winthrop, to put a sudden end to this confusion by the formal adjournment of our court."

'The governor bowed his assent. "Rise, Magawisca," he said, in a voice of gentle authority, "I may not grant thy prayer; but what I can do in remembrance of my solemn promise to thy dying mother, without leaving undone higher duty, I will do."

'"And what mortal can do, I will do," said Everell, whispering the words into Magawisca's ear as she rose. The cloud of despondency that had settled over her fine face, for an instant vanished, and she said aloud; "Everell Fletcher, my dungeon will not be, as I said, quite dark, for thither I bear the memory of thy kindness."' pp. 198—201.

Hope Leslie, the white heroine of the work, is a finely drawn character, full of enthusiasm, affection, truth, and yet sparkling with gaiety and wit. Her friend and rival—yes, both friend and rival—Esther Downing, is lovely too, in her way, which, as was to be expected in those times, was rather a precise one, and her loveliness is as distinct from Hope's as possible. Magawisca too is another friend and rival, as we before hinted. Here are three ladies, who seem to love and admire each other as much as they do Everell Fletcher; who, by the way, excellent as he is, hardly deserves such an accumulation of honor. Is this, or is it not, a greater improbability than the character of the Indian heroine? We are afraid to leave the decision of the question to our authoress, who, if the truth must be told, appears to entertain a decided partiality for her own sex. Nor can we blame her for it. We are in no humor, indeed, to find fault with her at all, or for anything. We only hope, that as we have been tardy in noticing the last production of her pen, another will very soon be ready for our inspection. We pray her to go on, in the path in which she must excel, and has excelled, and which she ought consequently to make her peculiar one. We pray her to go on, in the name of her friends, for the public's sake, and for the honor of our youthful literature.

ART. V.—1. *Considerations of the Claims and Conduct of the United States, respecting their Northeastern Boundary, and of the Value of the British Colonies in North America.* London. 1826. [Republished in the British Provinces. 1827.]

2. *Letters on the Boundary Line.* By VERAX. [Published in 'The St John's City Gazette.' 1827.]

IT has been the fate of the country formerly called by the French *Acadia*, and by the English *Nova Scotia*, to be the subject of national controversy during the greater part of the last two hundred years. The controversy has sometimes involved the claim to the whole country, and at other times only a question of boundary. The English claimed the country by virtue of the discovery made by John and Sebastian Cabot, sailing in the employ of the king of England; France, by the right of prior possession. The first settlement was made in the country by the French, namely, a temporary settlement in a small island at the mouth of Schoodick river, then called *St Croix*, in 1604, and a permanent one in the following year at Port Royal, now *Annapolis*. The French claimed not only the peninsula of Nova Scotia, and the territory now called *New Brunswick*, but all that part of Maine which lies east of the Penobscot, and during some part of the time, even to the Kennebeck. They made settlements in various parts of this extensive country. The English colonists steadily denied their right, and repeatedly invaded and took forcible possession of their settlements. These were twice restored to the French by treaty, namely, by the treaty of St Germain in 1632, and by that of Breda in 1667.

King James the First, in the year 1621, made a grant of the country, by the name of *Nova Scotia*, to Sir William Alexander. The charter to Alexander is deserving of notice, as first establishing the western boundary of the colony upon the river St Croix, and a line running due north from its source to the water of the St Lawrence. The words of the charter are, 'Ad fluvium vulgo Sanctæ Crucis appellatum, et ad scaturiginem remotissimam sive fontem ex occidentali parte ejusdem, qui se primum prædicto fluvio immiscet; unde per imaginariam directam lineam, quæ pergere per terram seu currere versus septentrionem concipietur, ad proximam navium sta-

tionem, in fluvium, vel scaturiginem in magno fluvio de Canada sese exonerantem,' &c. This description is substantially the same with that in the treaty of peace with this country, except that it is limited to the most remote source of the St Croix coming from the west, and extends to the water of the St Lawrence.

Sir William Alexander afterwards ceded all his right in Nova Scotia to a French gentleman, whose son and heir ceded it to the crown of France, on the promise of a sum of money, which never was paid.

By the charter of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, granted by William and Mary, in the year 1691, both Maine and Nova Scotia were made a part of that province. The French settlements had been a short time before conquered by the troops of Massachusetts, but a magistrate being sent from Boston, after the reception of the charter, to take upon himself the government of Nova Scotia, he found the French flag hoisted, and all attempts to get possession of the country for several years proved unsuccessful. The treaty of Ryswick left the French in possession, and it was not until the year 1710 that it was conquered by a strong English and colonial force. By the treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, the whole of Nova Scotia, or Acadia, within its ancient limits, was ceded to Great Britain. After this cession, Nova Scotia became an independent colony, no longer under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts Bay. Maine, however, extending east to the St Croix, continued to be a part of the province of Massachusetts Bay, under the charter of William and Mary, until the Revolution. A question arose between England and France, which was elaborately discussed by commissioners of the two crowns, on a pretension of the latter, that Nova Scotia, or Acadia, as ceded by the treaty of Utrecht, embraced only a part of the peninsula of Nova Scotia. The English commissioners maintained, that the ceded territory extended to the Penobscot. The war of 1756 put an end to this discussion, and the peace which followed, in 1763, placed Great Britain in undisputed possession, not only of Acadia, to the full extent of the English claim, but of Canada. Here therefore ended all controversy between the two crowns on the subject.

On the acknowledgment of the independence of the United States, a partition of territory between those states, and the provinces remaining to the crown of Great Britain, be-

came necessary. This partition was made by the treaty of peace, to conform to the limits which previously existed between the several provinces, namely, by a line running along the middle of the river St Croix to its source, and from this source in a direction due north to the southeasterly boundary of Canada, and thence along the highlands forming the boundary of Canada to the source of the Connecticut river. Under this part of the treaty, three questions have arisen between this country and Great Britain. The first of these questions was, which of the three branches of the St Croix river was intended by the treaty. This was determined, in 1798, by the unanimous voice of the commissioners under the treaty of 1794, by adopting the extreme northern source of the northern branch of the Schoodic river, as the source of the St Croix; and a monument was there established as the point from which the due north line should run. This decision was in conformity with the grants which had been made by the governments on each side, and appears otherwise to have been founded on very just principles. Both parties readily acquiesced in the decision. The second question involved the right of the respective parties to certain islands in the bay, at the mouth of the river. This also has been satisfactorily settled, by commissioners under the treaty of Ghent.

The third question is, where are the highlands situated, at which the line, running due north from the source of the St Croix, shall terminate. This question is now in discussion between the two governments, and it forms the subject of the tracts, the titles of which are placed at the head of this article. We think it will appear, in the sequel of these remarks, that this question is attended with less real difficulty and doubt, than either of the others. The language of the treaty is so clear, and it conforms so precisely with the known limits of the several colonies, long before the treaty was made, that it is surprising the question has ever been raised, and much more that it has been persisted in, with such confidence, by those who represent the British government. We see not how it is possible, without abandoning both the manifest import of the language of the treaty, and the clearly defined limits of the three contiguous provinces, for twenty years before the date of the treaty, to adopt any other construction, than that the line, to be drawn from the source of the St Croix, shall run due north, until it crosses the river St John, and reaches the high-

lands which divide the waters running into the river or Gulf of St Lawrence, from those which run into the St John, and through it into the Bay of Fundy and the Atlantic ocean.

Before stating the grounds on which we rely in support of this position, we will quote, from the first of the tracts named above, the reasons given in support of a different construction of the treaty.

'The spirit and intention of the treaty of 1783 seem clearly to have been, to establish, between the two countries, in this quarter, what is termed an *arcifinius* BOUNDARY, such a line of separation as should give to neither party the advantages for attack, but serve mutually for the defence of both, or especially of that whose dominions were the most likely to be invaded. Accordingly, having first recorded their regard "for the reciprocal advantages and mutual conveniences to both nations," and their design "to settle the boundary upon such principles of liberal equity and reciprocity, that partial advantages, those seeds of discord, being excluded, such a beneficial and satisfactory intercourse between the two countries may be established, as may promote and secure to both perpetual peace," they proceed to delineate the only landmarks, and to lay down the only principle, which, in this quarter, could answer such ends, namely, *that chain of highlands which should divide the heads of rivers, whose mouths and courses were within the actual provinces of the respective claimants.* Thus the party possessing the mouth of any stream, would possess also its whole course to the fountain head. This was obviously the most equitable adjustment, and the most natural boundary. The entire course of the Penobscot, the Kennebec, and other rivers, flowing into the Atlantic ocean, would be thus secured to the United States and a reciprocal advantage afforded to us in the possession of the Chaudiere, and other streams, that discharge their waters within our territories. Between two nations no separation is so distinct, no barrier so effectual, as a mountainous frontier; and as rivers, in new countries, are the great highways of nature, and almost the only means of communication and transport, any other division must give to one party a most unequal advantage for invasion in war, and to both, continual disputes in trade and navigation in the time of peace. The line of separation was therefore to be drawn "from the northwest angle of Nova Scotia, that is, the angle formed by a due north line drawn from the source of the Saint Croix to THE HIGH LANDS, *along the said high lands*, dividing the waters that fall into the Atlantic from those that fall into the river Saint Lawrence, to the northwestern head of the Connecticut river." Now as no part of the British possessions, in this

quarter (their western boundary being the Saint Croix) touched the Atlantic, nor of the American, the Saint Lawrence, the principal end and object of the treaty evidently was, *to give them the heads of the rivers that flowed to the ocean into and throughout their territory, and us, of those that flowed into and through ours.* Indeed, the description in the treaty coupled with this fact just stated must be considered as quite synonymous with this interpretation.'

'In exploring this boundary, the American government seems to have assumed the principle, that if no such *high lands* existed, or existed where they would not be intersected by the north line, or intersected, would not divide rivers agreeably to the strict letter of the treaty, they were then to go up to the St Lawrence, and fix the northwest angle of Nova Scotia on the very shore of that river. Accordingly they pass over a high and extensive range of elevated land, which, compared with the other heights and features of the whole tract, would readily be called and recognised as the HIGH LANDS, but which they deny to be the HIGH LANDS *in the treaty*, because though these would indeed divide the heads of rivers, and give them the course and source of all that flow into and through the United States, and us of all that flow into and through our territories, yet if the streams on this side empty into the Atlantic, those on the other do not join the St Lawrence. They pass on, therefore, and meet the St John. And here it should be recalled to mind, that neither their ministers in negotiating the treaty, nor their agents under the first commission, had ever dreamed of extending the most extravagant of their pretensions beyond the *right bank* of this river, which they wished to be accepted as the *real St Croix*, but which, in each instance, was resisted by us, and finally relinquished by them. Indeed, both the language and the principle of the treaty, are conclusive evidence, that its negotiators could never have entertained the intention, nor conceived the possibility, of touching, or intersecting this river; or else in describing a boundary, which was evidently to pursue the great natural land-marks of the country, they had never, not only neglected so important a feature, but adopted a principle of separating heads of rivers, utterly inapplicable to the tract to be divided. Now, however, the Americans have the courage to pass the stream, and on the left bank push on their north line. Having intersected the St John's, leaving the lower half to us, and the upper to themselves, they proceed in their course to intersect its numerous branches, the lower parts of which are to be theirs, and the upper for us. They pass on, over a beautiful and well wooded country, of gentle hills and valleys, till, instead of streams running westerly to the St John, they meet with waters that flow easterly to the Bay

of Chaleurs, a branch of the Gulf of St Lawrence. These they intersect, taking the source and upper part to themselves, and leaving the rest of their course to us. They pass on, and when a few miles more would have carried them into the Gulf, or river of St Lawrence, by whatever name the arm of the sea at that point is to be called, and they meet a stream flowing into it, they have the conscience to stop. And here is the northwest angle of Nova Scotia, and if there chance to be a hill in the neighborhood, these are the *high lands.* Here they turn upon their heel, and follow *these high lands* down to the southwest and south, dividing, *first*, the streams that flow into the river St Lawrence, from those that empty into a part of the Gulf, called the Bay of Chaleurs, both within our Territories; *next*, the waters that flow into the river St Lawrence, from those that flow into the St John both within, or falling into our acknowledged territories; keeping often in sight of, and never at any great distance from the very bank of the former stream; until, at last, to get round the sources of the Chaudiere, they must turn almost to the southeast, and, making a considerable bend, join *the* HIGH LANDS upon which both parties are agreed.'

Before proceeding farther, and without relying implicitly on this statement of what the treaty *was intended to be*, it may be expedient to see what it *is*. By the second article of the definitive treaty of peace, of 1783, it is stipulated, for the purpose of preventing all disputes that might arise on the subject of the boundaries of the United States, that 'the following are and shall be their boundaries, namely, from the northwest angle of Nova Scotia, namely, that angle, which is formed by a line drawn due north from the source of St Croix river to the highlands; along the said highlands which divide those rivers that empty themselves into the river St Lawrence, from those which fall into the Atlantic ocean, to the northwesternmost head of Connecticut river, thence down along the middle of that river,' &c. and 'east, by a line to be drawn along the middle of the river St Croix, from its mouth, in the Bay of Fundy, to its source, and from its source, directly north, to the aforesaid highlands, which divide the rivers that fall into the Atlantic ocean, from those which fall into the river St Lawrence,' &c.

The first object of inquiry will be to ascertain where is the northwest angle of Nova Scotia, designated as the starting point, from which to trace the line of boundary. To determine this, it is only necessary to ascertain the northern boun-

dary line of Nova Scotia, or the line which at the date of the treaty, divided Nova Scotia from Canada. Was this line at the highlands north of the St John, or did it run from Mars Hill across the St John? This question is easily answered.

When Canada was a French province, it was generally considered as bounded on the southeast by the river St Lawrence, and so it is laid down in most of the French maps of that period. But some of the commissions to the governors there extended their jurisdiction, to a distance of ten leagues on the southeast side of the river. But after the cession of this province to Great Britain, by the peace of 1763, the king issued his proclamation of October seventh, declaring, that with the advice of the privy council, he had granted letters patent, under the great seal, to erect four distinct governments, within the ceded territories. The first of these was the government of Quebec, the boundary of which, on the south and east, is described in the proclamation in the following words, namely, 'from whence the said line, crossing the river St Lawrence, and the lake Champlain in forty-five degrees of north latitude, passes along the high lands, which divide the rivers that empty themselves into the said river St Lawrence, from those which fall into the sea; and also along the north coast of the baye des Chaleurs, and the coast of the Gulf of St Lawrence, to Cape Rosieres,' &c.

In conformity with the line of boundary thus established for the province of Quebec, the royal commission, granted about the same time, to Montague Wilmot, Esq., appointing him captain-general and governor-in-chief over the province of Nova Scotia, thus describes the limits of that province, namely; 'To the northward, our said province shall be bounded by the southern boundary of our province of Quebec, as far as the western extremity of the Bay des Chaleurs; to the eastward, by the said bay, and the Gulf of St Lawrence,' &c.; 'and to the westward, although our said province hath anciently extended, and doth of right extend, as far as the river Pentagonet, or Penobscot, it shall be bounded by a line drawn from Cape Sable across the entrance of the Bay of Fundy to the mouth of the river St Croix, by the said river to its source, and by a line drawn due north from thence to the southern boundary of our colony of Quebec.'

Eleven years afterwards, namely, in 1774, the celebrated act of Parliament was passed, 'for making more effectual provision

for the government of the province of Quebec, in North America.' The first section of this act establishes the boundaries of the province of Quebec, differing in some particulars from the description in the proclamation of 1763. The part relating to the present question, is described in the following words, namely, 'bounded on the south by a line from the bay of Chaleurs, along the highlands which divide the rivers that empty themselves into the river St Lawrence from those which fall into the sea, to a point in forty-five degrees of northern latitude, on the eastern bank of the river Connecticut,' &c. By the second section of the same act, it is provided, 'that nothing herein contained relative to the boundary of the province of Quebec, shall in any wise affect the boundaries of any other colony.'

Such was the boundary line, as established by an order of council, promulgated by the king's proclamation, and confirmed by an act of Parliament, between the provinces of Quebec and Nova Scotia. Such was the line, which remained without alteration to the date of the peace of 1783, and we may add without alteration to the present day, and which, as forming the northern boundary of Nova Scotia, necessarily formed one of the sides of the angle described in the treaty, as the north-west angle of Nova Scotia,—the starting point of the boundary of the United States. Such was the southern boundary of the province of Quebec, as clearly defined twenty years before the date of the treaty, perfectly well known at the time, and adopted in the treaty in almost the language of the proclamation, and of the act of Parliament, as the line of boundary between that province and the United States. In one particular the treaty is more precise than either of the other documents. The act of Parliament describes the line as proceeding from the Bay of Chaleurs along the highlands to the forty-fifth degree of latitude on the Connecticut river. The treaty is more specific, and says, along the highlands 'to the norwesternmost head of Connecticut river, thence down along the middle of that river to the forty-fifth degree of north latitude.'

There may be still a question admitting of some doubt, as to the precise point at which the southern limit of the province of Quebec, from the Bay of Chaleurs, shall strike the highlands, whether it shall be at the nearest point, or whether it shall follow some stream from the head of the bay, to its source in the highlands. We are not informed whether this question,

as respects the boundary between Canada and Nova Scotia, has ever been settled. The best maps of these two provinces place the boundary upon the river Ristigouche, which falls into the head of the bay of Chaleurs. The same principles which should settle the question as between those two governments, should also settle it in reference to the angle at which the boundary of the United States begins. The variation between any two constructions of this question would be of very little moment, as the territory, between the different lines that might be adopted, would be small in extent, and of very little value. On one construction, the angle would be placed at the highlands north of the sources of the Ristigouche river; on another, it would be at one of these sources; and on a third, it would be at the highlands between the Ristigouche and the streams running into the St John. This is the only extent of any question of real doubt, arising out of this part of the treaty, and the right involved in it is so trivial, that neither government could think of making it a subject of serious controversy.

Whatever doubt there may be, as to the precise delineation, which should be given to the boundary line between Lower Canada and Nova Scotia, from the descriptions of it in the proclamation of 1763—in the commission to the governor of Nova Scotia—in the Quebec act—and in the treaty, there can be no doubt as to the fact, that this line was not intended to cross the river St John; and that the governors of Nova Scotia, and of New Brunswick since the division of the province, have uniformly possessed a jurisdiction extending farther north, than the point at which the St John crosses the due north line, from the source of the St Croix. It is therefore in the highlands north of the St John that the northeast angle, described in the treaty, is to be sought.

These highlands are thus described in the 'Topographical Description of the Province of Lower Canada,' published in 1815, by Colonel Bouchette, surveyor-general of the province, a work of great value, and of very high authority. 'From the high banks opposite the city [Quebec], the land rises in a gradual ascent for a distance of probably ten leagues towards the first range of mountains; pursuing then a northeasterly course, this chain ends upon the river in the neighborhood of River du Loup.' 'Beyond this range, at about fifty miles' distance, is the ridge generally denominated the Land's Height, dividing

the waters that fall into the St Lawrence from those taking a direction towards the Atlantic ocean, and along whose summit is supposed to run the boundary line between the territories of Great Britain and the United States of America. This chain commences upon the eastern branch of the Connecticut river, takes a northeasterly course, and terminates near Cape Rosier, in the Gulf of St Lawrence.'

This we believe to be an accurate description of the highlands, which form the boundary between the territories of the two nations. No one competent to form an opinion on the subject, as far as the public has been informed, ever doubted, until the publication of the work from which this description is taken, that along these highlands the dividing line was to be drawn, whenever it should be definitively settled. But in a subsequent part of the same work, the author advances the opinion, that the treaty ought to be understood as describing such a boundary as will include the whole course of the St John, and its branches within the British territory. From this intimation probably has risen the claim, which has been asserted with much confidence and warmth by the inhabitants of the provinces, and which has been maintained by the British government, in the negotiations for the adjustment of the line. It is in the following words, that Colonel Bouchette brings forward this claim.

'From the Connecticut river the height of land, on which the boundary is supposed to pass, runs to the northeast, and divides the waters that fall into the St Lawrence from those flowing into the Atlantic; and which height, after running some distance upon that course, sends off a branch to the eastward, that separates the heads of the streams falling into Lake Timiscouata and river St John, and by that channel into the Bay of Fundy, from those that descend in a more direct course to the Atlantic. The main ridge continuing its northeasterly direction, is intersected by an imaginary line, prolonged in a course astronomically due north, from the head of the river St Croix, and which ridge is supposed to be the boundary between Lower Canada and the United States; at least such appears to be the way in which the treaty of 1783 is construed by the American government; but which ought, more fairly, to be understood as follows, namely, that the astronomical line running north from the St Croix should extend only to the first or easterly ridge, and thence run westerly, along the crest of the said ridge, to the Connecticut; thereby equitably dividing the

waters flowing into the St Lawrence from those that empty into the Atlantic within the limits of the United States; and those that have their estuaries within the British province of New Brunswick.' p. 281.

The author of the work here quoted does not undertake to say precisely where the highlands here described meet the line running north from the source of the St Criox. But it is quite apparent that no highlands branching eastward, on the south side of the upper waters of the St John, extend to the bay of Chaleurs, as described in the proclamation of 1763, and in the Quebec act of 1774; and that they consequently cannot form one side of the angle described in the treaty of 1783. The nature of this claim is more clearly stated in the following paragraph, from the essays of 'Verax.'

'Before proceeding farther, I will state what I understand to be *the British claim*, with regard to the northwest angle of Nova Scotia. This claim places the angle at the point in the line running due north from the source of the St Croix, which meets the highlands at or near *Mars Hill;* and according to this claim, the angle is formed by a line running from the northwesternmost head of Connecticut river, the second station in the boundary, along the highlands which divide the river Chaudiere and its several branches, this being a river falling into the river St Lawrence, from the rivers Androscoggin, Kennebec, and Penobscot; this line being continued along the highlands in that quarter in such a manner as to leave all the branches of the Androscoggin, Kennebec, and Penobscot, to the southward of the line, and within the United States, until it meets the line drawn due north from the source of the St Croix, at or near Mars Hill. The point in the due north line thus claimed on our part as the northwest angle of Nova Scotia, is about forty miles from the source of the St Croix, and about the same distance within or to the southward of the place where this line is in its prolongation made to cross the river St John.'

It can hardly be necessary to remark, that the angle here described, so far from being the northwest angle of Nova Scotia, described in the treaty, is no angle whatever of Nova Scotia, but an angle on the American side of the line. To form an angle of Nova Scotia, it would be necessary to prolong the highland line, on the Nova Scotia side. To this there are two obstacles, the first, that there are no highlands extending westerly or northwesterly from Mars Hill, and the second, that if there were any such highlands, they would not constitute the

northern boundary of Nova Scotia (now New Brunswick), but would divide it into two parts. It will not be denied, that there have long been settlements under the jurisdiction of New Brunswick, along the whole course of the St John, to the Grand Falls, forty miles north of this pretended angle; and that the province has been uniformly considered as extending still farther north, to the highlands which we have before indicated, or to the river Ristigouche, rising in those highlands, and flowing easterly into the bay of Chaleurs. Even the settlements higher up on the St John, within the territory claimed by us, and on the Madawaska river, are claimed by the government of New Brunswick, as coming within that province, and so they are represented in Bonner's map of Nova Scotia, published in 1820. It is by virtue of that jurisdiction, acquired not by any extension of the limits of the province since the date of the treaty, but exercised under powers similar to those granted previous to that date, that Baker was lately arrested on the Madawaska river, and carried to Fredericton for trial, for an alleged violation of the laws of New Brunswick. Yet according to this writer, the northwest angle of New Brunswick is at Mars Hill, a hundred miles to the southeast of the place where this violation of the laws of New Brunswick was committed, and according to his own hypothesis the only angle described at Mars Hill is on the American side.

After so fatal an objection to the designation of the point where, according to the treaty, the boundary line is to begin, it may seem superfluous to examine this assumption farther. But we proceed to consider the reasons assigned by 'Verax,' in support of this singular paradox. He says, that 'the parties agree in considering the Androscoggin, the Kennebec, and the Penobscot, as rivers falling into the Atlantic ocean, within the meaning of the treaty, and consequently as rivers intended by the treaty to be divided by the line of boundary along the highlands, from the rivers falling into the river St Lawrence.' We admit with him that the parties agree in considering the rivers here named, as falling into the Atlantic ocean, but not as the principal rivers intended by the words of the treaty. Nor are these rivers divided, except on a small portion of its course, by the line of highlands described by 'Verax,' from the rivers falling into the St Lawrence; but two thirds of this line, runs between the rivers named by him and the St John, which, instead of running into the river or bay of St Lawrence, falls

into the Bay of Fundy, on the Atlantic side of the province of New Brunswick, and at a point but a few miles distant from the open ocean. Although he can overlook this objection to the line assumed by him, he considers it a conclusive objection to a line running between the waters of the St Lawrence and those of the St John, that the latter river does not fall into the Atlantic ocean. To any one who will look at the map, and observe not only how natural, but how near to literal accuracy it is, to class the St John with the Penobscot and Kennebec, as rivers running into the Atlantic, in contradistinction from the Chaudiere, and other streams running into the St Lawrence, this objection must appear extremely frivolous. The Bay of Fundy is a small arm of the Atlantic ocean, and the St John may with the same propriety be said to run into the ocean, in distinction from those rivers which run into the St Lawrence, as the Delaware, Potomac, or Connecticut rivers to run into the Atlantic, since each of these rivers actually terminates in a bay or sound, having a particular appellation, to distinguish it from the ocean. What makes the objection more frivolous is, that the alternative by which it is proposed to avoid it, is to adopt such a line as requires us to consider this same river St John, as running into the St Lawrence; for otherwise the line does not divide these two classes of rivers, as required by the treaty.

The next reason given in favor of a line, beginning at a point far different from that described by the treaty, and dividing the sources of different classes of rivers from those described, is, that 'it is the manifest intention of the treaty, in this part of the boundary along the highlands, to divide rivers at their sources, and thereby to leave each power, the whole extent of the rivers emptying within its own territory.' So far from admitting it to be manifest that this was the intention of the framers of the treaty, it appears to us manifest that this was not their intention. Had it been their intention they would have so expressed it. On the contrary, we conceive it was their intention to divide the territory in the same manner as it had been divided between the colonies, and that this intention was carried into execution, by copying almost literally the language of previous acts of the crown, by which these provinces had been constituted. In establishing the province of Quebec, it was the intention of the crown of Great Britain, to divide it from the Atlantic provinces of Nova Scotia and Maine, by the highlands, and by the boun-

dary line to 'divide the rivers by their sources.' But it was also the pleasure of the crown, in establishing the province of Nova Scotia, to divide it from Maine, by an astronomical line running due north from the source of the St Croix, and the pleasure of the framers of the treaty to adopt the same boundary. It cannot be pretended, that at the date of the commission to Montague Wilmot, in 1763, to be governor of Nova Scotia, or at the date of the treaty in 1783, it was supposed by any one, that a line running north from the St Croix would divide the rivers by their sources.

It was proved before the commission, for determining which branch of the St Croix was intended by the treaty, that the commissioners who framed that treaty, had before them for their government, Mitchell's Map of the British and French Dominions of North America. This map was published in 1755. The course of the St Croix is not very accurately laid down upon it, and but one branch of that river is exhibited. The St John, however, is more correctly drawn. The line dividing Nova Scotia from Maine, drawn on this map due north from the St Croix to the highlands, intersects the St John, nearly in the same point as on the maps of the present day. The head waters of that river are so clearly represented by this map as within the limits of New England, that a part of the name extends across the river, towards the northeast. In the large map drawn by Jefferys, prefixed to the memorials of the English and French commissioners, on the question of the limits of Nova Scotia or Acadia, published in 1755, the course of the upper parts of the St John and its branches, is laid down with nearly the same accuracy as on the maps of the present day. A line drawn due north from the source of the St Croix, would leave about half the course of the river, and all its upper branches, on the New England side of the line. On this map, as well as on Mitchell's, both Nova Scotia and New England are represented as extending to the St Lawrence, both maps having been published previous to the cession of Canada to Great Britain, and consequently before the highlands were established as the boundary.

In the particulars above described, all the maps published for thirty years before the treaty, which could be regarded as any authority, agree so far at least as to show that the line running due north from the St Croix, to a point where the waters run into the St Lawrence, must cross the St John, and

leave all its head waters on the western side. Indeed the geography of the interior of that country was nearly as well known, and as accurately delineated on the maps, as at the present time. No person, therefore, with any accurate knowledge of the geography of the country, or with such a knowledge of it as would be afforded by the maps in common use at the date of the treaty, especially with Mitchell's map before him, if it had been his intention to describe a boundary line, that should 'leave each power the whole extent of the rivers emptying within its own territory,' could have made use of the language to be found in the treaty; for this language manifestly expresses a different intention. This intention was, that the provinces of Nova Scotia and Quebec should continue to possess the same limits, which had been described for them twenty years before. If any further proof of this is necessary, we will refer to several maps, with which every reader at that day, conversant with the geography of the country, must have been familiar. In 1776, a large sheet map of 'the province of Quebec, according to the proclamation of 1763,' was published by Sayer and Bennett, London. On this map the southern boundary of the province of Quebec is accurately laid down, along the ridge of mountains before described, from the head of the Connecticut river, running north of the sources of the St John, to the head of the Ristigouche, and following that river, to the bay of Chaleurs. The representation of the course of the St John, on this map, is nearly correct. A map, in four sheets, of North America and the West Indies, divided according to the treaty of 1763, purporting to be corrected from the original materials of Governor Pownall, was also published by Sayer and Bennett in 1777. Upon this map the western boundary of Nova Scotia is accurately marked, running north from the St Croix, and crossing the St John in the proper point. In Jeffery's 'History of the French Dominions in North America,' published in London in 1761, is the same map, before described as attached to the memorials of the commissioners, and also a map of North America from a French map of D'Anville. On this last the western boundary line of Nova Scotia is marked, along the St Croix, and from the source of that river due north, crossing the St John, to the St Lawrence. We might describe several other maps, published before the treaty, which agree in these features, but as we find none that do not agree, it would be a superfluous labor to cite more.

If it had been the intention of the framers of the treaty, to divide the territory on the principle that all the rivers should be divided by their sources, it would have been easy to express this intention. But in that case, the line would not run to Mars Hill. It is impossible to consider this height as forming a part of the highlands intended in the treaty, on any construction. This height divides no waters except the branches of the St John. The line running north from the source of the St Croix passes two rivers, branches of the St John, the Meduxnekeag and the Presque Isle, besides smaller streams, before reaching Mars Hill. The line in fact meets waters running northeasterly into the St John, within three miles from the monument, at the source of the St Croix. If the line must divide the waters of the St John from those of the Penobscot, it must depart in a southwesterly direction from the monument itself, that is, from the southwest, instead of the northwest angle of Nova Scotia. One of the branches of the St John, which is crossed by the northern line near the monument, has its sources in a southwesterly direction from the monument, a few miles distant from the source of the St Croix.

Another reason given in favor of the assumption, that the highlands intended by the treaty are to be found at Mars Hill, is that the land at this point is literally higher than the ridge between the St John and the St Lawrence. This argument would be of little weight, if it were founded in well attested fact, since it is admitted that the ground is sufficiently elevated on the latter ridge, to divide the waters according to the supposition in the treaty. But this fact is by no means proved. Mars Hill is a solitary elevation of no great height, unconnected with any range of mountains. The country west of it, and south of the St John, where it is pretended the ridge of mountains is to be found which terminates in this hill, is not mountainous. Seven ranges of townships, extending more than forty miles in width from the New Brunswick line, have been surveyed, and it is found that the land is nearly all fit for culvation, and that, although not a flat country, it is as level as almost any part of New England of equal extent. A route has also been surveyed for a road, from the mouth of Fish river, on the St John to the Penobscot, and the land was found to be extremely favorable for the construction of a road, and very little impeded by hills. The high and mountainous

country referred to by 'Verax,' bordering on Mount Katahdin, is situated far distant, between the branches of the Penobscot.

'With regard to the line claimed by the Americans,' Verax says, 'I believe the fact to be, as I formerly stated, and as is virtually admitted by their writers, that there are no prominent highlands, either at the angle, or along by far the greater part of the line. These writers, we have seen, endeavor to supply this deficiency by a deduction from the physical laws of nature, that the land is necessarily higher at the sources of rivers than at their mouths.'

A tolerably fair deduction, we should suppose, at least until there is some proof of the contrary. Verax has cited no authority in support of his belief that there are no highlands. We will, however, meet him with proof, that the whole country along which we contend the line ought to be drawn is high and mountainous. For this proof, we rely on no less authority than that of Colonel Bouchette, the surveyor-general of Lower Canada, and the author of more full and satisfactory descriptions and maps of this province, than have yet been published of almost any other portion of North America. We have already copied his general description of the range of highlands in question, extending from the sources of Connecticut river to Cape Rosieres on the Gulf of St Lawrence. His maps illustrate and confirm this description. In the whole length of the ridge, west of the unfinished road from the Kennebec to the Chaudiere, it is intersected by but a single road, and this is made probably at the least elevated part of the ridge, and where the mountains present the fewest obstacles to the construction of it. The sources of the streams running into the St John, are here very near those running into the St Lawrence. This road was first opened by General Haldimand, in 1783. It was an achievement of great difficulty, and of great importance, it being the only route, by land, from Quebec to Halifax. The part of it which crosses the highlands is thus described by Colonel Bouchette. 'From the main road of the St Lawrence, where the portage road branches off, to Long's Farm on the branch of lake Timiscouata, the distance is thirty-seven miles; the direction of the road is generally to the eastward, but it has numerous turns and windings, to avoid ascending several very lofty and rugged hills, or crossing deep swamps; as it is, about twenty-four miles of the distance is over a succession of mountains, many

of them rough and very steep. However none of the formidable impediments exist that were formerly considered as insurmountable.' 'The principal mountains over which the road runs are the St François, Côte de la Grande Fourche, Jean Paradis, La Montagne de la Rivière Verte, and du Buard; the rivers are du Loup, Rivière Verte, and Trois Pistoles, that flow into the St Lawrence, and the Rivière St François, that falls into the river St John. At Long's Farm the traveller cannot fail to be pleased with a beautiful and picturesque prospect of lake Timiscouata, twenty-two miles in length, by the average breadth of three quarters of a mile, encompassed in all directions by lofty mountains, covered with thick wood almost down to its margin. Several large rivers lend the aid of their powerful streams to swell the waters of this romantic and secluded expanse.' This, it should be observed, is a description of the part of the ridge which is selected for a road, not as the most direct, but the most practicable point for passing it. The seigniories of Isle Verte, Dartigny, Trois Pistoles, and Richard Rioux, extending along the St Lawrence, east of the above road, for about fifty miles, run back from the river from two to four leagues, and are bounded in the rear by the waste lands on the north side of the mountain ridge. These waste lands, not having been surveyed, are not described by Colonel Bouchette; but of the four seigniories, above named, he says, they 'are nearly throughout their whole extent mountainous and rugged; the great northeasterly ridge ranges so close to the river as to leave only a narrow slip between it and the shore. This space possesses a moderately good soil, upon which there are a few settlements, under a respectable state of husbandry; there are also several patches of good land more in the interior lying in the hollows between the ridges.' Isle Verte is 'watered by Rivière Verte, which has its source in the mountains south of Timiscouata portage, and flows in a northerly direction into the St Lawrence; it has a ferry over it at the main road.' 'Trois Pistoles is intersected by a large river of the same name, whose current is supplied from several small lakes among the mountains that surround the end of lake of Timiscouata.' From the magnitude and length of these rivers, it is manifest, that although this mountainous ridge approaches very near the shore of the St Lawrence, it continues to rise as it recedes from the river, to a considerable distance. The distance of the height of land from the St Lawrence, in its most northerly part, is from twenty to thirty miles. Of the

seigniories of Bic, Rimouski, St Barnabé, Lessard, Le Page, Pachot, and Metis, lying still farther east, and extending beyond the line running due north from the source of the St Croix, Bouchette says, 'the general surface of these seigniories is mountainous, and broken along the front, affording but little good soil for the purposes of agriculture. In the interior, and by the side of the rivers that water them, a few patches of tolerable land, with some meadows and pastures, present themselves.'

On the western side of the portage road, the first seigniory is the Rivière du Loup, which is described as 'uneven and mountainous,' and bounded in the rear by waste crown lands. The three next seigniories are described as having some fertile patches of land, 'but as the northeasterly chain of mountains draws closer upon the river [that is, closer than in the more westerly parts] a great part of them is very mountainous.' These also are bounded by waste lands in the rear. The next seigniory on the west, Camouraska, is described as low and fertile near the river, but 'towards the rear it loses some of its goodness and fertility, as it becomes mountainous.' 'From the bank of the river, which is not much elevated, a plain that generally speaking is very level, stretches almost to the foot of the northeast range of mountains.' The next seigniory, St Denis, is partly mountainous, and bounded in the rear by unsurveyed lands. The next, the Rivière Ouelle, is watered by the river of the same name, which has its source 'in the northeast range of mountains, from whence it winds a serpentine course down to the St Lawrence.' In the next seigniory, St Anne, 'the land approaching the mountains is of good quality.' The next seigniory, St Roch des Annais, is described as low, 'but about the rear boundaries the mountains form a close chain of considerable height.' Several other seigniories, farther towards the southeast, are described as extending back from the river to the mountains. A wide tract of country in the rear of these seigniories, extending back to the summit of the ridge, from which a great number of streams descend, remains ungranted, and unsurveyed, and is not described in the work of Colonel Bouchette, except in the general description of the range of mountains. The height of these mountains is probably entirely unknown, as we do not find any evidence that their summits have ever been approached by human footsteps, or that any one has ever penetrated, on either side,

the wilderness which surrounds them. It is known that the Connecticut river at the forty-fifth degree of latitude is near two thousand feet above the level of the sea, and there are repeated falls in its course from its source to that point. The Chaudiere river is full of falls, some of them of great height. It is therefore certain that the lands are high which divide their sources. The country through which a road is marked out from the Chaudiere to the Kennebec, Bouchette says, is mountainous, but 'the chain of mountains is not so closely connected, as to render it impracticable, or even difficult to open a road through the passes between them.' A road from the Penobscot has been marked out, over similar ground, a little farther north. From this point to lake Timiscouata, where the Nova Scotia road passes, a distance of one hundred and fifty miles, there is reason to believe there is a continued chain of high mountains, and also from lake Timiscouata to the Gulf of St Lawrence. In the foregoing description, all the passages quoted are from Colonel Bouchette. We might add citations to a similar effect from other authors.

The objection, therefore, that there are no highlands where they have been heretofore supposed to exist, and where they are described in the treaty, we conceive, is satisfactorily removed. It is very certain, that the range of mountains along that whole line is higher than the highlands between the St John and Penobscot, terminating at Mars Hill, where it is certain there is no range of mountains whatever. We have seen the field-book of the surveys, both of the road abovementioned, and of the seven ranges of townships surveyed between the St John and the Penobscot, and they afford abundant proof, that the country is remarkably free from mountains and highlands.

One other reason is given, in both the tracts named at the head of this article, why the treaty should not be so construed as to make the eastern boundary cross the St John. It is, that the American government instructed their agents for negotiating the treaty, to endeavor to obtain a boundary line running through the middle of the St John river, from its mouth to its source, but that they, after proposing this line, receded from it, on finding that the St Croix was the charter limit of the claim of Massachusetts, and agreed to the terms as finally adopted. The plain inference from these facts, Verax contends, is, 'that it was in the contemplation of the negotiators of

the treaty of 1783, by the line of boundary, as they ultimately described it, to leave within the territories of his majesty the whole of the river St John, from its mouth to its source.' We do not perceive any ground for such an inference. The first American demand included a large tract of the settled part of one of the colonies, which had not joined the Union, as its limits were definitively settled twenty years before. In receding from this demand, and agreeing to the previously established line between the colonies which were to be separated, they yielded a part of Nova Scotia, fifty miles in width, bordering on the sea, but obtained, instead of it, a tract of inland country, of about equal extent, without inhabitants, and then considered of but little value. It is to be presumed that even now, with all the importance attached by the colonies to the possession of a route of communication between New Brunswick and Quebec, they would be very unwilling to make the exchange proposed in the first offer of the American commissioners. If, therefore, our commissioners, in relinquishing their first proposal, acceded to one more favorable to Great Britain, upon our construction of it, we do not perceive how the fact of the first proposal affords any presumption that our construction is wrong. On the contrary, the history of this transaction shows that the parties deliberately, and after inquiry and discussion, adopted the previously existing boundary; for it appears, as stated by Verax, that 'the British commissioners first claimed to Piscataqua river, then to the Kennebec, then to the Penobscot, and at length to the St Croix, as marked on Mitchell's map.' We have already seen, that a line drawn directly north from the source of the St Croix to the highlands, on this map, crosses the St John in about the same part of its course, that such a line would, when drawn on the most accurate maps of the present day.

It has been argued, that in determining this boundary, a literal construction of the terms of the treaty ought not be insisted on, against its spirit, and the presumed intention of the parties. If there were any reason to suppose, that the intention of the parties is not fully expressed by the terms of the treaty, as we interpret them, there might be some force in the argument. We have given our reasons for believing that the contracting parties could have had no other intention, than that which they expressed—that this intention was to determine the national boundary, by the limits previously established for

the colonies; and that these previously established limits corresponded with our construction of the terms of the treaty. It has been contended that even this is too severe a construction, and that we ought to interpret the treaty, not by reference to what were legally the boundaries of the several provinces, but by ascertaining what those boundaries were practically, and what was the actual jurisdiction exercised by the several colonial governments, and the extent of territory over which they were supposed to extend. On this ground it is contended, that as at the date of the treaty there were inhabitants on the Madawaska, and upper St John rivers, who had previously emigrated from Nova Scotia, and who have been considered inhabitants of that province, and subject to its jurisdiction, it must be presumed to have been the intention of the framers of the treaty to include that territory within the limits of Nova Scotia. In point of fact, we believe, it was not known at the time, either to the framers of the treaty, or even to the government of Nova Scotia, that there were any such inhabitants in existence. They have been claimed since, but not until long after the date of the treaty, as within the jurisdiction of the province of New Brunswick. The original settlers were exclusively French families, who fled from the peninsula of Nova Scotia, probably at some period between the date of the treaty of Utrecht, and the time when all the French population of that colony was expelled by the British settlers, about the year 1749. They were afterwards joined by some French families from Canada, and recently by some few emigrants from the United States. Their present numbers are supposed to be about three thousand. They settled there without any permission or grant from any government, and their motive for burying themselves in this wilderness was, not to extend the limits of the province of Nova Scotia, but to escape from its jurisdiction. It is believed that no authority whatever was exercised over them by the government of New Brunswick for more than twenty years after the date of the treaty. That their settlement there did not extend thither the jurisdiction of the province, will appear from the following passages, which we cite from an act of the General Assembly of Nova Scotia, passed in the year 1759, 'for quieting of possessions to the Protestant grantees of lands, previously occupied by the French inhabitants.' In the preamble of this act, there is a recital of the measures which had been adopted by

the government of the province, to secure it against what are called the treacherous practices of the French inhabitants, who had steadily refused to take the oath of allegiance to the crown of Great Britain. In this recital it is stated, among other things, that if these French inhabitants had not 'been timely removed, by the prudence and vigilancy of his excellency the present governor, from the said lands and territories, into other his majesty's dominions, this invaluable province, during the course of this war, must inevitably have fallen into the hands of his majesty's enemies, the French.' The act goes on to sanction the removal of the French inhabitants, and the confiscation of all their estates, and provides that no action shall be sustained in any court of the province, 'for the recovery of any of the lands within the same, by virtue of any former right, title, claim, interest, or possession of any of the former French inhabitants,' or by virtue of any title derived from them in any manner. This act was in force, we believe, to the date of the treaty, if it is not to this day; and it affords presumptive evidence, that if the French inhabitants on the St John and Madawaska were known to be there, they were supposed to be beyond the limits of the province. The first settlers probably emigrated from the vicinity of Port Royal, after the cession of Nova Scotia by the treaty of Utrecht, and before the forcible expulsion of the French inhabitants in 1749, for those who were then removed, were mostly carried to Louisiana or the West Indies. It is understood that the emigrants to the Madawaska country first established themselves at a place within the present limits of New Brunswick, and after a few years' residence there, wishing to withdraw themselves farther from the invaders of their native possessions, retired to the spot which they and their children now inhabit, where they lived for many years without any, or at least with very little communication with the rest of the world. But whatever might have been the date of their emigration, and even if they had settled upon these lands with the knowledge and consent of the government of Nova Scotia, which however is not pretended, the existence of this poor, secluded, and neglected settlement, could not extend the limits of the province beyond those which were established for it by the royal authority; nor can it afford a presumption that the framers of the treaty intended to enlarge those limits, when it is apparent from the terms of the treaty, that no such intention is expressed.

We find nothing to invalidate, in any degree, the claim made by our government; for it appears very clearly, that they claim no territory, which before the treaty belonged either to the province of Quebec, or to Nova Scotia; that it was the intention of the treaty to preserve to those provinces the territory which previously belonged to them, and no more; that the territory, not included within the limits of those provinces, belonged before the Revolution to the Province of Maine, then a part of Massachusetts, and that by the treaty of peace this territory was described by boundaries which cannot be mistaken, and by that description was declared to be within the limits of the United States. If we have dwelt more at length upon this question, than its merits might seem to require, it has been only on account of the importance it has assumed, in being made a subject of serious negotiation between the two governments, and a question of so much difficulty as to require the interposition of a third power, in the character of an umpire.

Art. VI.—*Essai Historique sur la Révolution de Paraguay et le Gouvernement Dictatorial du Docteur Francia.* Par MM. Rengger et Longchamp, Docteurs en Medicine, Membres de la Société Helvétique des Sciences Naturelles. 8vo. pp. 300. Paris. 1827.

The internal situation of the province of Paraguay, one of the most important of those which constituted the ancient vice-royalty of Buenos Aires, has been for some years past entirely unknown, not merely to the distant nations of Europe and America, but to every person not actually within its limits. Ever since the present ruler established himself at the head of the government, no individual, whether native or foreigner, had been permitted until very recently to quit the territory; and so perfectly was this system of non-intercourse carried into effect, that, as we are informed by the authors of the work before us, the inhabitants of Buenos Aires, and even of the bordering city of Corrientes, were as completely ignorant of what was passing in Paraguay, as those of New York or London. The singularity of these proceedings naturally excited much

curiosity respecting the person and character of the ruler of the province in question, who is generally known abroad under the simple appellation of Doctor Francia, although it appears from the present account that his official style is nothing less than *The Most Excellent Lord Don Joseph Gaspar Rodriguez de Francia, Supreme and Perpetual Dictator of the Republic of Paraguay.* This curiosity was not unmingled, we imagine, with a certain degree of respect. Mystery excites the imagination, and, as Tacitus justly observes, we are apt to overrate the value of things unknown; *omnei gnotum pro magnifico.* It was also understood that Dr Francia had succeeded in restoring and maintaining tranquillity throughout the province under his government; and this result, by whatever means accomplished, was thought by some to argue the possession of much intellectual power and political skill. The name of Paraguay had been connected with associations of an interesting and somewhat poetical kind, from having been the seat of the celebrated missionary establishments of the Jesuits; and many persons, connecting the title of the present ruler, with the scene of his labors, had been led to suppose that he was himself one of the fathers of that order, and that he employed, in governing his province, the same machinery which had formerly been used by them with such remarkable success. This was the impression, which we had ourselves taken up respecting the Doctor; and we avow that in the simplicity of our hearts, we had given him credit for a large share of deep design and insinuating gentleness of manner, mingled with certain grains of the pious fraud and convenient mental reservation, which the Jesuits, as is well known, made no scruple to put in practice when occasion required. In the mean time, while the world was amusing itself with conjectures about his character, the Doctor on his part rigorously maintained his embargo, and closed his clutches without remorse upon every unlucky straggler, who happened in an evil hour to find his way into this vast man-trap. All the footsteps that were to be seen on the road to Paraguay pointed—like those that led to the lion's den in Æsop—in one direction. Among the persons detained in this way was the distinguished French naturalist Bonpland, whose fate has excited in a high degree the sympathy of the friends of science, and given additional notoriety to the strange policy to which it was owing.

In consequence of all this, the public had become at last very curious to know something more about the matter; and the appearance of the present volume, which we owe to two apparently very intelligent and enterprising Swiss physicians, Messrs Rengger and Longchamp, has been welcomed with great interest. While it removes completely the veil that so long overhung the mysterious region in question, and gives a full account of the life, character, and personal habits of its ruler, it unfortunately dissipates at the same time all the favorable presumptions that may have been formed respecting him. Instead of a mild, smooth-tongued, and politic priest, the worthy dictator turns out to be neither more nor less than a little South American Bonaparte, who has contrived to exhibit upon the theatre of a colonial province, containing hardly two hundred thousand inhabitants, substantially the same qualities which distinguished the 'man of destiny,' although, it must be owned, under forms somewhat less graceful and imposing. The political course of Dr Francia has in fact been evidently modelled upon that of Napoleon, as our readers will plainly see, in the sequel of this article; but as the dictator's taste and information have not been uniformly upon a level with the high reach of his ambition, his imitation often has an air of burlesque. His dictatorship commencing at about the period when the reign of the emperor came to a close, might therefore have been looked upon as a sort of coarse and farcical afterpiece to the splendid tragedy of the French Revolution, were it not unhappily too deeply stained with blood, to be viewed in the main with any other sentiment but disgust and horror.

The subject of the volume before us is, however, on all accounts, extremely interesting, and our readers will not, we think, be dissatisfied if we lay before them a pretty full account of its contents. The authors went out to South America, for the purpose of making researches in natural history; and, landing at Buenos Aires, they proceeded up the river as far as Corrientes, which was then in possession of Artigas, and in a state of complete anarchy. Nothing was known at this place of the internal condition of Paraguay, but it was generally supposed to be much more tranquil and prosperous than the neighboring regions. Our authors, therefore, with a view of escaping from the tumult around them, as well as of prosecuting their scientific inquiries, determined to pursue still farther their voyage up the river. They found, however, pretty soon, that they had gained

very little by the change of residence, and upon their arrival at Assumption, were immediately put under embargo, and detained not less than six years. During this period, they seem to have acquired (by means which they have not thought it necessary to state in detail) a certain degree of favor with the Dictator; and finally, by great good fortune, succeeded in obtaining his permission to quit the country. They propose to publish in a separate and more extensive work their scientific and other observations upon Paraguay. The present treatise is exclusively taken up with the character and administration of the ruler. We extract from the introduction a succinct account of the circumstances under which our travellers entered the country, and of the motives which induced them to publish the work.

'On the first of May, 1818, Mr Longchamp and I embarked for Buenos Aires, intending to proceed from thence either to Chile or Paraguay. The object of this voyage was to collect further information respecting the natural history of those regions. the attainment of which we thought would be facilitated by our knowledge of medicine. On our arrival at Buenos Aires, we made some inquiries about the countries we were to visit, and decided in favor of Paraguay, as being the part of the continent which was least known, and which enjoyed the greatest degree of tranquillity. Although Dr Francia had been for many years at the head of affairs in that quarter, no one in Buenos Aires had the least idea of the form of government established there, and Paraguay was considered as the most peaceable of the provinces. On the third of August of the same year, we embarked on the Parana, and proceeded as far as Corrientes, a town situated on the left bank of that river, near its junction with the Paraguay. In the course of this voyage, which lasted some weeks, we had opportunities of observing the desolating effects of the government of Artigas. One of his lieutenants, at the head of a party of Indians belonging to the late missions of Entre Rios, being himself an Indian, was commanding at Corrientes at the time of our arrival. His depredations, which were particularly injurious to the commerce of Paraguay, had completely cut off all communication with that territory; nor was it reëstablished till after an interval of eight months, when the Indians had retired. We therefore considered ourselves very fortunate in being able to quit a country which was involved in complete anarchy. There, as at Buenos Aires, no one knew anything of Dr Francia, except that he had established perfect order in the country; on which account many families had been induced to resort to it as a place

of safety against the persecutions of Artigas. Pursuing our course up the river Paraguay, we reached Assumption on the 30th of July, 1819. What was our surprise, when the persons to whom we were addressed, recommended to us the strictest circumspection as a necessary rule of conduct, without giving any further explanation! Happily for us, an Englishman of the name of Dr Parlet, made us acquainted with the character and government of Dr Francia, a circumstance of which we availed ourselves from our first audience. All that had been done by the Doctor up to that period, was however only the prelude to the grand scene, of which we were unwilling witnesses during the space of six years. I shall not enter into any details respecting our residence in Paraguay, or the occupations in which we were engaged, since this will constitute the principal subject of the narrative of our voyage and of a work on the natural history of that country. Suffice it here to say, that in May, 1825, the Dictator finally granted us permission to depart in a ship bound for Buenos Aires, and that we immediately embraced the opportunity.

'Scarcely had we passed the borders of Paraguay, when we were assailed with questions about Dr Francia. At the very doors of this province a profound ignorance prevailed as to its government. At Buenos Aires, where we made another stay of several months; at the Brazils, where contrary winds obliged us to stop; and finally in Europe, where we arrived in the beginning of May, 1826, fresh motives occurred to confirm us in our opinion, that the Doctor was there also an object of general curiosity. According to the greater or less degree of faith given by each to the fabulous and extraordinary accounts of the travellers who had visited the coasts of America, different persons had formed different notions respecting Dr Francia and his government. With some he was a sage, who from a desire to civilize his fellow citizens and preserve them from the horrors of a revolution, had separated them from the rest of the world; with others he was a usurper, whose design it was to enrich himself with the spoils of his country. Some, who observed a religious order reviving in Europe, the name of which is inseparable from that of Paraguay, thought they recognised in the person of this man of the new world, an agent of the Jesuits. In fine, the enemies of the emancipation of America were fain to behold in Dr Francia, the supporter of a fallen power, and the future avenger of the mother country.

'In order to enable the public to form a correct opinion of this mysterious personage, we have resolved to detach this first part of our voyage from the body of the narrative, and to publish it separately. Although it has been compiled by me exclusively, it is but just to observe, that the greater part of the facts have been witnessed by Mr Longchamp as well as by myself, and that they

are related by agreement between us. The best guarantee, however, that we can offer for the truth of this picture is, that nothing less than the loss of our heads would have been the consequence of any mistake that we might have made as to the character of Dr Francia. It is thus, that from motives of self-preservation, the traveller who journeys over the deserts of a great continent, is obliged, though not a naturalist, to study the habits of the tiger or the jaguar.'

After these introductory explanations the authors proceed to give a very rapid view of the early events of the revolution in the viceroyalty of Buenos Aires, with which our readers are generally acquainted, and upon which we need not enlarge. In the year 1810, the revolutionary government, which had just been established in the city of that name (where the viceroy had been deposed and the supreme authority committed to a junta acting in the name of Ferdinand the Seventh), despatched a small force into Paraguay, for the purpose of securing the adhesion of that province. This expedition proved unsuccessful, and the invading army, after gaining some advantages in the first instance, were afterwards completely overpowered and mostly made prisoners. A small remnant capitulated and left the country. The next year however (1811), the principal Creoles and some of the leading Spanish officers formed a conspiracy for the same general purpose, which was attended with more success. The leaders of it prevailed on the governor to assemble a convention of the principal persons of the province. Our authors say but little of the proceedings of this convention, and that little they seem to have learned from incorrect sources. We find the subject more fully treated in a Spanish manuscript account of the early events of this revolution, which we have in our possession. There appears to have been a considerable display of eloquence upon this occasion, and in the manuscript alluded to, the speeches of the governor, of the bishop (who was subsequently so strongly affected by the progress of affairs as to lose his reason), and of Don Joseph Antonio Yegros, one of the principal Creoles, are reported at great length, and perhaps with much accuracy. We learn from the same account, that there appeared at this assembly not less than seven royal governors, who had been successively appointed by different corporations, pretending to exercise the authority of the king of Spain. The convention was first called upon to decide whom it would acknowledge in this latter capacity. Upon this

question opinions were much divided, and the vote stood as follows;

For Charles the Fourth	73
Ferdinand the Seventh	86
Joseph Bonaparte	70

Ferdinand was accordingly declared to be the legitimate monarch. The result of the deliberations of this convention was not therefore, as our authors suppose, a declaration of independence, but a formal acknowledgment of the sovereignty of Spain. The assembly next decided, by a vote of two hundred and twenty-nine to thirty-eight, that the seven royal governors and the commissioner of Buenos Aires should be furnished with passports; that the resignation of the acting governor, Velasco, should be accepted; and that the royal authority should be exercised by a junta, to be named by the governor himself, who does not seem, as our authors state, to have been forcibly deposed, but to have resigned of his own accord, and to have enjoyed in a high degree the esteem and confidence of the people. A junta was accordingly appointed, and immediately installed with the general approbation. It consisted of a president, two other members, and a secretary having a right to vote. Don Fulgencio de Yegros was the president, and the secretary was the future dictator, then denominated simply Dr Francia. As this is the first appearance of the Doctor on the political stage, our authors very properly introduce here an account of his origin and early life, which we extract entire.

'The history of the revolution of Paraguay being in fact the history of Dr Francia, it seems proper to give a brief account of the character and early life of this personage. His father, a native of France, went over in his youth to Portugal, and from thence to Paraguay, where he married a Creole. Although in this latter country he is considered as of Portuguese origin, the Doctor himself denies the fact, and maintains that his family is French. Having been at first intended for the church, or, according to his own expression, *condemned to study theology*, he commenced his education in the wretched schools kept by the friars of Assumption, but afterwards went to the university of Cordova del Tucuman, which was under the direction of the Franciscans since the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767. Here he made considerable progress, and took his degree of doctor of theology; but the study of the canon law having given him a taste for jurisprudence, he resolved on not taking orders, and became a lawyer.

'Perhaps (at least it may be presumed from the sentiments subsequently expressed by him) the little faith he had in the dogmas of the church contributed to his adopting this resolution, no less than the taste he might have acquired for the study of jurisprudence. Besides, nothing was more common in America, than for young men who were intended for the bar to enter in the first instance upon a course of theology, as it also was for ecclesiastics, to devote themselves to the profession of the law. Upon his return to his country, Dr Francia distinguished himself by probity and undoubted integrity. He was never known to dishonor his profession by pleading an unjust cause, nor did he ever hesitate to defend the weak against the strong, or the poor against the rich. He never failed to exact considerable fees from those who were able to pay, and especially from those who were fond of lawsuits; but exhibited a singular disinterestedness when he knew that the means of his clients were scanty, or when unjust pretensions had brought them before the tribunals. Inheriting a moderate patrimony, he never sought to increase it. Half a house in town, and a little farm (chacra) in the country, constituted all his fortune and satisfied all his wishes. So indifferent was he to money, that finding himself one day in the possession of eight hundred dollars, and thinking such a sum a great deal too much for a single man, he carried it to the gaming-table.

'Being of a studious disposition, rather unsociable, and uniting to a taste for study the love of licentious pleasures, he remained a bachelor. He of course was never the head of a family; he rejected all tender sentiments, and was a stranger to friendship. In fine, the little information that was to be obtained in his intercourse with his countrymen, together with their total want of literary resources, prevented him from going much into their company. To this might be owing the inflexibility of character for which he was remarkable, and which has shown itself so singularly in his administration. He was also subject to frequent attacks of hypochondria, which had the effect of producing a sort of madness; a circumstance that may the more easily be accounted for, when we consider that his father was regarded as a very eccentric man, that his brother is insane, and that one of his sisters was for a long time in the same state.

'On arriving at manhood, Francia was elected member of the Cabildo or Council of Assumption, and subsequently held the office of alcalde. A man of his character could not but be independent even when in office, and such in fact he was both in his public and private capacity. He showed no anxiety to please either the governor or the Spaniards; and in defending his country against the pretensions of Spain, he proved as incorruptible a magistrate as he had been an upright judge. With such qualities

he could not fail to conciliate the esteem and affection of his fellow citizens.'

The administration of the junta does not seem to have been remarkably brilliant. The president Yegros and his assistants were not men of business, and passed all their time in military parades and other public and private amusements. Francia was the only effective man, but he frequently found it impossible to overcome the obstacles he met with from his colleagues; and on such occasions repeatedly retired into the country, and declared that he would have nothing more to do with the government. His colleagues, who could not get on without him, were then compelled to give way, and persuade him by compliance to come back. His intentions seem to have been at this time pretty good, but he had already adopted his notion of an exclusive and independent system of administration. He concluded with Buenos Aires an arrangement of boundaries, but constantly refused to lend the least aid in the war against Spain. He was apparently more humane than his colleagues, and exerted himself occasionally with effect in preventing military executions.

This organization lasted about two years, when the junta, acting no doubt under the instigation of Francia, called another convention, which met at Assumption in 1813. This body is represented by our authors as having been very ill composed. Francia was almost the only member of it who possessed any reading or acquaintance with business, and he acquired in consequence a great influence. After a few sittings it was voted to change the form of government, and while they were casting about for the model of another, the Doctor brought forward, as a work of authority, Rollin's Roman History, one of the very few good books to be found in the country. After consulting this oracle, it was concluded to copy the model of the Eternal City, and substitute for the existing junta two annual consuls. The first choice fell, as might have been expected, on Francia, and Don Fulgencio Yegros was appointed his colleague. The former seems to have been at no great pains to conceal his intentions in regard to the degree of influence which he was to exercise in the new system. He directed two leather-bottomed armed chairs, or, as he called them, *curule seats*, to be prepared for the use of the consuls at their public sessions, on one of which was inscribed the name of *Cæsar* and on the other that of *Pompey*. On the first occasion that

offered, the worthy Doctor, as we are told by our authors, modestly installed himself in the chair of the conqueror of Pharsalia, leaving to poor Yegros the less brilliant and somewhat ominous position of his less successful rival. If there was anything malicious in this disposition of names and assignment of seats, the conduct of Francia exhibited more frankness than policy; and it is not improbable that this farcical incident was in part accidental. Be that as it may, it appears that Francia was now pretty sure of his ground. Yegros, it is true, obtained at first the command of half the troops; but it was arranged between them, that the supreme power should be exercised by each in turn for four months in succession. Cæsar's turn, *comme de raison*, came before that of Pompey, and by this ingenious stratagem, the Doctor secured to himself the first and last four months, and left for his colleague only the intervening third of the year, at the end of which the functions of both were to close.

The latter, therefore, had apparently the better right to be dissatisfied with the operation of the consular system; but as ambition is one of those appetites which grow by what they feed on, the two thirds of the supreme power which he had obtained availed nothing to Francia, while his colleague possessed the other. In 1814, at the end of the first consular year, Congress met again at Assumption to renew the government, but instead of permitting them to do this quietly, Francia proposed to them to change the constitution a second time, and dispensing with the two consuls to commit the whole executive power to a single magistrate, whom (still recurring to his favorite authority, Rollin) he advised them to designate by the title of *Dictator*. This proposition was agreed to without much difficulty, and the assembly proceeded to elect their new ruler; but here the learned Doctor found himself more at a loss. Upon sounding the dispositions of the members of Congress, he found that by some strange accident it had not occurred to these honest Creoles that the person who proposed to institute a dictatorship, a consulate, a presidency for life, a protectorate, or any such laborious and troublesome office, may in almost all cases be prevailed upon, if sufficiently pressed, to fill it himself. For want of this obvious reflection, while they were quite ready to choose a dictator, they had not considered the Doctor as a candidate, and were mostly prepared to vote for Yegros. Pitying their simplicity, and fully

aware, no doubt, that the shoulders of his colleague were not sufficiently Atlantean to support this burden, Francia prevailed upon the Congress to defer the vote till the next meeting. On the following day the subject was taken up again, and, strange as it may seem, the Doctor was again overlooked, and all eyes were turned, as before, upon Yegros, so that the would-be-dictator had no resource left but that of moving another adjournment. *The third time*, says the proverb, *never fails*. Before the next meeting the legislators of Paraguay had obtained some notion of the nature of their office, and as, to do them justice, they appear to have exhibited throughout a good deal of docility, whenever they could be brought to comprehend the Doctor's intentions, they now passed over Yegros, and voted unanimously for Francia.

It may not be improper to add, for the better understanding of these proceedings, that the deliberations of the Congress were assisted at this third meeting, by the presence of a strong guard of honor, which, by order of the learned Doctor, surrounded the church where the assembly was held. It cannot be doubted that the attention thus shown by this careful magistrate to the security and respectability of the proceedings, contributed greatly to enlighten the Congress of Paraguay, in regard to his qualifications for the dictatorship. It is known that similar precautions have had an equally good effect at certain critical periods in the history of other countries, and particularly on a late occasion, when a person who calls himself the *Liberator* (in better English *Deliverer*) was spontaneously chosen president for life of the republic of Peru, in consequence of having taken the trouble to inform the members of Congress, on the night before the election, that such as did not vote for him would be thrown into prison, and to shoot General Nicochea and a few other distinguished patriots *pour encourager les autres*. The Deliverer, we may remark, *en passant*, appears to have forgotten that the new lights, which are made to burst upon the vision of mere civilians by military guards and executions, uniformly vanish when the troops are withdrawn; and having imprudently set off upon a journey of two or three thousand miles for the purpose of *delivering* the Colombians in the same way, had the mortification to find his disciples in Peru relapsing, the moment his back was turned, into their former stupidity, and becoming again as insensible as ever to the beauties of the Bolivian Code, and the pretensions

of its author to be president for life of all the republics, present and to come, in Spanish America. It has been noticed, as one of the singularities in the character of Washington, that his method of delivering republics was different, and that in reasoning with Congress upon the various topics of public interest which he had occasion from time to time to discuss with them, he never found it necessary to recur to the species of argument, which has since been used with so much temporary success at Assumption and Lima.

To return, however, from the Deliverer of Colombia to the Dictator of Paraguay (no very violent transition), it appears that his competitor, Yegros, was not at first as fully satisfied with the new arrangement as might have been wished. The portion of the army under his command exhibited a disposition to resist by force the authority of the new dictator, and there was some danger, for the moment, of a civil war. *Fortunately* (say our authors, we do not exactly see why,) an officer named Caballero, who commanded under Yegros, and who had great influence with the troops, although a personal enemy of Francia, exerted himself with success in appeasing the revolt. As a reward for his services on this occasion, he was arrested three or four years after by order of the Dictator, under pretext of being implicated in some conspiracy, real or supposed, and in order to escape the ignominy of a public execution, committed suicide in prison. The Dictator was elected in the first instance for the term of three years. The following extract will show the character of the measures, which he adopted for the purpose of confirming his authority, and of obtaining at the end of this term a reäppointment for life.

'As soon as Dr Francia found himself at the head of the republic, he established his residence in the house which had formerly been occupied by the Spanish governors. His first care was to reform his own manner of life; gaming and women were renounced for ever, and since this time he has exhibited the greatest austerity in his habits. The morning was passed in transacting business. The superior officers, the military commandants, and the Alcaldes were summoned to receive orders; private persons, who had any petition to present or complaints to prefer, were admitted to an audience, and the workmen, who were employed by government, attended to receive their instructions from the Dictator himself. His daily walk was on the parade. In the evening he employed his hours of leisure in reading, especially

such French authors as could be obtained in the country, having learned French a short time before the revolution. The belles-lettres, history, geography, and mathematics were by turns the object of his studies. The knowledge of medicine being very limited in Paraguay, he read Tissot and Buchan, and practised upon himself according to their prescriptions. He used to take particular interest in the perusal of an old treatise on the arts and professions; and drew from this source the information of which he has subsequently made so extraordinary an application. But to acquire a knowledge of the art of war was his favorite object; for he felt conscious that the political existence of the country, and even his own, depended on his manner of organizing the armed force. In order to provide himself with the necessary materials, he established a monopoly of timber, an article in great demand at Buenos Aires, only permitting it to be exported by those who furnished him with arms and warlike stores. At a later period this system was made to comprehend every branch of commerce; and by means of licenses he procured everything he stood in need of, while at the same time he secured, by granting them, the attachment of the public officers and merchants, who wished for a share in these advantages.

'In the army, he began by removing, under various pretexts, such of the officers as gave him umbrage or seemed to have too much influence with the soldiery. These were for the most part ignorant of the duties of their profession, and had been the authors of various disturbances; but the real motive for their dismission was, that they belonged to good families. The Dictator was by no means inclined to employ men who might consider themselves citizens as well as soldiers. The new officers were not in general men of greater ability, but such as could only by his aid expect to rise from the low condition in which he found them. He dismissed in like manner all the soldiers of whose opinions he had any doubt, and replaced them by fresh recruits. Having taken these measures, he proceeded to organize various corps, exercised them every day, and subjected them to a severe discipline. This discipline, however, was observed only while the soldiers were under arms, or in their quarters; at all other times they were under no control. The Dictator was sole judge over the military; but knowing how necessary they were to him, he treated them with great consideration. A body of grenadiers composed his guard, and at the same time performed the duty of *gens-d'armes*. By their means he communicated his orders to the environs, summoned the persons whom he had to speak with, and caused his arrests to be put in execution. In this way they came to be the terror of the place; particularly when for the sake of gratifying the Dictator they acted as his spies. As the

sergeant of the guard was the person who introduced those, who wanted an audience, it was necessary to be in his good graces in order to be announced. These grenadiers were not well acquainted with the Spanish language, and were therefore incapable of delivering with precision the orders of which they were bearers, or the answers given to them by individuals; hence misunderstandings arose, which were considered as acts of disobedience, and punished accordingly.

'In the civil administration, the Dictator made at first no material change. He contented himself with removing all men of independent spirit, and put creatures of his own in their places. He took upon himself exclusively the nomination of the cabildos and alcaldes, who, being originally the defenders of the rights of the people, were now converted into the servile instruments of despotism. He increased the number of circles or *comandancias*, which form the territorial division of Paraguay, and gave the administration of them to men who were devoted to his interests. He even changed the *zeladores*, a sort of subaltern police officers, whose care it was to watch over the public tranquillity. The religious orders also attracted his attention; here at least he effected a salutary reform by abolishing the Inquisition, of which there was a commission in the capital. The bishop having been affected by this event to such a degree as to lose his reason, the Dictator forced him to resign his powers to the Vicar-General *(Provisor)*, who then assumed the government of the diocess under the direction of Francia. Processions and the performance of divine service by night were prohibited, as tending to produce suspicious meetings.

'All these changes were not effected at once. The Dictator allowed his measures to keep pace with the growth of his power, and in the beginning had even a certain regard to appearances. His orders were less absolute, and he seemed anxious to justify them in the eyes of the public. In private he was more affable, and received visits of politeness from the civil functionaries, officers, and other persons of distinction. He did not then think it a disparagement to his dignity to offer them seats, nor did he oblige them to remain standing all the time that he was speaking to them, as was afterwards the case.

'In the mean time the three years of his dictatorship were on the point of expiring, and a new Congress was to assemble in 1817; but Francia took care that it should be composed of creatures of his own, employing for this purpose the commandants of the circles, and caused himself to be created Perpetual Dictator. Being once installed in this office, he acted without disguise, and soon undeceived his fellow citizens in regard to the nature of the power with which they had entrusted him. Some caricatures,

ridiculing his person, were pasted up at the corners of the streets. Those who had made them attributed them to the Spaniards, but Francia was not to be deceived, and ordered the real authors to be arrested and put in irons without any form of trial. As this measure only affected individuals who were not liked, and who had the name of being turbulent, their condemnation produced but little sensation in the public mind, and the less as since the time of the Spaniards, people were accustomed to see the government act as judge in its own cause. About this time an ancient colonel of Buenos Aires, named Valta Vargas, a native of Paraguay, was also put under arrest on suspicion of conspiring against the Dictator. This imprisonment was followed by several others, which however afforded no light upon the subject, although the incident served to increase in some degree his severity and distrust. From that time forward, when he went out on horseback, he used to be escorted by hussars; two before and one behind. It was their duty, in the first instance, to make the passengers keep to the sides of the streets as the Dictator passed. Afterwards they were directed to drive off roughly all who stood in the way. The sabre blows that were distributed on these occasions soon cured people of their curiosity, and thence forward the progress of the Dictator through the city was like traversing a desert.'

In the above account of the successive steps by which Dr Francia attained his present elevation, or as Shakspeare expresses it,

'The base degrees by which he did ascend,'

our readers will have noticed the analogy which we have already pointed out between his political course and that of Napoleon. The measures employed by both are no doubt such as are naturally suggested by the circumstances in which they stood, and might with some variations be repeated on different occasions, without any actual imitation. But in this instance the resemblance of names and incidents is too minute to be other than intentional. The transition from a democratic to a consular, and afterwards to a dictatorial or imperial government; the means used for gaining the assent of the legislative bodies; the contemptuous treatment of the inferior consul; all these circumstances, with others, which we need not recapitulate, prove that the Doctor had his eye upon a model of more recent date than the one described by Rollin. The same conclusion may also be drawn from the remarks which he made on the character of

Napoleon, at his first interview with our authors, which is described in the following extract. It would seem, that the Dictator had been somewhat less successful in copying the costume of his famous prototype than his conduct. We are told by our authors, that he had mistaken a German caricature of Napoleon, which had accidently fallen into his possession, for a correct likeness, and had been led in consequence to provide himself, as a part of his official dress, with one of those immense cocked hats, which the caricaturists, probably from a spirit of contradiction, have generally substituted for the uncommonly small and low three-cornered beaver, habitually worn by the 'man of destiny.'

'In September, 1818, we arrived at Corrientes, where we were forced to make a stay of eight months, nor did we succeed in obtaining from the authorities of that place permission to embark for Paraguay till May, 1819, when communications were finally re-established. It is from this period, that the events of which we have been eye-witnesses take their date; those which have been previously related are only the result of such information as during my residence in the country, I was able to obtain from the best authorities. On the thirtieth of July we landed at Assumption, and a few days afterwards were presented to the Dictator. He is a man of middling size, regular features, and the fine black eyes peculiar to the natives of South America, with a penetrating look expressive of distrust. On that day he had on his official dress, which was the uniform of a Spanish brigadier, that is, a blue gold-laced coat, white waistcoast and breeches, white silk stockings, and shoes with gold buckles. So splendid an equipment could not fail to excite our surprise, after having just seen the half naked condition of Artigas and his lieutenants. Dr Francia was then about sixty years of age, although he did not appear to be above fifty. He asked me several questions, with an air of superiority, and apparently with the intention of embarrassing me, but he soon after assumed a different tone. On my opening a portfolio to look for the papers I had to present to him, he perceived a portrait of Bonaparte, which I had placed there on purpose, knowing his admiration for the original. He took it up, and, on being told whom it represented, examined it with great interest. He then entered familiarly into conversation on the subject of the political affairs of Europe, with which I found him much better acquainted than I could have expected. He asked for news about Spain, and expressed the highest contempt for that country. The constitution of Louis the Eighteenth was not to his taste, and he gave a decided preference to the military government of Napoleon, of whose fall he spoke with regret. I

remarked, that in conversing upon his reign, he dwelt with pleasure on such circumstances as seemed to have any analogy with his own situation. He reproached us, as Swiss, with our wretched campaign of 1815, and applied to us the fable, in which the dying lion receives a kick from a certain long-eared animal. But the principal topic of his conversation was the friars, whom he accused of pride, depravity of manners, and a disposition to intrigue. He declaimed violently against the tendency visible in the clergy in general to resist the authority of government. In order to give us a more perfect idea of his principles in this respect, he declared that if the Holy Father himself were to come to Paraguay, he should be nothing more than his chaplain. He appeared to anticipate the return of fanaticism and superstition in Europe, and insisted on the necessity of crushing the monastic spirit in time before America became infected with this new contagion. The reëstablishment of the Jesuits in Europe, which we announced as being realized in part, seemed to him incredible; so great was, in his opinion, the folly of this measure. When we mentioned the emancipation of America, he at once discovered the ardor of his devotion to the cause, and declared his fixed resolution to defend it against all enemies. The ideas which he expressed in regard to the mode of governing these new nations, in their present imperfect state of civilization, appeared to me very correct; but unfortunately he has made no application of any of them in his own country. He condescended to show us his library, which, though small, is the only one in Paraguay. We there saw, by the side of the best Spanish authors, the works of Voltaire, Rousseau, Raynal, Rollin, Laplace, &c. which he had procured since the revolution. He had also some mathematical instruments and geographical charts, and among these the most correct map of Paraguay to be found in the country. It was made by Don Felix de Azara, at the time of the demarkation of the boundaries, which took place during the last twenty years of the preceding century, and presented by the author to the Cabildo of Assumption. It has never been published. As the Dictator was sometimes seen studying the celestial globe, and by means of his map displayed a perfect knowledge of the country without ever having travelled over it, the inhabitants were persuaded, that he conversed with the stars. He has, however, never availed himself of this circumstance to impose upon their credulity; but on the contrary exerts himself in removing the prejudices, which his countrymen have imbibed. He dismissed us with the following words—"Do what you please, profess what religion you choose; no one shall molest you; only take care not to meddle with the affairs of my government." This advice we did not fail to follow, and on his part the Dictator

faithfully kept his word. On taking my leave, I left the portrait of Bonaparte on the table, thinking that it would be acceptable to him. He, however, sent it back to me with an officer, who was directed to ask me what I would take for it. As I did not like to set a price on an article in itself of little value, and as the Dictator made it a rule never to accept presents, the portrait remained in my possession. I was the more surprised at this from the circumstance of his having shown me in his cabinet a caricature, published at Nuremberg, which represented his hero, and which he in good earnest considered as a portrait, till I explained to him a German inscription, that was at the foot of this wretched print, on which he seemed to set so great a value. It was doubtless this caricature that suggested to him the idea of assuming as a part of his dress the enormous *chapeau-bras*, in which Bonaparte was there represented.'

The following extract, which forms the last chapter of the work, describes the personal habits of Francia, and seems to come in naturally in connexion with the above passage.

'In order to finish the portrait of the personage, who is the chief subject of the present essay, I now proceed to give some details of his domestic life; and shall add some facts for which a place could not be found before, and which seem well calculated to explain the character of this extraordinary man.

'It has been already mentioned that Dr Francia, as soon as he had the sole direction of the public affairs, took up his lodgings in the residence of the former governors. This building is one of the largest in Assumption; it was constructed by the Jesuits a little before their suppression, and was used by them as a house for retreat, in which the lay brothers performed certain religious exercises prescribed by St Ignatius. The Dictator had it repaired, and gave to the exterior of it an air of elegance not usual in the country, and opening wide streets all round, made it stand apart from the other houses. His establishment consists of four slaves, namely, a negro boy, a mulatto man, and two mulatto women. One of the latter superintends the kitchen, and the other has charge of the wardrobe. In his habits he is extremely regular. The first rays of the sun hardly ever find him in bed. As soon as he rises, the negro brings a chafing dish, a tea-kettle, and a pitcher of water, which is heated in his presence. The Dictator then prepares, with his own hands and with all possible care, his *maté* or Paraguay tea. Having taken this, he walks awhile in an inner gallery which looks out upon the court, and smokes a cigar, taking care first to unrol it lest it should contain anything poisonous, although his cigars are made by his own sister. At six o'clock comes the barber, a dirty, ill dressed, drunken mulatto,

who, however, is the only one of the faculty, in whose hands the Dictator will trust himself. If in good humor, he will condescend to chat with this person, and often prepares the public through his means for the projects he has in contemplation; thus making him his official gazette. After this, having put on a calico morning-gown, he takes a turn in the outer gallery, which goes all round the house, and receives such individuals as have been admitted to an audience. At seven o'clock he retires to his cabinet, and remains there till nine. The military and civil officers then make their appearance, to give in their reports and receive orders. At eleven the *fiel de fecho* brings in the papers that are to be presented to him, and writes *à la dictée* till twelve. At this hour the secretaries retire, and Francia sits down to table. His dinner is frugal, and is prepared according to his own directions. On her return from market, the cook lays out the articles purchased before the door of her master's cabinet, who, on coming out, sets apart the things he intends for his own use. After dinner he takes his *siesta*, and then his *matê* and cigar, as in the morning. He then attends to business till four or five, when the escort arrives to accompany him on his ride. The hair-dresser now attends him while the horse is saddling. This being done, the Dictator goes out to visit the public works or the barracks, especially those of the cavalry, in which he has apartments for his reception. In these excursions, although attended by an escort, he goes armed not only with a sabre, but with a pair of double-barreled pocket pistols. On his return home about nightfall he applies himself to his studies. At nine he takes his supper, which consists of a roast pidgeon and a glass of wine. If the weather be fine, he then takes another walk in the gallery, which he sometimes does not quit till very late. At ten he gives the order for the ensuing day; and, upon retiring to rest, locks with his own hands all the doors of the house. During several months in the year he resides at the barracks of the cavalry, which are situated out of the town, about a quarter of a league from his ordinary residence; and here his manner of life is the same, except that from time to time he goes out to hunt. In all the rooms which he occupies, there are arms within reach; pistols are suspended from the walls, or placed by his side at table; and sabres, generally unsheathed, are to be found in every corner. Precautions of the same kind are observed in the etiquette prescribed for giving audience. The person admitted is not to approach the Dictator nearer than six paces, until invited by him, and even then not nearer than three. He must let his arms hang down in a line with his body, and the hands in the same position, and open, that it may be seen that they conceal no weapon. Neither civil nor military officers must presume to appear before him with swords by their sides. Never-

theless he likes that people should look at him while speaking to him, and that their answers should be prompt and decisive. One day he desired me to ascertain, by examination, whether the natives of Paraguay had not a bone too much in their necks, which prevented them from lifting up their heads and speaking out.

'At the beginning of a conversation he always tries to intimidate, but when his first onset is sustained with firmness, he becomes more mild, and ends by conversing agreeably if in good humor. It is then that the man of superior talents may be recognised; for in the course of his conversation, which turns upon a great variety of objects, he discovers a depth of understanding, a degree of penetration, and an extent of information beyond what could be expected in one, who, it may almost be said, has never been out of Paraguay. Free from the numberless prejudices entertained by his countrymen, he often makes them the subject of his pleasantry. Thus, at an interview which I had with him, he laughed a good deal at the expense of the commandant and curate of Curuguaty, who had sent him a poor woman in chains and loaded with an enormous rosary, transmitting with her a report of her trial, from which it appeared that she was a sorceress. From this he went on to describe the various magical arts practised by the people in cases of sickness, and the cures which they attributed to them, and finished by saying, "You may judge by this of the use of priests and religion among these people; they serve to make them believe in the devil, rather than in God."

'The conscience of men is a sanctuary which history itself cannot but respect; but this rule ought not to be extended to public acts, by which the supreme head of a government discloses his religious opinions. I therefore presume there will be no impropriety in mentioning, that, though in the early periods of his elevation he used regularly to hear mass on Sundays in one of the chapels of the barracks, and attended service at the cathedral on great holy-days, he soon after ceased to appear at all at church, and in 1820 dismissed his chaplain. From that time he has been a stranger to every kind of worship, and has never ceased exclaiming against the established religion. One of the commandants having asked him, on some occasion, for the image of a saint, in order to place it as a patron in a fort that had been just built. "How long," said he, "men of Paraguay, will you continue to be idiots? while I was a catholic, I thought as you do; but I have since discovered that cannon balls are the best saints to guard our frontiers." In our first audience, on being informed of our religion, "Profess whatever you please," said he, "be Christians, Jews, or Mahometans, but not atheists."

'Whenever the Dictator is seized with a fit of spleen, he either shuts himself up for several days without attending to business, or

else vents his ill humor upon everything round him. The *employés*, the officers, soldiers, all are equally exposed to ill treatment. He then launches out into invectives and threats against his enemies, real or supposed. It is on these occasions especially that he orders arrests and inflicts the severest punishments, and even thinks it a mere trifle to pronounce a sentence of death.

'The state of the weather seems to have a considerable influence upon his temper; at least it has been remarked, that when the northeast wind prevails, these fits are much more frequent. This wind, which is attended with humidity and a suffocating heat, produces frequent and sudden showers, and makes a very unfavorable impression on people of irritable nerves, or who suffer from obstruction in the liver or the lower intestines. When, however, the west wind blows, which is dry and fresh, the Dictator is generally in a pleasant state of mind. He then sings and laughs by himself, and converses agreeably with all those who approach him.

'Whatever may be said of the unevenness of his temper, there is at least one laudable quality in which he is constant, I mean his disinterestedness. No less liberal in his personal expenses than sparing of the public money, he pays in cash for everything he stands in need of. His private fortune has derived no improvement from his elevation. He never received a present, and is always in arrears for the receipt of his appointments; in this respect even his greatest enemies do him justice. On several occasions, he has proved himself no stranger to a sense of gratitude. Having one day been informed that a young man of a family of Cordova, in whose house he had been admitted in his youth, happened to be at Assumption in the greatest distress, he ordered him to be sent for, and after giving him some hundred francs, made him his secretary. He also sometimes remembers his schoolmates, and never fails to afford them his assistance when they want it. But he loses the recollection of every service, and acknowledges neither relations nor dependants, from the moment he sees anything like resistance to his authority, or a want of respect towards his person. To omit giving him the title of *Excelentisimo Señor*, is an unpardonable sin, although he himself *thous* all but foreigners; a habit which he has acquired by degrees and in proportion as his power has been confirmed. "You are to pay to me as much respect as you would to your king, and even more," said he to a foreigner, the subject of a monarch; "for I can do you more good and more harm than he can." Several of his favorites have fallen into disgrace for attempting to put themselevs on too familiar a footing with him. Others have been put in irons for arrogating to themselves a power which had not been conferred. Two of his nephews, who had been officers in

the troops of the line, from the beginning of the revolution, were the first whom he dismissed from the service shortly after having got himself made dictator; and this merely because he apprehended that they might avail themselves to his prejudice of the circumstances of their position. Hence it was, that any fault committed by them was punished with much more severity than those of the other officers; one of them was put in irons, and kept in that state for the space of four years, for having struck some person who had insulted him at a ball; another was confined in a public prison during a whole year for having made use of one of the musicians of a regiment in giving a serenade. In fine, his sister, the only person towards whom he ever showed any lasting attachment, and who had the care of his countryhouse, was sent home to her family for having employed a *zelador* to punish one of the slaves.

'It is easy to conceive that, being so extremely jealous of his authority, the Dictator could never have a confidant; in fact, he never took the advice of any one in anything he ever did, nor can any one boast of having exercised the slightest influence over him. If then he sooner or later meet with the fate reserved for almost all oppressors of their country, he will have no one to blame but himself.'

Our authors enter at considerable length into an account of the administration of the Dictator in its several departments, but we have not room to follow them here in detail, and must refer our readers for information on these points to the work itself. The authority of Francia is sustained by a little regular army of about five thousand men, mostly cavalry, well armed, equipped, and disciplined, and stationed at the capital. As the whole population of the country is supposed to be something short of two hundred thousand souls, dispersed over a territory not less extensive than the kingdom of France, this power is amply sufficient to effect its object and to keep up a continual reign of terror. The regular troops are composed exclusively of Creole whites, who constitute about seven tenths of the population, the other three tenths being made up of Indians, blacks, and mulattoes, together with about eight hundred Spaniards. There is beside the regular army an establishment of militia, in which every individual of whatever race is enrolled upon reaching the age of seventeen, and which consists, in the whole, of twenty thousand persons. It is occasionally employed in aid of the troops, but it is on these that the Dictator places his dependence for the security of his power. To make assurance doubly sure, he has resorted to various other measures

of precaution, among which are the secularization of all ecclesiastical property, and the assumption by himself of the functions of head of the church. In this respect, he has gone one step beyond his imperial prototype, and copied the policy of Henry the Eighth of England. The bishop of the disocess, as we have already remarked, was driven to madness by these proceedings, in his opinion, no doubt, the consummation of sacrilege and tyranny, but which our authors are disposed to view with some degree of favor. For the same purpose, he interdicted all communications with foreigners, not only personal but epistolary, and for the better attainment of this object entirely suppressed the postoffice. The measures adopted for the immediate safety of his own person are not less rigid; and when he happens to be seized with one of his habitual fits of ill humor, he is apt to carry them upon the slightest provocation to some new and extraordinary excess. On one occasion, a poor woman was sent to prison for approaching the window of his palace, and her husband, though not with her at the time, was obliged to share her fate. Not satisfied with taking this severe notice of so enormous an offence, the Dictator immediately ordered the sentinel on duty at the door to shoot every person whom he should see looking at the house. It seems that the learned Doctor concentrates in his own person the functions of commissary and quartermaster general and particular, as well as those of pope and dictator, and delivers out himself to the soldiers on guard the ammunition that is wanted. On the occasion alluded to, the Dictator, exasperated almost to madness by this failure of respect for his person (as he was pleased to consider it), the wind probably blowing fresh from the northeast, brought out a second musket charged with ball to the sentinel at the door, and addressed him as follows; 'If you see any body fix his eyes on this house, fire upon him. If you miss the first time, fire again,' (handing him the second musket.) 'If you miss a second time, I shall take care not to miss you.' It is rather singular, that after issuing this order, he should have been so much at a loss to account for the down look of his loving subjects, as to inquire of our authors into the anatomical conformation of their necks. The fact was pretty soon known through the capital, and the citizens took good care either not to pass the giant's castle or to look the other way. But about a fortnight after, a poor native, fresh from the country, took the liberty, in the indulgence of a not unnatural

curiosity, to turn his eyes in the prohibited direction, and was actually fired upon by the soldier on guard. The Dictator, upon hearing the report, came out to inquire what was the matter, and on learning the offence of the Indian, revoked the order, pretending to forget that he had ever issued it.

Notwithstanding these rigorous precautions, the Dictator has not succeeded in stifling completely the opinions of his countrymen. He has been annoyed, on the contrary, by a succession of conspiracies, formed by the most respectable and wealthy citizens; the discovery of which has led in turn to still more violent measures of prevention and punishment. It is in fact the great vice of all usurped authority, that it can only be maintained by the continual repetition of acts still more odious and sanguinary than those by which it must necessarily be acquired. The common feelings of human nature cannot be wholly overcome. They must and will break out in frequent attempts to throw off the unnatural pressure imposed upon them, while the usurper, if he succeed in defeating these, is compelled in self-defence to visit their authors with exemplary punishment. It is somewhat consoling to reflect, that even in this remote corner of christendom, inhabited by a mixed and scanty population, there has been found spirit enough to keep the tyrant in a state of continual alarm for his personal safety, and probably in the end to effect his overthrow, especially if the neighboring republic of Buenos Aires shall ever acquire stability and consistency enough to be able to aid her sister province in this good work.

Immediately after Francia declared himself dictator for life, a conspiracy against him was entered into by most of the leading citizens, in concert with an agent of Puerrydon, then supreme dictator at Buenos Aires, who came to Assumption for this purpose. The plot was maturing in secret for two years, and was to have been put in execution on Good Friday of 1820; but during the preceding Lent, one of the conspirators unluckily discovered it in confession to a friar, who ordered him to reveal it immediately to the Dictator, which he did. A number of the principal inhabitants, including the *quondam* Pompey of our new Cæsar, Don Fulgencio Yegros, were in consequence arrested and detained in close confinement. Meanwhile Ramirez, one of the independent chiefs of the neighboring country, who, after acting some time under the command of Artigas, had finally turned upon the latter, and succeeded in getting possession of the province of Entre Rios,

previously under his government, attempted to open friendly relations with Francia, and for this purpose sent envoys to Assumption. The Dictator exhibited on this occasion much the same respect for the law of nations, which was shown by the Dey of Algiers in the case of the French consul, reported in very good verse by the late Premier of Great Britain, in the 'Antijacobin,' and threw the envoys into prison. Ramirez, upon this, began to place himself in a hostile attitude and entered into a secret correspondence with the discontented citizens of Paraguay, which was also unfortunately detected. Alarmed at this new enterprise, the Dictator now brought his prisoners to trial, and as they were successively convicted, parties of eight or ten of them were executed every three or four weeks for two years in succession. Their wives and relations generally shared their fate. Finally all the Spaniards in the country, to the amount of eight hundred, were sent to prison *en masse*, where a part of them died of the effects of ill treatment, and the rest were only released upon the payment of such contributions as reduced them to ruin. The victims of these inhuman proceedings generally exhibited a manly firmness, highly honorable to the national character, and our authors mention a number of interesting anecdotes of the conduct of the sufferers, which we would gladly extract did our limits allow it.

The ultimate result of these continual prosecutions was, however, to break, for the time, the spirits of the people, and to plunge the whole community into a sort of gloomy despondency. These people, say our authors, naturally not very communicative, now lived entirely apart from each other. There were no more social meetings or entertainments. Even the women lost their privilege of talking, and the guitar, before the inseparable companion of the Paraguays, became silent. There ensued a sort of blank desolation and stupor, which ended in making every one insensible to any misery but his own. If a man fell under the Dictator's displeasure he was, as it were, struck with a curse. Nobody could visit him without exciting suspicion. Every one who sought to communicate with a state prisoner was immediately arrested. This happened to several wives, who had said a few words through a grate to their husbands. While terror thus reigned in the capital, the other cities and the country were not better off. Under pretext of taking precautions against rebellion, the civil and military authorities committed the most arbitrary acts, and

thus avenged themselves on the people for the base submission they were obliged to show to the Dictator. Fines, imprisonments, and executions succeeded each other without intermission, and the subalterns pursued their course with perfect freedom, for they knew that the Dictator was inaccessible to remorse or pity.

Among the measures of Francia, which our authors are disposed to regard with some degree of favor, are his attempts to improve the internal condition of the country and to encourage agriculture and manufactures. But however laudable the object, the means employed by the Dictator for effecting it are, we fear, such as would ill suit the taste of our public; and with all our zeal in the cause of improvement we should certainly object to their use in this country. Terror seems to be the only instrument resorted to by the ruler of Paraguay in this, as in every other part of his administration. Wishing to encourage the manufacture of leather belts, he directed, as a preliminary step, that a gallows should be raised before the door of his principal shoemaker. This being done, he sent him the order for the article wanted, with a proviso that if it were not executed to his mind, the workman should be forthwith hanged. On another occasion he sent a blacksmith to the galleys for finishing, as he thought, in a slovenly way, one of the screws belonging to a gun carriage. But the most extensive and remarkable operation of this description was the attempt of the Dictator to improve the appearance of his capital. It was the boast of Augustus, that he found Rome of brick and should leave it of marble. Our new Cæsar having succeeded so well in copying the example of the first of the name, was probably encouraged to imitate the second. It seems to have been his first object, in carrying this plan into effect, to convert the city into a heap of ruins, and thus far he has to all appearances admirably succeeded. Whether he will be equally fortunate in the second and not less important part of the undertaking, that of building it up again in a better form, is still uncertain. The following extract, which contains an account of these proceedings, may also interest the reader, by the description it gives of a place but little known abroad.

'A calamity of a different kind now befell the capital, for which it was indebted to the Dictator. It will be recollected, that at the time of discovering the conspiracy of 1820, he entertained the idea of rendering the city more regular, which however was

not then realized, as he had fixed on no particular plan for the purpose. Assumption is built on a declivity, in some parts rather rapid, and bordering on the river Paraguay. The streets are crooked, irregular, and for the most part so narrow, that they might more properly be called lanes. The houses being of one story only, and generally separated from each other by the interposition of trees, shrubs, little gardens, and grass plots, present the appearance of a village rather than a city. Springs of water, gushing out on all sides, form rivulets, and make the ground marshy, while the rain-water, in its descent down the declivity, has cut furrows in the greater part of the streets. Such was the town which the Dictator undertook to divide into quarters or wards, without paying the least regard to the damage that must accrue to the inhabitants. The place certainly stood in need of a better distribution and the streets required to be made larger and to be kept cleaner, but the disposition of the houses and the vegetation that surrounded them were, as regards salubrity as well as convenience, well suited to a tropical climate and a sandy soil. In 1821 he commenced laying out streets in the part of the town which was least populous, making them run from N. W. to S. E. with others crossing them from N. E. to S. W., all from thirty-five to forty feet wide. These new streets served as a rule to go by in the opening of other parallel ones through the whole city. There was a space of about a hundred paces between each of them, although when a public building happened to lie in the way this space was reduced or augmented, as the case required. The same privilege, however, was not extended to private houses. When a new street was to be opened, the Dictator would point out to his master mason, who was also his engineer, the direction in which he was to drive the stakes, and sometimes superintended this operation personally when he took his afternoon's walk. After this he used to send to the proprietors of the houses which stood upon the line the order for pulling them down; yet this was only a preliminary measure, serving to facilitate the execution of his plan, for the ultimate direction of the street, in passing from one side to the other of the demolished houses, rendered further devastation unavoidable. In this way did ignorance and arbitrary power unite to desolate the capital; and many buildings which would finally have been found to stand not more than twenty-five or thirty feet within the line drawn, were devoted to destruction. The rubbish of these ruins was employed in levelling the streets and filling up the furrows and other sinuosities of the soil, and where the declivity was too great, it was corrected by means of steps. Three new squares were made, and an old one was enlarged, and, finally, to render the streets dry, the Dictator obliged the proprietors of grounds where springs of water existed to stop them up.

'These supposed improvements went on but slowly; for it often happened, that a fall of rain would destroy in one night the labor of a fortnight, and it repeatedly became necessary to begin the whole work over again. The streets were not paved, and the water which poured upon them in torrents in the rainy season would wash away the materials used for levelling them and open fresh ravines in an incredibly short space of time. In consequence of these proceedings many houses now no longer stood upon a level with the street, the foundations of a great number had been sapped by the rain, and some of them tumbled to the ground from the water having penetrated beneath them and removed the light soil on which they stood. Others were undermined by the springs, which had been filled up, and which naturally sought a new outlet. In a word, so great was the destruction, that at the end of four years, the capital of Paraguay had all the appearance of a town which had suffered a bombardment of several months. Nearly half the buildings had disappeared, the streets were bordered with hedges of dry stakes, and of the houses that remained scarcely any presented an entire front. As it appeared to the Dictator that further changes might be necessary, the erecting of new houses was only permitted in the more remote parts of the town. In the mean time it was his intention, after paving the principal streets, to oblige the rich inhabitants of the country to construct other houses in such spots as he should determine, in order to rebuild the town; and he actually laid the foundations of several with the idea of their being afterwards sold to them. He used to say that the place in future should be inhabited by Paraguays and not by the Spaniards, who till then had been in possession of the best houses. There was nothing to check his progress—he had only to command; so that it may be presumed he will experience no more difficulty in rebuilding the new town than he had in destroying the old one. He caused several hundred houses to be pulled down, without making any kind of indemnification to the owners, or giving himself the least trouble about what became of them or their families. Each individual was obliged to demolish his own dwelling. If he pleaded a want of the necessary means, the convicts were directed to do it for him, and were allowed to carry away with them whatever they pleased.

'Although no expense whatever was incurred in reïmbursing the proprietors, yet it will naturally be presumed, that this undertaking cost the state considerable sums. The Dictator, however, only paid the master workmen, and for the execution of the work employed a few hundred convicts. The peasants furnished the materials, at their own expense, and when the work to be performed lay out of the capital, they were required to send laborers,

It was in this way that all the forts on the frontiers were erected, as also various barracks and other buildings at Neembucu, Assumption, and Villa Real. In this way, too, several new roads were opened through the forests, and others which had been injured by the rains were repaired and enlarged; and, in fine, it was by this means that the Dictator was enabled to collect at the capital a large quantity of materials, to be employed in the erection of some forty houses, which were to be let for account of the state. The people of the country were every hour called away from the labors of the field by requisitions, either of their persons or their cattle; in addition to which the *leva* or impressment, an ancient Spanish custom, is frequently practised, and by means of it are assembled men, beasts, carts, utensils, and whatever else is to be found in the streets of a nature to be employed in any sort of work. At Assumption the officers, and even common soldiers, avail themselves of this practice for their own account; and although this is done without the knowledge of the Dictator, the effects resulting from it are not the less injurious, since the peasants are thereby prevented from coming into town to sell their productions.'

We believe, that we have now given to the Dictator of Paraguay nearly as much space as he has a right to claim, or as our readers will think him entitled to. Before we leave the subject it may be proper to mention the circumstances, under which our authors obtained permission to depart. They are detailed in the following extract, which also gives some additional particulars of the personal habits and conversation of Francia.

'At the beginning of the year, 1825, the Dictator received from Mr Parish, his Britannic Majesty's chargé d'affaires at Buenos Aires, the notification of a treaty of commerce, which had just been concluded between England and that republic, one of the most important results of which was to be the recognition of the republics of South America. On making this communication, Mr Parish requested, that the English merchants who might be at Paraguay, should be permitted to depart with their property. The news of this recognition had its effect. The Dictator ordered the English to put their ships in readiness, but allowed them to be manned by foreigners and negroes only. He also prohibited the exportation of any other articles but such as they had been able to procure with their own funds. Thus a vessel, which had been sold upon credit by a Spaniard to an Englishman, was confiscated and lost to the former, who was ignorant of this prohibition. They took their departure in the months of March and April. The Dictator, in order to justify the captivity of the British, wrote to Mr Parish, by the first vessel that sailed, saying that

his Britannic Majesty's subjects had only shared the fate, which the force of circumstances had imposed upon all the inhabitants of Paraguay, and that as they had come of their own accord, and without being sent for, they could have no reason to complain.

'In allowing the English to depart, however, he was anxious to avoid the appearance of having yielded to necessity. He accordingly authorized Don José Tomas Ysaci, a Paraguay by birth, to go upon the same voyage with two brigs. This gentleman, who was one of the first merchants of Paraguay, had paid us every attention, and in addition to the various proofs he had given us of his friendship, he now offered to convey us to Buenos Aires, in case we could obtain our passports. This then was the moment for making such a request to the Dictator, especially as other foreigners were allowed to depart. On the twenty-seventh of March I called on him for this purpose; but he was engaged, and I retired. He, however, called me back almost immediately and desired to know what I wanted, but, without giving any answer to my petition, directed me to go and examine some forty recruits who had just been taken ill. Having made this visit, I returned to give an account of it. He then addressed several questions to me on the subject of my travels in the interior of Paraguay and my intention of publishing the result of my observations. The recognition of the new republics by England seemed to give him great satisfaction, and in speaking of it he observed, that the French had done wrong to allow themselves to be forestalled by the British. "The analogy," said he, "in the character of the two nations, the identity of religion, and the nature of the products of French industry seemed to demand the establishment of such relations, and the commerce of France would have been made to flow by their means through a new and most important channel. But this government, instead of signalizing itself by an act of liberality, which would have been quite in conformity with the interests of the nation, has preferred supporting a tottering throne by means of a ruinous expedition, the effect of which can only be to retard its downfall. With me it would not be a matter of surprise to see them attack our republics in the name of Ferdinand the Seventh, and this is one of my reasons for not allowing the departure of the French. As respects your case, I shall take it into consideration." Nearly two months elapsed before I obtained the reply of the Dictator to my request and before the ships of Mr Ysaci, which had been ready ever since the beginning of May, got permission to sail.

'Under these circumstances, I began to lose hopes of being able to profit by this opportunity for leaving Paraguay, and the more so as the Dictator had intimated to me his design of giving me forthwith the inspection of the troops that were to be brought

into actual service, as also the direction of a new military hospital, which he was about to establish, in regard to the situation of which it would be necessary that I should be consulted. At length, on the morning of the twenty-fifth of May, the Dictator furnished the necessary papers for the departure of one of the brigs of Mr Ysaci, and gave an order for her sailing at one P. M. At eleven an officer brought me my passport and that of Mr Longchamp, with an order on the public treasury, in payment for the services I had rendered the state, as a physician, to which was added a license, not often granted, for exporting the cash. The short space of two hours was all the time we had for arranging our affairs and packing up our collections of natural history, which consisted in a great measure of very delicate objects; but there was no room for hesitation, nor any other alternative but to go at once or run the risk of not getting out of Paraguay till after the death of the Dictator. We, therefore, set about packing, in a hasty manner, a part of our collections and most necessary effects, leaving the rest under the care of persons of confidence, and went on board the vessel, which immediately weighed anchor. We departed at the appointed hour, followed by the good wishes of a multitude of spectators, who upon this occasion had assembled on the quay.

'A French navy officer, Captain Hervaud, who had come to Assumption in 1821, with the command of one of the ships of Mr Ysaci, embarked with us. This worthy man, who, by the effect of three shipwrecks, had lost a considerable fortune, believed himself doomed to remain prisoner for life at Paraguay, when Mr Ysaci, by representing the age, the misfortunes, and the prudent conduct of this officer, succeeded in obtaining from the Dictator the permission to place him on the list of the ship's crew. Another, though a less agreeable part of our company, were five friars whom the Dictator would not allow to be secularized, and who were now sent out of the country. Five more, who were taken out of the state prison, were disposed of in the same manner, and embarked on board a vessel belonging to Mr José de Maria, which was to sail the following day.

'Thus, after residing six years at Paraguay, four of them against our wills, we were suffered to leave the country. It is but doing justice to Dr Francia to declare, that in all this time he never threw any obstacles in the way of our pursuits, but that, on the contrary, he has more than once showed us marks of kindness. Happy should I be, were it in my power to say as much of his administration. As respects the inhabitants of Paraguay, Creoles as well as Spaniards, their general conduct towards us was such as to give us the greatest satisfaction, and we shall at all times entertain a grateful remembrance of the hospitable reception which they gave us.'

The general result of the information conveyed by the entertaining little work before us, seems to be, that the fine province of Paraguay is now laboring under a most ruthless and sanguinary system of oppression; and that the spirits of the people are so completely crushed, that there is but little chance of their obtaining relief by their own unassisted exertions. It cannot be doubted, however, that the republic of Buenos Aires, to which Paraguay naturally belongs, will seize the first moment of recovered tranquillity to come to the assistance of her unfortunate neighbor. In the mean time we cannot but hope, that the sentiment of mingled horror and disgust with which these disclosures of the character and proceedings of Francia have been received throughout the civilized world, will have some effect in deterring such of the other revolutionary leaders of Spanish America as may have formed projects similar to those which he has executed, from carrying them into full effect. The friends of humanity and liberty will have reason to regret the separation of these colonies from the mother country, if they have only exchanged a foreign yoke, however oppressive, (and oppressive it was to an extent of which the public was hardly aware until the appearance of the late authentic work of Juan and Ulloa) for the bloody, and at the same burlesque despotism, of such characters as the Supreme and Perpetual Dictator of Paraguay.

Our authors allude, at the close of their Preface, to a succession of paragraphs respecting the political situation of Paraguay, which have appeared in the French newspapers from time to time during the last two years, and have, we believe, been in part reprinted in those of our own country. They furnish a curious instance of *mystification;* and we extract with the more readiness what is said upon the subject in the present work, as we are able to add some further particulars from our own knowledge.

'As the reader may be surprised not to find anything in this work corresponding with the accounts lately given of Paraguay in the newspapers, it seems necessary to give some explanations upon this subject. It was in the *Mémorial Bordelais* that these accounts were first published, and they subsequently appeared in the greater part of the continental journals.

'Dr Francia was represented at first as governing in the name of the queen dowager of Portugal. Afterwards it was insinuated, that the emperor Don Pedro had made overtures to the Dictator for the union of Paraguay with the Brazils, and that the latter in the

mean time was negociating at Madrid, where he had commissioners. Some time after was brought forward one of his envoys named Le Fort, Marquis of Guarany, and Generalissimo of the army of Paraguay. Finally, Dr Francia was said to have abdicated in favor of this marquis, to have committed the reins of government during his absence to the Secretary Zapidas, and to have retired to Villa Real del Pilar. But all of a sudden, and without any one knowing how, he was seen to reäppear at the head of the government, proclaiming the independence of Paraguay, assembling and presiding over a congress of provinces, some of which belong to the Upper Peru, and others to the confederation of the river La Plata, and ultimately declaring war against the Brazils.

'The frequency of these communications, coming from a country that lay under an interdict, was well calculated to excite surprise, more especially as the merchants of Buenos Aires who were most interested in these changes, were entirely ignorant of them, as also the English editors. For myself I saw at once the apocryphal character of these reports (of which I have only mentioned a few); for independently of the numerous contradictions which they contain, they are in themselves evidently false. All the names mentioned in them are misapplied. There never was in Paraguay any person of the name of Le Fort or any Marquis of Guarany, no more than a Bernardo Zapidas, or a Galician called Abendano, who, for having been concerned in an insurrection, was to have been shot. As respects the brother and brother-in-law of the dictator, who were said to have accompanied him to Villa del Pilar, the first is in a state of insanity and the other is kept in irons. After this, let the reader determine what degree of credit he ought to give to the accounts of the twenty thousand regular troops, of the navy, the legions, the generalissimo, the commodore, the supreme tribunal of justice, the superior board of finance, the deputies of the departments and the rich exports, which have afforded so much matter to the paragraphs alluded to, since they are deficient in every circumstance, even in the general notions of geography, necessary to give them an air of truth. One of the facts stated, however, admits of no doubt. A self-styled envoy of Dr Francia, calling himself Le Fort, Marquis of Guarany, has in fact appeared at Madrid. May not this person have been the author of this long *mystification*, of which the newspapers were the involuntary instruments, and have resorted to it for want of other means to accredit his mission? At first he was, as I have been assured, very well received by the government; but the imposture being no doubt discovered, he found it necessary to break off the negotiations and quit Spain, as is stated in one of the abovementioned articles.

'From the last letters which have reached me from Buenos Aires, I have reason to believe that Paraguay continues in the same state as when we left it. The communications with that country have even become more difficult, for the vessel that brought us over has not been able to obtain permission to return to it.'

The article alluded to in the above extract, which mentions the departure of the *soi-disant* Marquis de Guarany from Spain, is not more correct than the rest of the series, and we are able to state from our own knowledge, that the person in question is at this moment in prison at Madrid. It appears that he came from Rio Janeiro to Lisbon, and thence proceeded to Spain somewhere about the commencement of 1825. He gave himself out as an agent of Francia, and also of the (now dowager) queen of Portugal, sister of the king of Spain. At this time he is known to have had the command of considerable sums of money, and it does not seem to be ascertained from what quarter he obtained his supplies; but it is considered certain, that his pretence of a political commission from the abovementioned personages was entirely apocryphal. Upon arriving in Spain, he immediately attached himself to the Apostolic party, and engaged in the conspiracy fomented by the clergy in the autumn of 1825, which ended in the premature explosion of Bessières. He was found to be deeply committed by the discoveries made on this occasion, and was put under arrest. A few weeks after the suppression of the plot, as our readers will recollect, a revolution occurred in the Spanish cabinet in favor of the party which contrived it; and the Duke del Infantado was appointed secretary of state. The proceedings against the persons implicated in the conspiracy were immediately stopped, and among the rest our adventurer was set at liberty. He appears, however, to have contracted a sort of attachment for the place of his confinement, for he continued, by an arrangement with the jailor, to retain his lodgings in the prison, and resided there, though at liberty, for several months. During this period, the succession of paragraphs alluded to by our authors in the above extract were published in the French papers, having been undoubtedly written and sent on by him from Madrid. In one of these, he declared, as the latest news from Paraguay, that Francia had abdicated in his favor, and that he was, at the moment of writing, supreme and perpetual dictator of that country. The Spanish government, aware, no

doubt, of the origin of this intelligence, now thought it time to interfere. The personage in question being still at his lodgings in the jail, they directed the keeper to turn the key upon him, and *un beau matin* he found himself again under arrest. He is now on trial for forging the signature of the Queen of Portugal, and may think himself fortunate if the affair end with nothing worse than confinement for life. It is understood that this adventurer has never even visited Paraguay. His real name is Fort, and not, as above described, Le Fort; but he also lays claim to two or three others. He pretends to be a descendant from Sebastian Cabot, and in order to give himself some appearance of connexion with individuals in Paraguay who are known abroad, he also assumes the name of Yegros, one of the principal Creole families, which has been repeatedly mentioned in this article. His style and title, as written out by himself at full length, are as follows, *Don J. A. Fort de Yegros y Cabot, Marques de Guarany.* This last name, as our readers are aware, is that of one of the principal tribes of Indians inhabiting the territory of Paraguay, but is not known there as the designation of any particular family.

ART. VII.—1. *A View of West Florida.* By JOHN LEE WILLIAMS. With a Map. Philadelphia. 1827.

2. *Letters of the* Hon. J. M. WHITE, Delegate of the Territory of Florida.

3. *Answers of* DAVID B. M'COMB, Esq., *with an accompanying Letter of* General LAFAYETTE. Tallahassee.

THE country which bears the beautiful name of *Florida*, has been the theme of numerous writers, and the scene of many adventures, since the discovery of America. The shores of the Gulf of Mexico, lying opposite the islands of Cuba and St Domingo, would naturally be the first points of discovery on the continent. Hence the discovery of the coast of Florida, and that of New Spain, were almost simultaneous, and in consequence, North America was at first designated by these two names alone. The name of Florida, however, was gradually confined to a narrower space, by the French settlements in Canada, and by the successive establishments of the British

on the Atlantic coast. Spain, claiming the whole of the continent in virtue of the right of discovery and the pope's bull, viewed every settlement by other European powers as an encroachment; hence the numerous hostile occurrences between her and the colonies of France, Spain, and England, recounted by early writers. Spain was finally restricted to the comparatively insignificant portion, which continued to be known by the name of Florida, and which, after several changes of ownership, has at length become a part of the United States, and is now one of their territories.

The circumstance which has been stated, may account for the space which Florida has always occupied in the history of America, apparently so disproportioned to its intrinsic importance. Garcilaso de la Vega, who is supposed to have adopted in his compilation rather too many of the fictions of other writers, has given almost an entire volume to the transactions and events in Florida, from the first discovery by Ponce de Leon, in 1512, by whom it was named, until the death of Hernando de Soto, who landed at Tampa bay in 1539. Charlevoix, in his tedious folios, bestows a liberal portion of them on the affairs of this country, with copious accounts of its productions and climate, and of its natives. The Abbé Raynal, Adair, Burke, if he be the author of the 'History of the European Settlements,' have given it a place in their pages. The last relates the story of the enchanted fountain, supposed to possess the property of perpetuating and restoring youth to those who were so fortunate as to bathe in its waters; and sarcastically adds, that this precious liquid would be the most valuable article which the new world could export to the old. While this country was in the possession of the British, a period of fourteen years, several interesting accounts of it were published, describing its productions and general features, with considerable accuracy. The best known are those of Roberts and Romans; but the interior being occupied by numerous tribes of jealous and hostile Indians, it was impossible to obtain an accurate knowledge of it. Bartram, who ventured into the country while under the dominion of Spain, has written a very interesting work, but highly colored, and chiefly valuable for its botany. The survey of the coast under the direction of the British government, executed by Gault, is entitled to praise; his chart is still used, and is remarkable for its accuracy. Florida was considered by that government an important pos-

session, not only on account of its position in the gulf, which, among other advantages, it was supposed, would enable its subjects to carry on a forced trade with New Spain, but also on account of its adaptation to many valuable productions of southern climates, its timber and naval stores, and the Indian trade. Some valuable information, relative to this country, is contained in the work of Major Stoddard, a gentleman of considerable literary merit, who lost his life during the late war, in consequence of the bursting of a shell at the siege of Fort Meigs.

We are prompted by no feeling of national vanity, when we assert, that more has been done towards obtaining an accurate knowledge of Florida during the few years that it has been in our possession, than during the whole period which elapsed from its first discovery. Previous to the late war with Great Britain, it was inhabited by a warlike race, the Seminoles, emigrant Creeks, or *wild* people, as the term in that language denotes, so called, from their having wandered away from the main body of the nation. The more ancient races had been overcome by the Creeks, particularly the Yamasees, who had been either destroyed, or reduced to slavery, some of their descendants existing in this state even within a few years. The Seminoles and Creeks, therefore, having a common origin and relationship, it was natural they should unite for mutual support and assistance against any European enemy. Although the nation resided within the limits of the United States, they were continually exposed to be acted upon by Spain or England, by means of those who resided in Florida. During the late war, this advantage was not neglected by Great Britain, but in conformity to that wretched policy, as ruinous to the Indians as derogatory to her own character, these people were excited to take up the tomahawk against our defenceless women and children. The first plan of operations, adopted by the British in 1813 and 1814, was to get a footing on the Appalachicola river, near the junction of the Flint and Chatahouchy, and draw around them the Seminoles and the Creeks; to possess themselves, through their means, of the country between this river and the Alabama, where another strong hold was to be made, with a deposit of arms, and a combined force collected, and finally to unite with the Choctas and Chickasas, and reach the bank of the Mississippi, five or six hundred miles above New Orleans. A moment's reflection will show the alarm-

ing consequences of such a plan, if successfully accomplished. It was happily frustrated by the premature movements of the Creeks, and the rapid succession of signal victories obtained by General Jackson; by which the Indians were completely broken and subdued. When the British arrived, and constructed their temporary fort near the mouth of Flint river, it was too late, and the attempt to take possession of the Mobile bay, was successfully repulsed by the guns of Fort Bowyer. The reduction, we may almost say destruction, of the Creek nation was the primary cause which led to our subsequent acquisition of Florida. We could never be safe while this country was in the possession of a power either unwilling or too weak to prevent our enemy from occupying it, as a point whence to assail us, and to Spain it now became a useless, expensive, and perhaps dangerous possession. The hostile Creeks, who refused to treat with the officers of the United States, fled into Florida, and there, uniting with the Seminoles, still continued their hostility long after the treaty of peace with Great Britain. This led to General Jackson's campaign of 1818, when they were at last completely overcome, while an opportunity was afforded of traversing a country from which the Spaniards themselves had been excluded with jealous care by the Indians, and several fertile tracks were discovered, which at this day constitute the most valuable parts of the new territory.

After taking possession in 1821, one of the first measures of President Monroe, in relation to Florida, was the removal of the Indians from the valuable lands which they occupied. This task was successfully performed by Governor Duval, and two gentlemen, Colonel Gadsden and Mr Segui, who were associated with him. Their present number is supposed to exceed two thousand souls, scattered in little villages or hamlets. A tract of land has been assigned them near the centre of the peninsula, in the rear of Tampa bay, where a strong military force has been established; but it has been found necessary to supply these unfortunate people with provisions for several years, as they declare the country which they inhabit is too poor to raise corn. This, however, may well be doubted, as an attempt was made by Mr White, last summer, under the direction of the president, to induce them to remove beyond the Mississippi, which, however, they absolutely declined. The removal of the Seminoles, from a country peculiarly adapted to

their mode of life, abounding in game and fish, and possessing a fruitful soil, is a circumstance which cannot be viewed by the philanthropist without pain. It can be justified on no other ground than that of the *vis major*, probably the same argument which justified the Seminoles a century before, in dispossessing and reducing to slavery the unfortunate people by whom it was then occupied. To the mind of the statesman, the measure was justified by its necessity; for without it, there was no possibility of uniting the eastern and western parts of the territory, under one government. The centre was occupied by the Seminoles, and of course all communication between the extremes was cut off. The memorial of the first legislative council of Florida, which is ascribed to the present delegate in Congress, and which shows an enlightened forecast of nearly all these prominent points of interest to the territory, and has since been so ably followed up in detail by its author, recommends the selection of a spot between the Appalachicola and the Suwany, for the seat of government, so soon as the Indians shall have been removed, and in the mean time, the construction of a national road from Pensacola to St Augustine. Both these objects have been successfully accomplished, and may be considered the groundwork of the present territorial organization; had it been otherwise, the probability is, that the western part would, before this, have been annexed to Alabama, and the eastern to Georgia.

Shortly after the acquisition of Florida, several publications made their appearance, but containing very meagre accounts. The book of Mr Forbes is a wretched compilation from old works, which represent the country as resembling the West Indies in its productions, such as cocoa, coffee, cassava; whereas this description is only applicable to the extreme southern part of the peninsula, or to the neighboring *Keys*. The little volume of Vignoles is something better, but his map, except as to a small portion of East Florida, is not to be depended on. It was not until the operations of the land office were nearly completed, that we could be said to possess anything like an accurate one. We believe, no country in the world contains such admirable delineations of its surface, as may be seen in the land office at Washington, of those portions of the new states and territories, which have been laid off in townships and sections. By these means every mile square is laid down with minute accuracy, and every six miles form a

complete map, where the smallest streams are traced with the greatest precision. Such a work, however, is not effected without great expense; the surveys in Florida alone have probably cost not less than one hundred thousand dollars. Free access is allowed to these valuable documents deposited in the public offices; and Mr Tanner, well known as a skilful and enterprising geographer, by whom the map of Florida, appended to the work which stands first at the head of this article, has been engraved and published, has laudably used these advantages, in the numerous valuable works of this description, which he has given to the public within the last four years. We contemplate, with great satisfaction, the unceasing attention to this department of useful knowledge, which is in truth the foundation of all exact acquaintance with any country. The various new maps, and improvements on old ones, which have been executed in this country, within the last ten years, would form the subject of an interesting article.

From the Preface to Mr Williams's book, it appears to have been composed merely as a memoir to accompany a map of Middle and West Florida, the first which has appeared since the execution of the public surveys. The memoir, although modest in its pretensions, contains much valuable matter; but as it does not purport to be a complete geographical and statistical work, many subjects of interest are left untouched. It is, however, very full on all the topics necessary to the delineation of the natural features of the country, and the author appears to possess a respectable acquaintance with two important branches, mineralogy and botany. The work is evidently the production of a plain, candid man, who seems to be under no influence calculated to deceive himself, or to impose on others, for he has given many facts, and hazarded but few opinions. If the faults of mere composition may be passed over in any instance by a reviewer, it ought to be in favor of a work like the present, which in point of utility is before every previous publication on the same subject. Still, it is to be regretted, that some parts of it had not been previously subjected to the operation of a friendly file.

Mr Williams begins his memoir with a very brief, much too brief an account of the boundaries of Florida. For the last quarter of a century, this has been a fruitful subject of contention, and seems likely to be revived in a new and unexpect-

ed manner, between the United States and the state of Georgia. The correspondence between our government and that of Spain, on the subject of the western boundary, occupies a large space in our diplomatic history, and although the matter was finally closed by the late treaty, yet the question was never expressly determined; so that some serious questions arising out of it, in relation to land titles, may at some future day be referred to the courts. A labored argument in favor of the right of the United States, is found under the title of 'The Florida Question stated, by H. M. Brackenridge,' in Mr Walsh's 'Register,' for 1816. The author is at present one of the judges of the territory, and the writer of the letter in the Appendix to Mr Williams's book. The northern boundary was settled by the treaty of 1795, at the thirty-first degree of north latitude, to the Chatahoutchy, thence down that river to its junction with the Flint, and thence in a straight line to the head of the St Mary's river. The western part of the line was actually run and marked by Mr Ellicot; but it was impracticable to complete the survey, in consequence of the hostility of the powerful tribes on the eastern part of the line. Mr Ellicot contented himself with seeking out the head of the St Mary's river, and there erecting a mound, which exists to this day, and drawing an imaginary line on the map, between this point and the junction of the Flint and Chatahoutchy. Within the last twelve months, the President and the Governor of Georgia respectively appointed commissioners to mark the boundary, which was supposed to be determined by these two points, the one fixed by the treaty itself, the other established by the commissioner of the United States, and acquiesced in by Spain. But it appears, that after the line was nearly half completed, the Georgia commissioner was recalled by Governor Troup, who had determined not to regard Ellicot's mound as indicating the head of the St Mary's, there being a more southern branch, which, from its size, ought to be considered as its source. The business was in consequence suspended, and has given rise to another message of the Governor to the legislature of Georgia. This subject is now before the Congress of the United States. In the mean time, the gauntlet thus thrown down by Governor Troup, has been manfully taken up in a quarter, where we did not expect to find a champion. The acting Governor of Florida, Mr M' Carty, in a temperate, well written, and judicious message to the legis-

lative council of the territory, boldly resists the pretensions of Georgia, which extend to the most valuable part of Middle Florida.

We are informed by Mr Williams, that on taking possession of Florida for the United States, General Jackson divided the province into two parts, by the Suwany river, which was intended to conform as nearly as possible to the Spanish division of East and West Florida. The part which lies to the west of the Suwany, now composes the two districts called the Middle and Western, the capital of the territory, Tallahassee, being situated in the first, and Pensacola, our present naval depot, in the gulf, near the extreme western boundary of the latter. The two districts form a tract of country about two hundred and seventy-six miles long, from east to west, and from forty to ninety miles from north to south; containing sixteen thousand and five hundred square miles, and ten millions, five hundred and sixty thousand acres of land, which is about one third of the whole surface of the territory; and possessing a population of eight or nine thousand souls, rapidly increasing. Of the general appearance of the country Mr Williams gives the following description.

'The face of the country is, generally, rolling, but there are neither mountains nor hills of any considerable magnitude. It is intersected from north to south by numerous rivers, many of which are navigable quite through the territory. A large portion of the country is covered with forests, the trees usually at a considerable distance apart, without underbrush; while the surface of the ground presents a carpet of verdant grass and flowers most of the year. The borders of the water-courses, however, as well as the hammocks, are covered with thick woods of hard timber, tangled with innumerable vines. An abundance of lakes and ponds diversify the interior; while the seacoast is indented with bays, bayous, and lagoons, abounding with fish of all kinds, and affording every facility for internal as well as foreign commerce. Although the largest portion of the country is covered with pine barrens, and much of it extremely poor, yet there is also much upland, interval, and hammock land, of the most excellent quality; peculiarly well calculated to produce sugar, rice, cotton, tobacco, indigo, corn, small grains, vines, and fruits; and all the timbers necessary for ship-building are found here in abundance. The pine barrens afford excellent grazing for cattle, and they are abundantly stocked with wild game. The climate is healthy and the seasons mild.' pp. 5, 6.

The term *hammock*, which is used in this description, we believe is one peculiar to the southern states. It means a piece of ground thickly wooded, whether a plain or a hill, and distinguished from the open oak and hickory land, or the immense forests of thinly scattered pines, which with few exceptions cover the whole face of the country. The word has been confounded with *hummock*, used by mariners to designate the knolls, or small elevations, along the coast.

The description of the coast, which follows, is interesting in a geological view. From the Perdido bay to Cape St Blas, the coast presents a remarkable appearance; the beach is composed of sand as white as snow, with occasional hummocks of pure silex, which, to one sailing along, have the appearance of distant snow-capped hills. From St Blas to the Appalache bay, this changes to a yellowish brown sand, with occasional white hummocks; but after this, the coast is composed of a calcareous rock, covered with grass and rushes, for several miles into the sea. The interior to the east of the Chactahatchee river consists, for the greater part, of a mass of sand, from fifty to an hundred feet in thickness, upon a base of limestone. The difference in the appearance of the coast to the east and west of Cape St Blas, is ascribed by the author to the currents of the gulf being thrown so far out to sea by the shoals of the Tortugas, that they scarcely strike the coast of Florida, until they reach Cape St Blas; and thence westward, the coast being more acted upon by storms and currents, the fine white sand is washed upon the shore. We are not prepared to combat the theory of Mr Williams, but we confess that we are less satisfied with it, than with the simple fact, that this difference of appearance on the coast does exist. Our author proceeds to divide the country into various regions, or districts, for the convenience of a more minute description. The first is the tract between the Escambia, the principal river of the Bay of Pensacola, and the Perdido river, which forms the boundary line which separates Florida from Alabama. This tract is represented as chiefly alluvial, but of uneven surface, in some places even hilly, and finely watered with numerous springs and streams. The substratum is generally a clay of various colors, white, blue, yellow, and red. Strata of dark iron sandstone pervade it in many places, and are often thrown up in small hills, especially in the low grounds, near the water courses. To pursue the description in the words of the author;

'This clayey substratum is generally covered with a fine, white, siliceous sand, which in its native state produces little more than pine forests and grass; except where the tide or the streams have thrown upon it fossil or vegetable remains; these form hammocks and intervals, rich in vegetable productions. The peninsula, extending between Pensacola bay and St Rosa sound, has not even clay beneath the sand. Peat is sometimes found there in extensive beds, with abundance of cypress and cedar stumps, standing far beneath the sand. A stratum of sandstone, three or four feet in thickness, is forming, some twenty miles from the west end of the peninsula, but it is yet too tender for building.' p. 7.

The second division, is the tract which extends from the north side of St Rosa, or Chactahatchee bay, to the thirty-first degree, and bounded on the east by the Chactahatchee river. Excepting a few narrow strips of land on the river just mentioned, along the Yellow Water, which forms one of the branches of Pensacola bay, and a few tracts on some of the smaller streams, such as the Alaqua, Shoal, Uchee, and Bruce creeks, it is a dreary waste of pine forests, much of it hilly, but abounding with an extraordinary number of streams of the purest water, and extensive pastures for horned cattle. This tract, together with that which has been described, constitutes the two counties of Escambia and Walton; but out of the town of Pensacola, the whole population of both does not exceed eight hundred or a thousand souls. From the Alaqua to the Chactahatchee, the country is somewhat better, but by far the greater part of it consists of pine woods unfit for tillage; the places of better soil uniformly rest on soapstone and limestone formations.

'The soapstone is found in strata, from five to eight feet thick, and extends to the Shoal river. The limestone has been discovered west of the Chactawhatchee, only in the Uchee valley, where it is abundant. On the eastern bank of the Chactawhatchee, the limestone is found less compact than on the western; it seems a congeries of shells, some of them entire, cemented together by a tough aluminous matter. Buhrstone of an excellent quality is found in large masses near the Alabama line. Millstones are made here of a better quality than can be procured from abroad. This stone extends as far eastward as the Flint river, and northward for a hundred miles or more. The structure is nearly compact; the cavities are very small; it appears like a mass of fine escallop shells; is evidently calcareous; and rings like marble. The color is from a light gray to a brown, the break conchoidal, and has an earthy appearance. Ponds and sink holes

are numerous between the Chactawhatchee and Chapola rivers, and large springs, forming navigable streams, often burst from this formation; the waters, though perfectly transparent, are highly impregnated with lime, and are not generally considered healthy.' pp. 7, 8.

The third division includes the extensive tract of country, which lies between the Chactahatchee and the Appalachicola rivers, and forms the counties of Washington and Jackson. Its surface is very various; but like the division last described, with the exception of the valley of rich land on the Chipola river, by far the most valuable body in the territory, and the river alluvions of the Appalachicola, subject to inundations in summer to the great injury of the crops, and very sickly, this is also a vast forest of pines. There are some smaller spots of tolerable land, such as Holmes's valley, Oak and Hickory hills, the Econfina, in all, including the larger bodies already mentioned, falling short of three hundred thousand acres. It is to be observed, however, that the quality of the soil covered by a growth of pine, is not entirely alike; the sand ridges, although covered with grass, are utterly hopeless in an agricultural view; but there are tracts dispersed in all directions of considerable extent, where the clay lies near the surface, distinguished by a larger growth of pine, intermixed with dogwood and scattering hickories, which may be made to produce by *cowpenning* and manuring. When our country acquires a dense population, such lands may perhaps be cultivated. A remarkable feature in this third division is the number of large ponds, or small lakes, which are scattered over its surface, but not, like those of Tallahassee, surrounded by borders of rich land. Another feature equally remarkable, is the large springs, such is Holmes's, Shackleford's, Big spring of Chipola, and various others, which form navigable streams at once. In this division, also, we find one of the finest bays of the Gulf of Mexico, that of St Andrew's, which will one day become important. It presents a noble sheet of water equal to that of Pensacola, to which it is only inferior as to the quantity of water on its bar. Should the Appalachicola river be conducted into it, and it is said that a canal of a few miles will suffice to accomplish it, a town will rise up as rapidly as did Mobile, and, as a place of commerce, will very soon outstrip Pensacola.

The fourth division stretches from the Appalachicola river

to the Suwany, and is divided into Gadsden and Leon counties. We shall give the description of this last division in the author's words.

'East of the Appalachicola river, there are few indications of stone, until we approach Leon county. Here a ridge appears above the earth, from four to six miles from the coast, and parallel with it; it dips a few degrees to the SSW., and is probably the edge of that stratum which forms the coast. The navigation of all the streams between St Mark's and Suwannee is impeded by it. This rock resembles chalk, generally of an ash color; some of it, however, is quite white, and is used for chalk. A kind of imperfect flint is imbedded in it, in form of a shelly nucleus. It becomes hard on exposure to the air. The flint is of a light gray color, full of holes, which are filled with the calcareous matter. It breaks with a conchoidal fracture; gives fire freely with steel; is quite opaque, but void of the greasy feel which is peculiar to pure flint. On points of the coast, where the waves have washed the calcareous matter away, these flinty nuclei form extensive and very rugged reefs. The fort of St Mark's is built of this limestone. Grass grows spontaneously on this rock, whether covered with salt or fresh water, even to the depth of twenty feet. Oysters grow in great masses to the rock, and they are very hard to separate from it.

'Through the centre of Gadsden and Leon counties, ridges of clay extend, and form the base of an excellent soil. The upper stratum is red and very pure, and has an unctuous feel; but very small sandstones, of the size of a buck-shot or bullet, pervade the whole mass; this stratum is usually fourteen feet, more or less, in thickness. Under this, a white clay, similar in quality, extends from twenty to thirty feet, which reposes on a rotten limestone; somewhat different, however, from that found in the western part of Jackson county. The shells which compose it are more perfect, and the cement is a calcareous, instead of aluminous matter. It is found to make excellent lime. The springs and streams in this part of the country are very pure; they rise and run over the aluminous formations, but they all at length sink beneath the limestone rock, where, having united their currents and become highly impregnated with lime, they rise at once navigable rivers; such are the St Mark's, the Wakulla, and Oscilla rivers, which from these springs pass over the chalky formation to the sea.' pp. 8, 9.

On the subject of climate, the work before us contains some good remarks. West Florida, from its proximity to the gulf, enjoys the seabreeze, which contributes to health and comfort. The pine woods, especially where it is hilly, are perfectly

healthy at all seasons, but the vicinity of ponds, marshes, and river alluvions, is subject to all the varieties of bilious affections, heightened by the warmth of the climate. All countries, while covered with their natural forests, may be considered healthy, excepting where, from peculiar circumstances, vegetable putrefaction is hastened in an extraordinary degree.

The writer next devotes several pages to the bays and inlets along the coast. The Perdido, which is the first in order, from west to east, is about thirty miles in length, and, on an average, two in width; but, from the shallowness of the water on its bar, it is of little importance, excepting as the means by which, at some future day, the Bay of Pensacola may be united with that of Mobile. The Bay of Pensacola is decidedly the finest in the Gulf of Mexico, and as a naval station and rendezvous, was worth to us half the price paid for Florida. The least quantity of water, ever found on the bar, is twenty-one feet six inches, which is usually in the winter, after a continuance of northerly winds. Frigates, of the largest size, can enter without difficulty, and by means of lighters, there is very little doubt, that ships of the line might be brought in. The entrance is easily defended, and the sheet of water within, which is free from shoals, is wide and spacious. It has been for two years past our naval depot for the West India station; extensive works are about to be constructed, and it must soon become a place of importance. The shores around the bay are not flat and uniform, but in many places elevated, presenting, particularly above the town, situations beautifully picturesque. St Andrew's bay, which has already been mentioned, was, until lately, but little known; it has at least eighteen feet of water on its bar, is easy of access, has a good anchorage, and is perfectly sheltered from every wind. It divides into two arms, each of which extends far into the country. The rich settlements of Chipola, and several counties of Alabama, will give an impulse to the trade of such establishments as may be formed here, or have by this time probably been effected. St Joseph's bay lies farther to the east, but is more properly a cove formed by the gulf, as it receives no fresh water river. The entrance is at least six miles wide, the greater part of this space being occupied by a middle ground. The depth of water, at its entrance, has been variously represented; our author states it at thirty feet, and such appears to have been the general opinion, until a special examination was

ordered last summer, when it was found to have but eighteen feet, to the great disappointment of many, who had begun to speculate on the removal of the naval depot from Pensacola. The Appalachicola bay, at the entrance of the fine river of that name, said to be one of the best for steam-boat navigation in the south, is formed by the islands of St Vincent and St George; but is wide, and exposed to the full sweep of the easterly winds. The entrance affords little more than twelve feet of water, while vessels drawing more than eight feet are compelled to lie a long way off from the mouth of the river. The immense marshes, for nearly a hundred miles up this river, must always render any settlement near its mouth peculiarly unhealthy. The Appalache bay is next spoken of; but it is a mere indentation of the coast, which receives the Ocklockney and St Mark's rivers. Fifteen feet of water may be carried into St Mark's, but the river is so much obstructed by oyster banks, that not more than seven or eight feet can be carried up to the Fort, which is notwithstanding the *entrepot* to the rich county of Tallahassee.

The next ten or fifteen pages of the work are taken up with an account of the capes, the islands along the coast, the rivers, and the lakes of West Florida; but as it is not our intention to make an analysis of the whole work, we must recommend its perusal to those who are desirous to make themselves acquainted with these particulars. A considerable portion of the work is occupied with zoölogy, ornithology, and botany, perhaps greater than would be agreeable to general readers. This cannot be said of the historical outline, which was necessary and useful. We extract the account of the limestone caves of Chipola, which is curious and amusing.

'These [natural curiosities] consist, principally, of natural caverns, sinking rivers, great springs, and natural bridges.

'The Arch cave is situated near the public road, about three miles west of the ferries on Chapola river, in Jackson county. It opens, to the east, an aperture under a vast limestone rock; about five feet high, and thirty feet wide. This passage descends gently, for three or four rods; the cavern then opens, to the extent of a hundred feet wide, and fifty feet high. A deep channel of transparent water skirts the south side for some distance; it then breaks off in wells, and finally disappears altogether. The course of the cave now turns northwest; it grows narrower, and resembles an arch of the gothic order. After proceeding about sixty yards, the cave is crossed by a stream twenty feet wide, and

five deep; in this, numbers of crawfish are seen. After passing this stream, the passage turns north of east and presents a hall, one hundred feet in length; pretty straight, with a very uneven floor of red clay, covered with the debris of the decomposed rock. A row, or rather cluster of stalactical columns, supports the centre of this hall, while thousands of stalactites stretch down their long tubes towards the white bases, which are growing up to meet them, from the floor. Many large holes, in the rock above, are filled with bats, which, on the approach of lights, flit off to other dark recesses, with a roaring sound, like heavy wind.

'The passage now becomes crooked and intricate, for a few rods, and then opens into another lofty apartment, from which there are many avenues, most of which remain unexplored, as well as two water courses, one of which bounds the passage.

'This cave has been explored about four hundred yards. The congelations, on the sides of the walls, have the appearance of grey ice, through which, a sparkling crystallization appears. They often project into curls and folds, representing draperies, and mouldings of inimitable forms. The projections are nearly white, but the same sparkling crystalline appearance continues. The regular stalactites are hollow; the outside, a soft chalky decomposition; the centre, irregular sparry crystals, of a yellowish hue.

'In the neighborhood of the Arch cave, Colonel Stone attempted, in three several places, to sink wells; but in every instance, he came to hollow spaces in the earth; and the well-digger, becoming at length frightened at the danger of entombing himself in some fathomless cavern, abandoned his work.

'The Ladies' cave is about one mile southeast from the Arch cave; it opens to the northwest; the entrance is wider, and easier of access, than the former; it is, also, more spacious within. About fifteen paces from the entrance, it is divided into two passages; the left, about fifty yards in extent, terminates in a deep river, which passes to the north, under a bold arch of sparry congelations, which has not been, and cannot, without a boat, be explored; the banks are bold, rocky, and difficult of access. The right hand passage is formed of rugged rocks, bold projecting pillars, curious excavations, and fanciful galleries, which it would be difficult to describe. The congelations are fine and infinitely various. The passage terminates in a narrow chasm, which has the appearance of a water-course, through which, at about three rods distance, another room appears. This has been but imperfectly explored. To the right of this last branch of the cave, the excavation has been examined about one hundred feet; many holes appear to lead off in different directions; some of these may lead to other caverns.' pp. 35–37.

Upon the whole, this little volume is creditable to its author, and well deserves a place in our libraries. We have only to add, that it is much to be desired, that Mr Williams should persist in the intention announced in his Preface, of giving the public a similar account of East Florida.

The Appendix contains a number of interesting documents, principally the letters of Mr White, the present delegate of the territory, on various subjects of interest to his constituents, and serving to throw light on the character and resources of the country. We have perused these documents with much satisfaction, and approve highly of this mode of bringing subjects directly before the department which is ultimately to act on them. Mr White possesses a highly liberal and enlightened mind, and has ever manifested himself an active, zealous, and efficient representative. He has, in fact, already laid the groundwork of almost every important measure calculated to ensure the present and future prosperity of the territory which he represents. In procuring the passage of the preëmption law, which met with serious opposition in Congress, he rendered a signal service to his constituents, many of whom, had he failed, would have been driven from their homes, or have fallen victims to merciless speculators. The proposition introduced by him last winter, respecting the propagation of the live oak, has been considered highly deserving of public attention. From a recent survey of Florida, under the direction of the secretary of the navy, for the purpose of ascertaining the quantity of this timber, so valuable for ship-building, it has been discovered, that this is much less than has been supposed. Extensive plantations of live oak, which is said to be of rapid growth, have been ordered by the government to be made in the most suitable places. This kind of forecast is highly commendable. A private English gentleman, Evelyn, a century ago, formed those plantations of oak, which now supply the British navy. But Mr White is chiefly indebted, for the reputation he has acquired, to his well written letters on the subject of Florida canals, and his zealous efforts in Congress to carry his plans into execution. Mainly in consequence of his exertions, aided by the efficient coöperation of Mr Webster, a sum of money, sufficient to cover the expense, was appropriated, and a corps of the most skilful engineers proceeded last spring on this important duty. Their surveys have been completed, but the

result has not yet been made known to the public. When the practicability of a ship channel, across the northern part of the peninsula, was first suggested by Mr White, it produced a great sensation in our commercial cities, where the dangers and delays of the present navigation round the cape, and among the Bahamas, were known to their sorrow. The importance of such a passage, in every point of view, was so obvious, that many expressed it as their opinion, that if the whole peninsula could be swept away by some convulsion of nature, we should be vastly the gainers by it. The idea of a thorough-cut had something magnificent in it. Its practicability, or rather impracticability, could not be ascertained without a previous examination. If practicable, the benefits which might flow from it, were beyond calculation; and if its execution exceeded our present capacity, the suggestion was still a noble one, though unsuccessful, and by no means deserving the appellation of visionary. Humboldt has suggested the practicability of cutting through the Isthmus of Darien, but it would not follow, if a board of engineers, however able, should report it impracticable, that he was therefore a visionary projector. These remarks are made in justice to Mr White, as the first to suggest a project of great national benefit, but which, it is rumored, has not been found within the reach of any reasonable sum of money to accomplish. It is understood, however, that their report on the second plan suggested in the letters of Mr White, but not entirely original with him, will be decidedly favorable. In importance, it is inferior only to the first. We allude to the continued inland navigation for steam-boats, by connecting canals, from the Mississippi to the St Mary's. If a canal of sufficient size for the passage of steam-boats could be made, it would almost compensate for the failure of the thorough-cut; and it is highly probable, that if the public attention had not been so much awakened by the prospect of accomplishing this last, the practicability of a steam-boat canal would never have been ascertained.

The Answers of Mr M'Comb appear to have been elicited by a number of well directed queries from an intelligent citizen of Berne, Switzerland, and transmitted through General Lafayette. It appears from the answers of Mr M'Comb to these queries, that he is a practical planter, residing in the neighborhood of the fine tract of land voted to the General by Congress, and selected adjoining the city of Tallahassee. Mr

M' Comb has given some interesting particulars; but we fear somewhat colored by a warm fancy. We cannot be brought to believe that the blessings of this life are so unequally and so partially dispensed among the dwellers on different portions of the earth, as, by the perusal of this paper, we should be led to suppose. We cannot help thinking that the advantages of the Tallahassee district are somewhat exaggerated; and that the counterpart of the picture has not been shown us at all. That it does possess a counterpart, we cannot doubt; otherwise it would be a paradise. It is true, the answers are limited to the questions proposed, and do not profess to give a full account of the country, setting forth what is bad, as well as what is good. Now, judging from a presentment of a grand jury of Tallahassee, which has gone the rounds of the newspapers, we should not pronounce a very high opinion of the state of society and manners in that part of the world. It may be a paradise, but its inhabitants are not angels. It may be said, that such a state of things is incident to new countries. This is doubtless true, and how many other things are incident to new countries, which are nuisances or annoyances to emigrants from old countries? The *infant* state of settlements, is, like the infant state of the world, a *savage* or barbarous state; not indeed literally so, but in a greater or less degree. New settlements are undoubtedly most pleasant to those who are accustomed to them, or who, from long absence from the older settlements, have forgotten the comforts and conveniences which they there enjoyed. No one, who has not had the experience of a new country, is aware of the habits or the conveniences, which he must be prepared to give up, when he thinks proper to emigrate; others indeed may be found in their stead, but they are such as to be most pleasing to one of the cast of mind of Colonel Boon, who loved the solitude of the forest, the freedom from society and its restraints, and who preferred a residence 'forty miles from any place.' * However rapid the increase of population and the improvements of a new country may be, many years must elapse before it can possess the comforts and advantages of an old one. Of these we are not fully sensible until we find the want of them; and as to the delights of the former,

* This was part of Colonel Boon's description of a tract of land in Kentucky, entered by him in the Virginia Land-Office.

one half of them exist only in the imagination. We have no desire to throw discouragements in the way of those who think they can better their condition by emigration, but to warn them against expectations which must lead to disappointment.

Mr M' Comb prefers a Swiss colony to any other. We think it highly probable, from the steady and persevering character of that people, that they would be most likely to prosper. The French have too much imagination; they will paint a thousand things in the distant perspective, which will not be realized on a near approach; they will become impatient of delay, and disgusted with unexpected obstacles. The Swiss and the Germans have uniformly been found the most contented and persevering of the European emigrants, and consequently the most useful. Mr M' Comb states an important fact with respect to *white laborers* in Middle Florida. He says they *can* and *do* endure the heat of the sun in their agricultural operations, without experiencing the least inconvenience from it. This is owing to the elevation of the land, and to the contiguity of the gulf, and consequently the influence of the seabreeze. The two great staples of the country, he observes, are the sea-island cotton and the sugar-cane, both of which have succeeded, and of course will succeed. In addition to these, he mentions indigo, rice, and all the various grains, and *cerealia* of the southern states. He thinks the Swiss colony might soon derive a profit from the culture of the vine, of which there are eight or ten different species, natives of the woods, where they bear an abundance of grapes. The woods are filled with wild grape vines, which require only the skill of the vine-dresser. The French blue grape, it seems, has in many instances been engrafted on the wild vines, and has borne the second year, and the third abundantly. This is a very important fact, as it goes to prove, that, by taking advantage of the numerous stools or roots, a vineyard might be rendered productive in half, perhaps one third of the time requisite farther north. A population, therefore, acquainted with the culture of the vine, and the manufacture of wine, of both of which our population in general is entirely ignorant, would be a valuable acquisition. Mr M' Comb states, that the olive and the orange have been cultivated in other parts of the territory with success, and that the few orange trees about Tallahassee, from three to four years old, have never suffered the slightest injury from frost. The white

mulberry has been successfully introduced ; the purple mulberry is a native of the forests, and very abundant. Mr M' Comb says, that ' fruit trees from Prince's botanic garden, New York, have succeeded well, particularly peaches, nectarines, and apricots. The plum, cherry, mulberry, *olive*, orange, and *apple* grow wild. In fact, I never knew a country where the forests abound with a greater variety of indigenous fruit.' The celebrated botanist, Michaux, speaks of a wild olive found in Florida, it is believed the only part of America where it is known, unless in the adjoining portions of the southern states. But its fruit is small, and bitter, and of no value. Perhaps it might furnish valuable stocks to engraft on. The *apple* spoken of, we presume, is the crab-apple. It is generally understood, that the orchard apple and the garden cherry are not successfully cultivated so far south. The wild oranges spoken of, are mentioned by Mr Williams as the sour, and what is called the bitter-sweet. These are only a few of the facts stated by Mr M' Comb, in his pamphlet, which contains much valuable information for emigrants, making some allowance for what, to us, appears somewhat overcharged.

Florida is undoubtedly a most important acquisition to these United States, in a military and political, if not in a commercial and agricultural view. We should always have been uneasy with this country in the hands of a foreign power. Tribes of Indians not under our control ; the mouths of some important southern rivers in a foreign territory ; the communication on the line of seacoast interrupted between the southern states ; important harbors on the gulf in the hands of those who might be enemies, or at least favor those who were ;—these and many other considerations urged to the acquisition of Florida. The sovereignty was well worth the five millions paid for it, especially as the amount was employed in relieving our own citizens, and creating a capital which contributed to the more rapid developement of the resources of our own country. All that can be added to Florida may be considered as so much clear gain, by increasing the wealth, commerce, and resources of the nation ; and we think it decidedly the policy of the government to give every encouragement to its speedy population and improvement.

ART. VIII.—*Personal Sketches of His Own Times.* By Sir JONAH BARRINGTON, Judge of the High Court of Admiralty in Ireland, &c.

THE entertaining character of these 'Sketches' has been sufficiently evinced by their wide circulation, and the liberal extracts from them into the newspapers and other journals. It is evident, therefore, that we are not introducing a new book to the notice of the public. The freedom of Sir Jonah's pencil, and the extravagance of his coloring, have certainly not diminished the popularity of his pictures, though they may have lessened the faith of his readers in their perfect fidelity. They would have been deemed, perhaps, less veritable still, if they had not related to a people whose national characteristics are as eccentric as their political and social condition is singular and unhappy.

After all that we had read or heard of Ireland, however, and though prepared to find in Irish society more than the usual ill results of misrule and oppression, we have read Sir Jonah's details with almost as much surprise as sorrow. Even the wretchedness of the lower orders will not strike his readers so much, as the state of social intercourse among the higher. Those portions of the book, especially, which relate to *Duelling*, with anecdotes of which, both ludicrous and melancholy, it is abundantly seasoned, excite a horror which is not lessened by the levity with which the subject is treated by the author. The madness of private brawl pervaded all classes and professions, and would seem to have been regarded as an essential part of Irish gentility. A time will come, it can hardly be doubted, when the bloody code of honor which our author has been at the pains to record, 'the thirty-six commandments,' as they were irreverently called, established by a convention of polite duellists, will be regarded as the last inspirations of madness in men made desperate by misrule and anarchy. Even making large allowance for a caricaturing pencil, what we find in the 'Sketches' may create a reasonable doubt, whether there are many notions more absurd, than to fancy any connexion between the existence of this usage, and the courtesy and refinement of our modern manners. These are qualities less valuable than are supposed, if they can be imagined to have flourished in Ireland at the era in

question. Yet there was evidently no lack of these champions of good manners, the most pacific professions having contributed their quota; but, as has happened to other martyrs, in cases of like dubious merit, with no sensible benefit to the public. We must take the occasion presented by these 'Sketches,' to say something on a subject which our readers may perhaps think already over trite.

There are too many fatal examples to the contrary, to permit us to doubt, that in the present state of public opinion on this point, a false honor may drive individuals of both sense and virtue, to the commission of this modification of murder. Yet do we confidently predict, that civilization will not be long in exploding it, as much for its strange absurdity as its wickedness. We are fain to think that common sense has in this matter more adherents than openly avow themselves, who wait, as it were, some convenient time and some note of concert among themselves, to revolt against this tyrant of society, which may be truly called bloody without a figure, and to set up the lawful ruler instead. If one did not daily see innumerable prejudices persevered in by mankind, for which they have long ceased to pretend any sound reason, this revolt of the friends of good sense would seem near at hand. For though some persons, pressed, we suppose, for a reason, very gravely tell us that the duel is a remnant of that right of private war which was abolished by the institution of society; left us for the revenge of injuries which social laws cannot reach; the thing seems, by the better opinion, to have just so much foundation in reason, as is included in the customary reply to grave casuists who cavil at it. This runs commonly in such phrases as 'The thing seems absurd enough; but it is a necessary evil;' or, 'This is a matter about which it is quite useless to reason;' which last seems true enough indeed of one side of the question.

An ancient custom is, however, like an old tree, which may stand upright a long time after the roots that nourished it are decayed. A sort of *vis inertiæ* influences our moral nature, which, like that of material bodies, seems to fix it in an old habit of thinking, or, if the philosophical reader pleases, makes it run on in an old course of error, long after the impression of the original impulse. Most of the monstrous absurdities which men have at length seen fit to reform, have even been lamented as lost benefits; from the monastic institu-

tions which once fed, in the most industrious of modern states, a lazy and vicious population, down to the law of primogeniture which has vanished under the good sense of our own. There are some worthy persons, and judicious thinkers too, who yet fancy they see in the abolishment of this last, the end of all legitimate gentility; on no better grounds of belief, we hope, than of those *élèves* of the old school, who lament the disuse of hair-powder, not on the score of ornament merely, but as the removal of another patrician distinction; and who not long since regarded cropped hair as an infallible mark of Jacobinism, as their fathers saw, in the disappearance of the hoop, the removal of one more entrenchment of modesty. But as these extravagances of superstition, pride, and dress have vanished one after the other, it is perhaps no folly to expect a time when the fashion we have borrowed from a fiercer age, of spilling blood on frivolous and fantastic pretences, will seem as strange and unreasonable, as if a modern English peer were to fortify his villa, and sally out against his neighbors, in imitation of the warlike barons, his predecessors. If the exquisite romance of Cervantes had all the influence ascribed to it, in dispelling the lingering fooleries of knight-errantry, what a noble object awaits genius in the composition of a work of like avail against a fashion of like origin and like absurdity!

An old usage, nevertheless, is not to be dismissed merely because it is old; and as the extraordinary pretension to violate, in this particular matter, the laws of God and the dictates of reason, has obtained widely in Christendom, our readers might suppose, from the very singularity of the thing, that it rested on deep and stable foundations. They may, at any rate, think the case entitled to a hearing; from which no worse consequence can follow, than that we shall at least be furnished with reasons for what to many seems a remarkable absurdity in modern manners, and likely to lessen the opinion of posterity of our sober sense. We shall even throw out of view any obligations which may seem to arise out of the law of God, as an argument which, for some valid reason we presume, is by courtesy left to sleep in the controversy. Nor are we so idle as to address ourselves to all sorts of persons indifferently; neither to them whose vivacity, finding no vent through the apertures of wit and fancy, necessarily flames out in the grosser element of animal courage; nor to those impatient aspirants after fame, who delight to think themselves, as

it were, within pistol-shot of her citadel; nor to those who have no reasonable expectation of achieving notoriety by any other path than this of the *duellum*. But as the sage consoled himself, that however the world might go wrong, there would always be a corner in it where a philosopher might hide; so may we suggest to these last, that there are always fastnesses enough of rudeness and barbarity, where their single talent, now useless, nay inconvenient, in the busy mart or the polite saloon, may find its proper use in quelling spirits one degree fiercer than themselves; and where they may brawl, at the worst, without the expense of lives more valuable than their own.

There is another large class of readers, to whom, though for an opposite reason, it must be equally needless to address ourselves. Many, we hope, there are, who own themselves, without shame, of too feeble or too sober a temper, to 'seek the bubble, reputation,' in the pistol's mouth, though, on proper occasion, they might in the cannon's; and who, regarding the fanaticism of honor as no wiser than that of religion, would think as little of building their reputation on 'a good shot,' as their faith on

'The holy text of pike and gun.'

As their blunt perception sees not how a man's good name is set up by his falling in his private brawl, and a corresponding soberness of fancy lays them less open to the accesses of jealous and fantastical punctilio, we may reckon on them as our allies of course against the *Monomachists;* (we want a name, and this may serve as well as 'Fire-Eaters,' 'Yahoos,' or any other.) Our concern is chiefly with that middle party, who, though they pursue not the *duellum* as a business, and still less as an amusement, persuade themselves that it is what they are pleased to call a necessary evil; a bulwark between the gentleman and the ruffian; a vindication of offences which, through the halting of justice, cannot otherwise be overtaken; and, at all events, an ordeal that, as opinion now runs, must be undergone by every one who would keep his honor, or (what they choose to regard as the same thing) his courage unblemished. Though often reluctant champions of the point of honor, they are still less ready to be martyrs in the cause of true morals; to which, however, it is the more important to gain them, not only as a party whose considerable numbers

would weigh down the scale in favor of good sense and public quiet, but as comprehending no small amount of virtue and just feeling. Nor were it a small point gained, to rescue them from a dilemma the most painful to a good mind; that of fighting in a cause when scarcely half convinced of its justice. As the equally valiant, and hardly less wise Sir Hudibras exclaims;

> 'What rage, O citizens! what fury
> Doth to these direful actions hurry?
> What œstrum, what phrenetic mood
> Makes you thus lavish of your blood,
> Which ye are bent to throw away
> In vain, untriumphable fray?'

Our barbarous ancestors themselves, from whom we derive this venerable abuse, might smile at the foolish pertinacity which retains it in circumstances so different. We do them, however, great injustice if we imagine that, in resorting to the duel, they had any view to our fantastical notion of the 'point of honor.' Instead of being an offence as with us, that, notwithstanding its reception with the polite, scarcely escapes 'unwhipt of justice,' it was originally (and before chivalry had arisen to show us how symmetrical an edifice Folly can sometimes build up) only one of the forms of their rude jurisprudence, a clumsy and inartificial method of arriving at the truth, which, however absurd in itself, was natural to a fierce and ignorant people. A Goth or Burgundian, observing the ponderous structure of our jurisprudence at this day; the solemn courts, the astute advocates, the thousand tomes of learning, the exquisite logic of evidence; all adapted or intended to protect property, life, and honor, by extorting truth from its most perplexed combinations;—would doubt whether it was in madness or in ridicule, that in questions confessedly the most delicate, we resorted to that rough trial of arms by which he had been wont to invoke the award of Heaven, in despair of eliciting truth by any process of his own. His amazement, again, would not be less, to hear that this happy method of adjusting differences was not, however, a mode of trial sanctioned by the laws, but a sort of customary privilege of flying in the face of them, in injuries of particular enormity; especially if he learned that this vast machinery, though regarded as a sufficient protection of property and life, was thought to prescribe no adequate penalty for a chance blow, or an opprobrious word.

If our barbarian looked a little farther into the structure of society, his astonishment at this singularity would be proportionally increased. In the same degree that he admired the diffusion and the preëminence of the arts of peace, he would be perplexed to see the worth and honor of their cultivators referred to so rough and so unapt an arbitrement. 'Consider,' he might say, 'in how many particulars my age differed from yours, and thus conceive my surprise at their coïncidence in this. Mine was ignorant and rude. Perjury flourished at a great rate among my barbarous contemporaries; and any caitiff might find some twenty compurgators to swear away the most notorious crime, with as little remorse as oaths, in your day and with some nations, are taken at the custom-house. On the other hand, we were busy with war, and skilless in all the arts of peace, especially in the intricate logic of your courts; and in leaving, as we thought, to Heaven the discovery of truth, at least avoided confounding it by any ignorance of ours. This appeal, besides, was not quite so much an affair of chance, nor altogether so absurd as you imagine. Every one who esteemed reputation in my day, must, of necessity, seek it in war. He would therefore be familiar with the exercises of arms, and capable of defending his good name much in the same proportion that he valued it. Hence his success in combat was in some sort an evidence of his honor and his virtue; because these among us consisted principally in bravery and skill in arms, as imbecility and cowardice were the greatest vices. Among you I perceive a quite different condition of things; all your policy tending to peace, and the most eminent honors being reserved for the successful in its arts. Your intellectual habits, your elegant pursuits, give force to the mind at the expense of the body. Your very courage is rather civic than warlike. Among such a people, when a man's honor or virtue is called into question, instead of expecting him to establish it by a personal combat with his accuser, it might be rather less absurd that they should contend which could produce the best poem, or make the best speech, or invent the best labor-saving machine. Nay, the very selection of your weapon in such cases, betrays a certain inelegance and brutality, since skilfulness in the use of it implies neither graceful exercise of the body, nor acuteness of eye, nor presence of mind, nor, lastly, any display of courtesy and humanity in the encounter itself. The fatal bullet may be sped with the same deadly aim, against the

lightest offender in a mere punctilio, and the most culpable assassin of your happiness or fame. You therefore, in this appeal to a yet blinder chance, ought to be counted more barbarous than we; as you must seem also more absurd, to abandon the award of laws designed with so much art and care, for the rude arbitrement of arms.

'With us, too,' might our observant barbarian continue, supposing him to know something of our complex modes of trial, 'the giving of the lie was like your putting in the plea, and nothing more, and the ordering of the combat was like joining the issue. But if a fact were notorious in the eyes of all men; if a man had been openly assassinated in the market-place; or if another had been appealed of murder, and the supposed victim presently appeared in public; or if one challenged for a crime, visibly showed that it had been committed by the appellant himself; in these cases our judges, though they wore no ermine, and were not the profoundest of casuists, naturally concluded the combat to be useless, and would not suffer it to proceed against the evidence of their own senses. But these wholesome and essential limitations seem quite to have slipped out of your modern code of honor. Flagrant crime may neither disqualify the criminal to challenge, nor exempt his accuser from answering his defiance. A man may defraud his creditors, and betray his friend, and be notoriously divorced from truth; yet your code of honor allows him to vindicate a reputation thus certain and established, by appeal to the uncertain issue of a combat, though no one in his sober senses would trust or believe him, and the fruits of his fraud may rise palpably in brick and mortar in the streets. Nay, a man shall one day pronounce a fellow to have neither conscience nor character, and, the next, stand on points for him as his *second*, and hear no question of the honor of *his friend*. Your absurdity goes one step farther yet, in requiring a man of the most unblemished fame, if he chance to have his toes trodden on by one of these convicts by common consent, to demand of him what he is plainly unable to give, "the satisfaction of a gentleman." These inconsistencies make me repeat involuntarily what one of your philosophers has been pleased to say of his ancestors, my contemporaries, and retort with fresh force, from the change of times, my wonder that you "should rest the honor, fortune, and life of a citizen on a mere hazard; and should resort to proofs so incapable of con-

victing, that they have no connexion whatever with either innocence or guilt.' "*

These are the reflections of a barbarian; but they may be worth pursuing a little farther. 'You would be more excusable,' he might add, 'if you could plead your superstition in your behalf, and if you really believed that chance would befriend the right in these murderous encounters. You might then claim to be on a level with my barbarous predecessors, the Germans, who in their civil wars regarded the event of the first single combat, as the actual decision of Heaven; or with your modern barbarians, the Turks, who respect as such the first victory achieved. But the codes of my own day were in other respects preferable to that by which you are pleased to regulate your concerns of honor. By the law of the Thuringians, an adulteress was condemned to the ordeal of the boiling water (another test of truth, which I wonder you have not retained), only when she could find no one to defend her. This shows that a reputation served a better purpose among them than with you. At a later day, among the Franks, a man who was weak in body, or had no taste, perhaps, for the battle, or was much occupied with affairs, might hire a champion to fight all his causes to issue, or take care of his reputation, for a time certain, and for a stipulated sum; just as he hired a bailiff to take care of his feud. For the very reason that this was thought a bad custom among us, it would be an excellent one among a peaceable people like you. So if a criminal accused his judges of false judgment, he was obliged to fight them all. Lewis the Fat, who thought the exertion too great perhaps, even for a criminal, reformed this rule, I hear; but were it applied to many of your duellists, of a certain reputation, it might give them as much fighting as they could do in their whole lives, and make them perhaps less eager to begin. What surprises me not the least, is the importance you attach to a blow. We ourselves were not insensible to pain, and therefore punished a blow by the fine of a *sou*, two blows with two *sous*, and so on according to the extent of the injury. With you, I learn from the philosopher I have quoted before, one blow is equivalent to a hundred thousand! This strange mode of valuation it is, no doubt, which explains the contradiction, that while you sometimes kill a man for jostling you at

* Spirit of Laws.

the play, you think you sufficiently punish him for propagating against you the vilest slanders, by lightly laying a whip across his shoulders.'

Our observer would be hardly the wiser, at least not the better convinced, were he told, as he might be by some grave antiquary, that these niceties so foreign to the vulgar reason, had their origin in the chivalrous age; that as he who had once engaged his word, was not allowed in the judicial proceedings of the barbarous times, to retract it without a penalty, so, in the fantastical period which succeeded, to be even accused of what was in fact a legal offence, might well be accounted a gross insult. That anciently only villains fought on foot, and with a batoon, instead of on horseback, and with a lance; hence to be struck with a stick, or on certain parts of the body, came afterwards to be deemed an especial affront to gentility. The like exception was taken to a box on the ear, because a knight never fought with his face uncovered. 'This,' he might reply, 'explains well enough the origin of these punctilios, but seems no just excuse for sustaining them by such disproportionate penalties. Besides, the age you appeal to, was as fantastical as yours is sober. A knight-errant would now be encaged in the house of correction; a lover of the chivalrous stamp would be taken to have lost his wits; even a tournament would be likely to be dispersed by the peace-officers, with "the power of the county." At least limit this peculiar privilege of the gentleman to such as, by the more ancient rules of chivalry, would have been entitled to the honors of the tourney; to him that is of gentle blood by four descents at the least, and can display a legitimate coat-armor, not placed at random on the pannels of his coach by his coachmaker. Deny it, by the same rule, to any that has blasphemed God, or offended the ladies; is wanting in courtesy, or is false to his word, to gratitude or honor; has deserted his comrade in a difficulty, or assailed his enemy without warning, or by indirect means despoiled him of his estate. Put all these without the pale of the field of honor, and the enviable privilege of jousting in it, might safely be entrusted to those who would remain.'

As it thus appears that we have made wide deviations from the code of honor, as it subsisted in 'the high and palmy state' of its empire, it is but fair to inquire how far it consists, as now reformed, with the peace and dignity of society. We shall be pardoned for pursuing this inquiry somewhat discur-

sively, for the same reason that regular tactics are laid aside in a *guerilla* warfare; as, to say the truth, we hardly know on what point of reason our antagonists make head, or on which to direct our attack. Yet as we may daily observe many otherwise judicious persons running the risk of being shot through the body, or actually losing their lives, to the great detriment of their affairs, and the yet greater discomfort and grief of their families; it were unfair to set them down for mad, without some formal inquest of the motives which prompt them thus to 'set their lives at a pin's point.'

If our men of honor, in shooting an adversary through the head, did not eagerly disclaim all views to revenge, and were there not something in this passion quite inconsistent with the generosity we are wont to ascribe to a gentleman, we might set down the usage to the account of this, one of the blindest and most headlong of our propensities. But that this were an error as regards a great portion of them, may appear from the great placableness of the combatants, who, on the least blood drawn, and often on the expenditure of a certain amount of gunpowder, are seen to forgive imputations which (had they been better marksmen) might have been washed away in blood; to say nothing of those, who, the usage apart, are heartily disposed to let pass both the affront and the revenge. The generosity evinced on these occasions may indeed be deemed excessive. For as in polite society, all who are admitted are, for the time, on a footing of equality, so among such as are admitted to the privilege of the *duellum* (as the worthy Baron of Bradwardine calls it), considerations which are thought of moment in other affairs, whether of bargain or compromise, seem to be wholly lost sight of. Thus he who, with the loss of life, would lose, at the same time, the highest fortune and the largest honors, is no more considered than his antagonist, who may have nothing to lose in this world, either in fortune or good name. We submit to our court of honor the hardship of this case. In this wager of battle, the stakes should be equal; and though for ordinary purposes a good appearance and a polite address may well enough pass a man for a gentleman, some stricter *qualification* might seem not unreasonable, to entitle him to draw blood in these honorable encounters.

But were one ever so blindly intent on revenge, he could not be quite insensible to the treacherous part, which the world

plays on these occasions; first, like the author of all evil, seducing him into the mischief, and then abandoning him without consolation to its bitter fruits. For however tyrannical it be in exacting this bloody sacrifice to its opinion, or rather this martyrdom in what it calls the cause of honor and good manners, we do not find that it reserves for the zealots of its faith any of the honors of the martyr. Instead of paying the price of blood with extraordinary suffrages of its respect, thus applying those outward unctions by which the inward smart of conscience is sometimes appeased, it plays the part of a great personage to his bravo, whose mercenary murders are rewarded with ill dissembled aversion. In this point of view, the wholesale murderers of the species, soldiers of fortune and conquering kings, are many times more fortunate and prudent, as they either bind the vulgar opinion to their victorious car, or defy it in the insolence of power. Our *Monomachist*, on the contrary (and the better man he is, the more inevitable is this result), pines through the world, with the mark of blood on his brow, a kind of wandering Jew in the ordinary circle of life. The bloody passage in his history is indeed, by the common consent of his friends, buried in a silence, which is, however, not oblivious. The very caution with which all allusion to it is avoided, awakes the jealous remorse, which slumbers, another Argus, with open eyes in his bosom. The ignorant regard him with such superstition as they feel near the ruin which tradition has stained with crime; the wiser, with such a respect at best, as the ancients attached to spots which had been stricken with thunder. The warmest defence that is made of him (for an apology is no less required by the inconstancy of opinion, for having struck the blow, than for failing to strike it) seldom goes beyond what is to be found in the common turn of expression; 'If *ever* a man was justified in fighting, it was he;' a dreadful doubt indeed, in a case which is irreparable. The wretch, who can be callous to these significations of the natural sentiment, must be left to the scourge of a more awful tribunal. We will not ask what part conscience takes meanwhile; whether, like the gold of the miser in his secret chest, she consoles the martyr for the censure of the populace;* or, her whispers growing more audible as the voice of the world is remote, she plays through life the per-

* Hor. Sat.

plexed casuist; weighing the extreme revenge against the frivolous provocation, the code of honor against the law of God and of the land, the breath of opinion against the stifled sighs of remorse. But we have insensibly grown serious.

This examination might turn out more satisfactorily to our casuist, if he could always array some substantial wordly good gained, against this unquietness of his conscience. But it happens strangely and unluckily, that while he may, nay, often must incur this bloodguiltiness for some light punctilio, he cannot decently nor safely either, by means of it, protect his estate, or rid himself of an inconvenient rival, or revenge even the more serious injuries to his good fame. This summary justice may indeed for ever put it out of a rude fellow's power to jostle him rudely in a crowd, or obstruct his view at the play; but he must betake him to the vulgar tribunals of justice to exculpate himself from a charge of overreaching in a bargain, or forging a deed, or making way with a will. As it seems, then, that our law of honor either goes too far, or not far enough, those that feel themselves under compulsion to obey it, ought to bethink them of extending its jurisdiction to more important matters.

The professed Fire-Eater himself might have some reason for his taste, if by a fortunate *hit* he could regain the reputation, which no other known act of his life has perhaps given him the least claim to; or by taking the life of one man of probity, could win or enforce the opinion of the rest. But it is the defect of this sort of argument, rigorous as it may appear, that though sometimes necessary, it seems, to support an established reputation, that indeed to reason requires no such supererogatory proof, it is never imagined to set up any that has no better foundation. The common understanding is not so depraved as to give him credit for more than hardiness of nerve and precision of eye. The most it can do for an infirm character, is to stifle the loudness of reproach, and give a conscious scoundrel the satisfaction of knowing, that all people think him a dirtier fellow than they care to express. We have seen some of these bullies in our time, walking like 'the pestilence at noon-day,' and reading contempt and hate so much the more visibly in the eyes of all, for that they forbore to give them tongue.

But nothing shows this folly in a stronger light, or more forcibly displays the tyranny of opinion, than a reflection

which must occur to every wise observer of life. How few of the best of us can hope to unite all suffrages in our favor, or have our actions justly scanned, much less our sentiments truly appreciated! And as this arises not seldom out of the dulness or the baseness of others, the applause of the crowd is often as little to be desired as to be hoped. A man of sense and spirit, therefore, may sometimes, without either insolence or pride, take no displeasure from knowing that he is obnoxious to the vulgar censure, and might doubt the reality of that virtue which found no enemies. 'I hate him because he is just,' is no paradox to him who has observed how constantly vice feels itself, as it were, reproached by virtue. From what weakness, then, or inconsistency in our nature is it, that a man, thus careless of the censure of the million, shall sometimes go to buffets with a single slanderer from the crowd. Yet this same individual, should he happen to be eminent in power or place, or to lead the front of party, or to embark on the fretful sea of a political canvass, endures with wonderful fortitude all the slanders against his patriotism and his honesty, and hears himself, with a smile, likened to all the traitors and conspirators infamous in story. Our modern history furnishes some instances, indeed, where those, who, at the same moment, were shaking Europe with the terror of their arms, or wielding it by their policy, have descended to play the champion in this lesser field; which seems about as ridiculous, by the way, as if Cicero had challenged a conscript father for reflecting on his birth, or Mark Antony had sent a card to the author of the 'Philippics.' If there is a conspicuous absurdity in these pugnacious ebullitions of the great, who, confiding to the judgment of mankind the higher acts and motives of their lives, can descend to settle points with some obscure antagonist; the folly of those is not less, who, in a lower sphere of action, have the wit to estimate justly the opinion of the crowd, without the civic courage to resist, in this matter, its fantastical requisitions.

From all these inconsistencies one would really be tempted to conclude, that the punctilio, which we call the point of honor, if not merely an inveterate habit of thinking, retained because men have not yet been at the pains to reflect on its whole absurdity, is a kind of maniacal infusion into the otherwise sober temperament of the age; such as is sometimes seen in the constitution of individuals, and is depicted in the worthy

knight of La Mancha, the last specimen of a like folly, a little more preposterous.

That ingenious refiner, the author of the 'Spirit of Laws,' informs us, that honor is the principle of monarchies. That honor, as he describes it, is somewhat fantastical, mixed up, if we understand him, of artificial punctiliousness, ambition of dignities, and jealousy of personal bravery; all admirably adapted to make subjects revolve round the sovereign as the fountain of honors, and join cause with him against the plebeian orders of the state; to make the gentleman a creature of modes and caprices; and sustain a warlike nobility, always prompt for the schemes of ambitious conquest. To encourage, at least not to discountenance the punctilio we have been treating of, might be a sort of wisdom in kings, who thus regard their subjects as so many pageants in the array of pomp, or so many brute instruments in the *matériel* of war. But as our institutions require no such artificial distinction of the gentleman from the commonalty, nor the training of a mere soldiery, it is the less necessary to abuse and distort reason, with any view of policy, or foster a sentiment which has no true foundation in nature. Better and nobler that sentiment of the Romans, which decreed a crown to him, who had saved the life of a citizen; a sentiment yet more just among us, where, by the spirit of our laws, he is part of the majesty of the state, and where, through the happiness of our circumstances, it is his rational, not his brute properties, that are required for its service. If European rulers look on government as a game, played for their diversion, and where all the pieces are of much the like value; it should with us rather resemble the higher combinations of chess, where their values are different, and where they should be sacrificed with some reference to these respectively. Now our code of honor listens to none of these distinctions; but absurdly proceeds as if all men were rationally as well as politically equal.

This leads us to say a word to the gentlemen of our army and navy, whom we can by no means except from the influence of these considerations, nor hold excused for risking, in private brawl, the life which belongs more peculiarly to their country. Courage is not, as it might have been considered in a barbarous age, so exclusively the praise of a soldier, that it must be demonstrated at all risks, even at the expense of patriotism and conscience; and that it cannot be let to sleep,

in scorn of the silly or the brawling, till, like my uncle Toby's, 'proper occasion calls it forth.' It is not in peace, that 'the sword is the proper argument of the soldier;' nor is it to be drawn, at any rate, on every light occasion, any more than a man of breeding thinks of disturbing the current of social discourse, with trenchant arguments and sturdy logic. Yet if the raw recruit, whose sword is yet unfleshed, persists in referring his courage to this doubtful proof, the veteran of many battles has no such excuse; for at least the ambition of acting on this poor field, ought to be understood as an acknowledgement, that the combatant has never had and never expects to have the honor of acting on a better.

We shall here conclude with some suggestions for the consideration of those especially, who honestly think this barbarous usage is in some strange manner one of the guards and defences of our modern refinement; a class of thinkers the more likely to perpetuate the abuse, for the reason, that the errors of a man of virtue are always of the most dangerous example.

It must be allowed, in the first place, to be some objection to this method of enforcing the lesser morals, that it gives the advantage precisely to those who most require to be awed into civility. The temper which is prone to insult and outrage, has thus the farther satisfaction of making amends after its own fashion, and of blowing out a man's brains as a compensation for having trod on his toes. The sensibility, on the other hand, which most avoids contention, brawl, and contumely, must find the least pleasure in exacting this rigorous penalty. Thus the absurdity is involved, of making champions for decorum out of the very persons most likely to violate it, which is not much wiser than making the town-watch out of the thieves and vagrants. How apt these Prætorian bands in the empire of honor are to turn their arms against their own sovereign, needs no better proof than what our author has furnished us in his sketches of Irish society, where the order seems to have been less, as the champions were many. Nor, perhaps, will some parts of our own country, the Tipperary and Galway of these states, serve our argument less; where not only these conservators of social quiet are more numerous, but the arms they carry are more effective. It should follow that our civility ought to increase as we travel towards the frontier, and the pistol gives way to the musket or the rifle.

It may, in the next place, strike the observant, that the affairs of honor have by no means increased, but greatly diminished in Christendom, during this age. We have the candor to own that this is susceptible of two explanations; first, that we are in reality, as our grandfathers assure us, much behind our predecessors in all the courtesies and arts of life; or, secondly, that by the excellent practice of duelling, the world is at length so reduced into politeness, that fewer occasions now offer for its exercise. This last reason seems the more agreeable of the two, as it holds out a hope of our presently dispensing with it altogether. It is certain, if we may trust the elder comedies, that the fine gentlemen of that day oftener whipped out their blades in coffee-houses, as they were also more used to put modest women out of countenance, and stagger drunk into their presence. Such a revolution, like all others, must be supposed to have cost as much blood as wit. At present, too, the most delicate 'affair' may be settled by the principals alone. A century ago, the seconds were expected in courtesy to take part; and in an age yet ruder, before the *duellum* had yet time, we suppose, to display all its benign effect, whole families, Montagues, and Capulets, on both sides, were fairly engaged on these honorable occasions.

Again, as it is the aim of the courteous Monomachist to draw the least possible blood that will satisfy his honor, the greatest civility and good manners ought, by this rule, to reside in those baser classes of society, who practise a more bloodless monomachy, stripping on the instant insult, and boxing their antagonists into good manners. Nor can it be thought an objection, that this mode of combat gives the advantage to the strong or active pugilist, instead of the skilful marksman, since of the two, the former art is the more promotive of health and beauty in its possessor, and less apt to be fatal to his antagonist. Our polite neighbors, the English, are so sensible of this, that gentlemen of condition promote pugilism by all means, and even learned judges look complacently on a mode of reasoning which Cicero, in his Roman rudeness, thought proper to beasts. Even assassination itself may be thought to have this advantage over our honorable murder, that it is obliged to go covertly like a villain in the dark, instead of assuming, as it were, the port of a gentleman, and stalking, like the latter, in open daylight. We have never heard, for instance, of any law among the Italians or Portuguese, enjoining on their dignitaries

to swear, that they had never committed an assassination; whereas some of our own legislative bodies have gravely required of their members this solemn denial of murder; as at a Botany Bay assembly, as the jest runs, it is the rule, that none shall cheat at cards, or pick any of the company's pocket, for that time.

Lastly, we should be glad to know by what change of the principles of human action it falls out, that the forbearance which we heroically applaud in a pagan, we treat as cowardice and dishonor in a christian. The 'Strike, but hear,' not only reads as well in English as in Greek, but seems no more out of place in a modern than a classical republic; besides according with a christian maxim which may be known to some readers. Moreover, it consists entirely with the sentiments of that common reason, which still breaks out from the deepest and most fantastical clouds of popular error. But whether our readers shall agree with us or not, that the sort of honor we have been considering, is, like Falstaff's, 'a mere 'scutcheon,' our limits admonish us that we must here end our 'catechism.'

ART. IX.—*A Voyage to the Eastern Seas in the year* 1816; *including an Account of Captain Maxwell's Attack on the Batteries at Canton; and Notes of an Interview with Bonaparte at St Helena, in August*, 1817. By CAPTAIN BASIL HALL, Royal Navy. 18mo. pp. 331. G. & C. Carvill. New York.

THE embassy of Lord Amherst to the court of China twelve years ago, together with the events of the voyage performed by the British vessels of war, the Alceste and the Lyra, on that occasion, and particularly the account of the Loo Choo islands narrated by the voyagers on their return, are doubtless in the recollection of many of our readers. The Alceste, commanded by Captain Murray Maxwell, and the Lyra, a ten gun brig commanded by Captain Basil Hall, were despatched to convey the ambassador and his suite to the river Pei Ho, at the confluence of which with the Yellow Sea they were to debark and proceed to Pekin. The particulars of this mission we shall not recount, but confine ourselves to the little volume be-

fore us, from the perusal of which we acknowledge at the outset, that we have derived much amusement and profit.

Soon after Captain Hall's return to England, he published an account of his voyage in an elegantly printed volume, accompanied with appropriate drawings, an appendix containing original charts constructed from his own surveys, and several scientific tracts suited for the instruction of future navigators, who should explore the seas which he had visited. This work was too expensive for general circulation, but it was so well received by the public, that the author was induced to prepare another edition, from which he excluded the scientific articles, and clothed the narrative in a somewhat more popular dress. He seems, indeed, to have spared no pains in this revision. The style is essentially altered throughout, four entire chapters have been added on topics connected with the voyage, but not embraced in the first narrative, and numerous original paragraphs are here and there interspersed from beginning to end. In its present character, therefore, we deem it a new work, and shall proceed to make our readers acquainted with its contents as such, notwithstanding the general interest, which Captain Hall's description of the Loo Choo people excited at the time it was first published, as well in this country as in England. The edition now offered to the American public, we suppose to have been reprinted from the last Edinburgh edition, although it bears indications of some very slight alterations by the author.

The curious and important events, which thicken upon us as we advance in the volume, will not allow us to dwell with Captain Hall in his first chapter, which takes us very agreeably from England to Java. We will venture to remark, however, that the story of his interview with the natives at Anjeer Point, of their appearance and amusements, is told in his best manner. He describes a wedding which he had the honor of attending, and at which he found, among other guests, 'ten venerable personages with long beards, seated on a low table, round several smoking bowls of rice, and messes of meat cut into small pieces.' Being invited to join this group of ancients, and partake of the wedding feast, he instantly complied, mounted the table with becoming gravity, and in default of forks and spoons, and in imitation of his associate guests, he made that use of his fingers for which nature contrived them. His companion was in a less tractable humor, protested 'he

saw no fun in this,' and refused the proffered hospitality. Meanwhile 'the happy couple were seated in great state in a deep recess on one side of the apartment, bolstered up with a dozen of large pillows covered over with gilt trimmings.' These persons were solemn and demure, said nothing, and took no notice of any body, nor of anything that passed. How the wedding ended we cannot report, for at this stage of the ceremony, to our no little disappointment, the author abruptly leaves us, and goes abroad to seek other adventures.

From the Straits of Sunda the ships proceeded to the coast of China, there to communicate with Sir George Staunton, chief of the English Factory at Canton, and with other persons destined to accompany the expedition. The Emperor had already been informed of the intention of the Prince Regent to send a mission to the court of Pekin, and his reply was hourly expected. The vessels took in water at Hong Kong, one of the Ladrone Islands, where they awaited the Emperor's answer, which was at length received by an express from the Factory. Full permission was granted by it for the embassy to advance up the coast in the vessels, and land at the port nearest the capital.

Twelve days after quitting Hong Kong, they passed around the promontory of Shantung into the Yellow Sea. As their charts availed them little in these unknown regions, they were obliged to move onward with caution. The water became shallow long before land was discovered, and apprehensions began to be entertained, that the vessels would be stopped by the mud. At one time the Lyra's keel was actually ploughing in this sediment, which was perceived by the yellow color of the water in the wake, and also by the retarded motion of the vessel, and the difficulty of steering. The same thing was observed by Dr Clarke, the traveller, as he passed the mouths of the Nile out of sight of land. In this instance the vessel's wake exhibited a deep black color, and the muddy sediment was so impalpable as to present only a slight resistance. Captain Hall thinks, with apparent good reason, that the tract of water called the Yellow Sea will one day be filled up by these deposits of the rivers that run into it, and that the whole region will become alluvial, like that of Bengal or Egypt.

After a good deal of difficulty the mouth of the river Pei Ho, the destined place of the ambassador's debarkation, was discovered. The water was so shoal as to oblige the squadron to

anchor eight or ten miles from the shore, and two mandarins, one an officer in the military service, and the other in the civil, came off to pay their respects to Lord Amherst. 'Previously to approaching the ship, two visiting cards were despatched by an inferior officer from these great persons, which were at least a foot and a half in length, and not less than a foot wide. They were made of red colored paper, with the name and title written in a perpendicular line in the centre.' These mandarins were deputed by another of higher authority, to whom the charge was assigned of conducting the embassy through the country to Pekin. At last the ambassador and his attendants landed at Tacoo, a town about a mile above the mouth of the Pei Ho. Here the navigators took leave of the ambassador, whom they did not see again till they met him at Canton five months afterwards, on his return over land from the Chinese capital.

The visiting cards of spacious dimensions, sent by the mandarins to Lord Amherst, remind us of Father Horta's description of the ceremony of visiting among the Tonquinese. The visiting card among that formal people rises to the dignity of a book. When a person pays a visit, he stops at the gate till the porter comes, and then gives him several loose leaves of paper, on which are written in large characters the name of the visiter, his titles, and the purposes of his visit. The common color of these leaves is white with a red cover, but there are other colors varying according to the rank and quality of the person to whom the visit is paid. An invitation card is still more formidable. It consists of several leaves, on the first of which is written the name, address, and titles of the person invited; then follows the invitation; and last of all the bill of fare for the proposed entertainment. Father Horta transcribed a form of invitation on a card which he saw, which ran as follows. '*Chao-ting has prepared a repast of some herbs, cleaned his glasses, and arranged his house, in order that Se-tong may come and recreate him with the charms of his conversation, and the eloquence of his learning; he therefore begs, that he will not deny him that divine pleasure.*' As our voyagers were not invited to an entertainment of this sort by the Chinese, they had no means of knowing the forms adopted on such occasions.

From the Pei Ho the two vessels sailed in different directions, the Alceste steering northward for the purpose of examining the Gulf of Leotung, and the Lyra southward along the

coast that borders the Gulf of Petchelee. In eleven days they met again at Che-a-tou Bay, and, after refitting, sailed in company to the harbor of Oei-hai-oi, to the eastward of the former port on the coast of Shantung. This place Captain Hall supposes had never before been visited by Europeans, and he speaks of the reception, which they met from the inhabitants, as favorable to the Chinese character. A vast concourse of people gathered round to see the strangers when they landed, and as they proceeded to the village, decorum and civility prevailed everywhere. They were escorted to the neat and elegant mansion of a mandarin, where they were regaled with tea, hot wine, and sweet cakes. They were allowed also to walk through the village, and in its environs.

'By the time this visit of ceremony was over, the mob had dispersed, and we separated into different parties, to stroll about the country, no sort of objection being made to our doing so. I have often remarked that on these occasions, where no harm is intended, and the gratification of curiosity the only object, the best way is to go straight forward, without putting difficulties into the people's heads, by seeming to imagine any permission necessary. At least during this voyage, whenever we began by soliciting leave to walk into the country, or to look at anything, our request was almost invariably refused. It is always easy enough to discover when such a proceeding is really disagreeable or improper; and it seems then full time to turn back.

'The first house we visited, at some distance in the country, was surrounded by a wall or fence, made of neatly wattled twigs. On the steps before the door sat a woman sewing, who as soon as she beheld the apparition of half a dozen strange looking men, screamed out, threw down her work, and in spite of all our attempts to pacify her, continued to alarm the neighborhood with her cries. Among the people who came to her relief was a middle aged man, probably her husband, who, with great roughness, turned us round by the shoulders, marched us out of his grounds, and pointed to the ships. There was no mistaking this, and finding our eloquence only augmented the lady's fury, and the honest man's indignation, we gave up the point, and turned from this uncivil couple towards a party of men and women employed in winnowing corn. This was done on a hard smooth mud floor, raised three feet above the level of the field, near a farm-house. We observed that they first beat the corn with flails, not unlike a watchman's rattle, and then tossed it into the air, that the wind might blow away the chaff. One of the farmers showed me a double drill-plough, and when I expressed some curiosity about these matters,

he put the plough into my hands, implying that he wished me to keep it. In the course of the evening he brought it on board, but would accept nothing in return. We succeeded in gaining ground much better with this group than with the scolding lady, chiefly by making friends in the first instance of the children, to whom we gave buttons, curtain rings, and such trifles as we had put in our pockets on leaving the ship. This speedily opened a way to the good will of the parents, and as soon as we observed them softening a little in their reserve, we engaged their full attention and respect, by allowing them a peep through the telescope, always an object of great wonder to such people; after this had gone round the circle, we produced the pocket compass, which they stared at with great delight, and a sight of our watches completed the treaty of amity between us.

'While this was going on, a countryman driving a donkey loaded with vegetables, joined the party. We instantly tried to open a traffic with him for his whole cargo, but here an unexpected difficulty arose. He knew so little of our money, that he refused to part with his vegetables in exchange for Spanish dollars, a coin we had always been taught to believe passed current in every corner of the earth. All the trinkets we had brought with us had been already disposed of, and nothing but what was valuable remained; our friend, however, though evidently much amused, and willing enough to sell his cabbages, would give nothing without some equivalent. In this unwonted dilemma, when silver was of no avail, it occurred to me to try the efficacy of a more showy metal, and borrowing the countryman's knife from him, I cut a button from my uniform, then seizing a bundle of leeks in one hand, and displaying the crown and anchor in the other, I appealed to the company whether the bargain was not a fair one. This was irresistible; and I carried my point by acclamation. In this way, by stripping one side of my jacket of its row of finery, and debating the value of each item, I became possessed of the whole cargo. The winnowing party, including several women, and a number of children, had left their work, and assembled round us, listening to this discussion, which I need not say was carried on with much laughing and joking on both sides, although neither party understood a syllable of the other's language. I was a little at a loss what to do with my purchase, for my sole object, in which I completely succeeded, had been to produce good-humor, and I had nobody with me to carry the vegetables. At length, however, I explained to the peasant that I wished them carried to the boat, and although I took no farther charge of him, he delivered them faithfully in the course of the afternoon.' pp. 52–55.

Towards the evening of the same day Captain Hall and Mr

Clifford crossed over to the opposite side of the harbor, and took a walk for some distance into the country. Pursuing a path leading from the shore, they passed a low ridge of hills, and soon found themselves in a neat little hamlet, at the bottom of a secluded valley, embowered in groves of trees. The villagers flocked around them with much curiosity, and received them with kindness and hospitality. They examined the dress of their visitants, and such articles as they had about them, with expressions of astonishment. The following picture is not more novel in its incidents, than beautiful in its moral, and may well he contemplated with admiration by communities, which boast of a much higher degree of civilization and refinement, than it has been usual to allow to these remote Chinese.

'During the inspection which was instituted into my apparel, I had given to one man my hat, to another my gloves, a third amused himself and the company by opening and shutting my penknife, and in the confusion my watch was passed from hand to hand, till lost sight of altogether. At length these good people were satisfied; and fancying everything was restored, we took our leave as the day was closing. But we left the village by a different path from that by which we had come; and after wandering for some time among the hills, till it became almost dark, returned to the shore. Before stepping into the boat, however, I wished to make a record of the time of tide, and then first discovered that my watch was gone. I had no recollection of the person into whose hands I had given it; and even if I had, was without any means of discovering him. All the stories about the thievish disposition of the Chinese now crowded upon our recollection; and the good opinion we were gradually forming of their character, was shaken to its foundation. The watch, however, was much too valuable to be lost without an effort, and we resolved to return to the village, to give it a chance.

'All was now silent among the cottages, and we wandered about for some time, till attracted by a light at a window, we went up to it, and addressed two people sitting at supper in the room. They were much alarmed at our sudden appearance, pushed us rudely away, and closed the window. This was an unpropitious beginning; but we persevered till, on reaching the court or square near the centre of the village, we fortunately lighted upon a party of eight or ten men, some lying on the ground, others seated on chairs, smoking their pipes, and enjoying the delicious coolness of the evening air, which had succeeded to the burning heat of the day. I was not much in a humor to notice fine grouping or pic-

turesque effects, but happening to remember the Chinese for watch, Pee-o-i, I repeatedly pronounced it, exhibiting at the same time my empty pockets. The word or the action easily made them comprehend my loss. But as I was under the full conviction all the while that I never should see my watch again, I may probably have expresed some impatience on the occasion. This, however, produced little effect on the Chinese, who merely took their pipes from their mouths, leaned on their elbows, and listened with great attention to all I had to say. When I had finished my speech, which consisted principally of signs, interspersed with occasional mention of the word Pee-o-i, an old gentleman of the party got up, and patting me good-naturedly on the shoulder, gave me his ready-lighted pipe to console me, and with great gravity, in the midst of which I fancied I could sometimes detect an ironical smile when he looked towards his companions, made me a long speech, which, although I could not understand a single word of it, seemed to set forth that it was quite useless to be angry about the matter. The rest of the party laughed heartily at the oddity of this dialogue, and seemed determined to take no steps till the discussion was over. As I saw very soon that there was nothing for it but good-humor—or rather, that nothing was to be gained by impatience, I sat down among them, accepted the orator's pipe, and puffed away as well as the most experienced smoker of the party. I had no sooner been seated on a chair which was brought for me, as they would not suffer me to stretch myself on the ground, than the spokesman of the party, who had just lectured me, as I conjectured, upon the virtue of patience, looking over his shoulder and laughing, spoke a few words to one of the young men seated on the grass near him, who immediately rose and left the party. In about five minutes the messenger returned, bringing along with him another person, who held my watch in his hand; and I now recognised the face of the man I had first given it to. He explained, as I understood him, that as I had left the village by another road (pointing first to the one way, and then to the other) he had quite lost sight of me, but that next day he meant to have brought the watch on board. This I inferred from his pointing to where the sun rose, and then towards the ships. At all events, I was happy enough to recover my lost property, and the first impulse naturally was to give him some reward. I had only a dollar, and two or three smaller coins with me, which I put into the young man's hand; but this was no sooner observed, than two or three of the others jumped on their feet, and taking the money from him, thrust it back again into my pockets. I made him sit down, however, and it will easily be understood that the recovery of the watch was more efficacious in restoring good-humor than the old fellow's lecture had been; and so my sententious friend

himself seemed to think, for he addressed me with the former affected seriousness of tone and manner, and then laughed heartily as he pointed to the watch. It is wonderful, indeed, how without language, people can generally make themselves mutually understood when there is good will on both sides, and how difficult, even with all the advantages of speech, the most simple explanation becomes, when temper or interest opposes an obstacle to the mutual apprehension of the subject.' pp. 56–59.

As they placed no value in money, Captain Hall tempted their curiosity with other articles, which he would gladly have left with them as a token of his gratitude, but they positively refused to take anything that was offered to them. When the man who restored the watch came on board the Lyra the next day, he still persisted in his refusal of a reward, nor could he be prevailed upon by any inducements to alter his determination. The lower classes at Canton are remarkable for thieving. They have probably acquired the vice by their intercourse with foreigners. Neither the expedition of Lord Macartney, nor that of Lord Amherst, in passing through the country, was annoyed by any propensity of this sort in the inhabitants.

Captain Hall observes, that 'in every village, however small, which he visited in China, there was invariably a school, where both reading and writing were taught to boys.' In the village, where the adventure of the watch occurred, the school was kept by a 'very formal, perpendicular, elderly gentleman.' Speaking of another village, the author says, 'we were attracted by the well known hum to a school, which the master, who came out to the door, begged us to enter. Everything within was remarkably neat and clean, and the room well ventilated; but the day was very hot, and one of the scholars, observing Mr Clifford fanning himself with his hat, left his seat, and presented him with his fan; at the same time, turning round, he gave me his book, opened I suppose at the place of the lesson. The whole school were then ordered to read at once, during which the master appeared to have the faculty of distinguishing any voice which was in error; a mode of teaching, it may be observed, universal from all time over the east, but only recently introduced from that hemisphere into this country, and I believe with much effect.' We hardly understand what our voyager means by the last clause in this sentence; but if he intends to say, that children can be taught to read by this Babel jargon of sounds, uttered simultaneously from every mouth in

the school, whether in the Chinese or the English idiom, we must beg leave to demur. We have strong doubts, also, of the teacher's ability, under such circumstances, to distinguish every truant voice in the midst of such confusion. To us the predicament of the unlucky pedagogue would seem to be not less embarrassing, than would have been that of the Speaker of the House of Representatives, in deciding who was in order or out of order, who was talking sense or nonsense, had all the members chosen to make their speeches on the retrenchment question at once; and we should as soon expect light to shine on the counsels of the nation's guardians from this mode of debating, as improvement in a school founded on the Chinese model. Captain Hall remarks, that no schools for girls came under his observation in China.

In a few days the ships took up their course across the Yellow Sea to the coast of Corea. Long before they came to the main land they fell in with innumerable clusters of Islands, which were afterwards found to fringe this inner border of the Corean peninsula for a great distance. The voyagers landed at some of these islands, and were led into amusing adventures with the natives, which we shall pass over, and take our readers at once to the harbor on the main land where the vessels at length came to anchor.

'As soon as the ships were secured, Captain Maxwell, Mr Clifford, and I proceeded in one of the Alceste's boats towards a considerable village, or rather town, in the northwestern angle of the bay. On drawing near, it was discovered that the whole population were in a commotion, much resembling the sort of bustle into which a colony of ants are thrown by the thrust of a spade. This sensation extended to a fleet of boats riding at anchor off the town, the crews of which were busily employed weighing anchor, and getting their oars to pass. Before we could reach the landing-place, eight or ten of the largest vessels were seen steering towards us, escorted by more than a hundred canoes and small boats, bustling and paddling along in tumultuous procession. Every boat, even the smallest that had a mast at all, was decked out with long streamers, and crowded almost to sinking with people. On arriving within a couple of boats' lengths of the headmost vessel, our ears were saluted with sounds not unlike those of the bagpipe, which issued from three pipes, or trumpets, played by men raised high in the bow of the boat. In the middle part of the deck, between the masts, we discovered a huge blue umbrella, held by two men over the head of a very important look-

ing personage, seated cross-legged on a mat, surrounded by attendants in richly colored dresses. The chief himself, for such he was dubbed the moment we beheld him, is worthy of a particular description. His principal garment consisted of a showy robe, or mantle, of blue satin, in whose ample folds he was well nigh lost; in front hung down his venerable white beard, as far as a rich embroidered girdle, confining the robe. On his head was placed a hat of a size in proportion with that of the other parts of his dress; the rim measured not less than three feet, over which rose a very small peaked crown. In his right hand he wielded, with an air of mighty importance, a slender black rod tipped with silver, from which hung at one end a small slip of black crape, and a narrow leather thong was tied to the other end—symbolical, it was thought, of the summary course of justice in Corea. In his left hand he grasped between the thumb and little finger his pipe, trimmed, from time to time by an attendant, stationed for that purpose close to his elbow, who took the tobacco from a silver box carried by a little boy.' pp. 86–88.

'The whole procession, like a royal regatta, now proceeded slowly towards the Lyra, to the sound of the pipes, which began to play the instant the boats went on. Captain Maxwell and I rowed to one side of the brig, while the chief's boat was placed on the other in a very seaman-like style. To get on board was not so easy a matter, and it was all our discipline could accomplish to keep the sailors from laughing at the manner in which the old chief got up the gangway, encumbered as he was with his immense robes. As the evening was fine, we thought it best to entertain our guest on the quarter-deck, instead of inviting him to my little cabin, hardly large enough, as some one observed, to hold the old gentleman's hat. Chairs were accordingly brought up, but the chief seemed to despise these European inventions, and would accept of no accommodation but his own mat. Even to this he at first objected, leaving us completely perplexed to discover his wishes. It has occurred to us since, that the publicity of the conference may have displeased him, and we regretted not having carried him below, however inconvenient the accommodation. At length he sat down, and immediately the whole of his own crew, and the men from about twenty other boats, leaped on board in all directions, to assist at the ceremony. Some of them climbed into the rigging, others established themselves on the poop, and one unbroken line of copper-colored wondering faces was ranged along the hammocks from stem to stern. When every one was seated, silence and something like order was established, and the chief, drawing his pipe from his mouth, and flourishing his wand, commenced an oration which lasted fully

five minutes. When he had concluded, Captain Maxwell, who had listened with admirable gravity and a look of respectful attention, made a reply in English, not quite so long, but quite as much to the purpose. The chief opened his eyes, stared, listened, and looked round to his attendants, as if to inquire the meaning of all this ; but obtaining no satisfaction from the appeal, as they all shook their heads, he called to a person who seemed to be his secretary, and touching him with his rod, made him sit down before him. The secretary took his place with all due formality, and having rubbed his cake of Indian ink upon a neat blue stone, which he carried with him, drew forth his camel-hair brush, and arranging a long scroll of paper on his knees, began, at the chief's dictation, to write a despatch, the by-standers assisting from time to time in the composition of this document, which they no doubt thought was to set all matters right. When completed, the chief looked it over, and then handed it to us. We looked at it too, but were obliged to shrug our shoulders, and signify our ignorance with the best grace we could. The chief was exceedingly provoked, and showed by his gestures and the angry tones of his voice how stupid he thought us.' pp. 89, 90.

To account for the surprise and disappointment of the chief on this occasion, we must consider, that in China, Corea, Japan, and the neighboring islands, the same written language is universally understood, even among persons from different parts, whose conversation is totally unintelligible to each other. The Chinese characters are used for this purpose, and they communicate ideas in the same way as the Arabic numbers, which are understood by all the nations of Europe, notwithstanding the wide dissimilarity of their languages. As this was probably the first time, that the Corean chief had seen persons of so much apparent distinction, as were the officers of the vessels, who could not read the common written characters, he must be supposed to have ascribed so singular a circumstance to their obstinacy in pretending not to understand him, or to their gross ignorance, neither of which could inspire him with very high respect for his visiters. Although puzzled with this result, he soon recovered his good humor, and seemed pleased with what he saw. When he took leave of the Lyra, his boats were seen rowing towards the Alceste, which he reached just as the officers had arrived from the other vessel to receive him.

'It appeared that he had forgotten the fate of his despatch on board the Lyra, or else he wished once more to fathom the depth of

our ignorance, probably not conceiving it possible that the owner of such a dwelling should be unable to read or write. Whatever his reasons might be, he ordered his secretary to prepare another writing without delay, and as soon as it was examined, handed it with great formality to Captain Maxwell. The original document is now in my possession, as well as the translation, made by the interpreter to the British factory at Canton, which runs thus;

'"Persons, of what land are you?—of what nation? On account of what business do you come hither? In the ship are there any literary men, who thoroughly understand, and can explain what is written?"

'We readily conjectured that something to this purpose must be the import of the writing. Had we known it then, however, as correctly as we do now, the knowledge would have served us little purpose, for we had no means of reply, except indeed to the latter part of the question, which Captain Maxwell answered in a manner certainly the most effectual that could be devised. He did it, however, with so much ceremony, and at the same time such perfect gravity, that it was singularly ludicrous. Having called for his clerk, he proceeded to imitate the chief, and wrote a letter which he presented with a low bow. This despatch was not quite so long as the chief's, and contained simply this; "I do not understand one word that you say."

'The chief, not doubting in the least that he should understand the writing as soon as he looked at it, carefully inspected the paper, and turned it first one way and then another, but all to no purpose. At last he looked towards Captain Maxwell with an inquiring air, and pointed impatiently to the paper. Captain Maxwell took up the chief's letter and did exactly the same, implying an equal degree of ignorance; but it was not till a considerable time had elapsed that the chief saw the similarity of their predicaments, and finally gave up all hopes of communicating by any means but signs.' pp. 94, 95.

While the vessels lay in the harbor, the old chief and many of his people came frequently on board, and were extremely curious in examining everything that could be seen, rummaging even the midshipmen's lockers, the sailors' chests, and invading the cook's premises, taking due cognizance of the tea-kettles, coffee-pots, and other utensils. Some of the chief's retinue were also busy in measuring the Lyra with lines and rulers, noting down particulars respecting the guns, shot, spars, rigging, and whatever else they deemed worthy of observation. They ate and drank on board with much hilarity, accommodating themselves with apparent ease to the English customs, and mutual confidence and cheerfulness

prevailed. Nothing seemed to discompose the old chief, but the proposition on the part of the officers to land, which was uniformly met with coldness. As all intercourse was carried on by signs, they thought it not expedient to understand everything that was meant to be conveyed on this subject, but resolved to man the boats and row ashore without ceremony.

'As we approached the beach, the old man's distress augmented; and when at length our keel touched the sand, and the bowman, by leaping out to fix the gang-board, actually landed on the forbidden soil, he held up his hands in despair, drooped his wo-begone countenance on one side, and drew his hand repeatedly across his throat, from ear to ear, unequivocally implying, that some one or other must lose his head on the occasion. This was perplexing enough; but as we had now fairly done the deed, and reached the shore, it was thought that without any great aggravation of the offence, we might enjoy the satisfaction of a walk in this unexplored country. Accordingly, we stepped out, followed in very miserable plight by our venerable friend. As it was low water, we had to scramble through sea-weed and wet sand for about fifty yards, before reaching a dry spot, where a halt was made in order, if possible, to console our worthy companion. We tried to signify that our wishes went no farther than to walk about for half an hour, to stretch our limbs stiffened by so long a voyage; after which it was our intention to return on board to dinner. To the latter part of our discourse, which consisted in making the action of eating and pointing to the ships, his only reply was, to repeat the beheading motion with which he had before endeavored, in the boat, to work on our fears or our compassion. "How can I eat with my head off?" was the interpretation suggested by the late Dr M'Leod, a man of infinite jest, as every one knows, who has perused his most amusing narrative. The humorous manner in which this was spoken, made all our party laugh; but our mirth only augmented the chief's distress, and we began seriously to fear that we had proceeded too far.

'The town, however, not being half a mile from the spot where we had landed, our purpose was merely to walk through it, to climb the wooded hill behind, and to return by the top of the ridge to our boats, which were ordered to wait at the beach. Before advancing many paces, however, we were surrounded by upwards of a hundred of the natives, and there was reason to think we might pay more dearly for our curiosity than at first had been reckoned upon. A word from the chief at this instant might have finished our expedition in a trice; but on appealing to him against this interruption, he spoke some words to his body-guard, which consisted of four soldiers armed with bows and

arrows. The military soon got the better of the populace, by pelting them heartily with stones; thus inverting the usage of more polished communities, where these missiles are the established weapons of the mob.

'The road being now clear, we turned to prosecute our walk, when lo! the old chief was in tears, litterally sobbing like a child, with his head resting on the courtier's shoulder. This was rather too much; for however pitiable and ludicrous it may now seem, it had then a very different character, and all idea of going farther was instantly given up. Every one regretted that matters had been pushed to this extremity, but Captain Maxwell probably more than any other person, as he had been in some degree urged into it, against his better feelings and sounder judgment.' pp. 106–108.

Before dismissing this portion of the author's adventurers, we will give his description of a Corean house, which he examined on one of the islands.

'The door was made to turn on an upright moveable bar, fitted into a cross-beam above, and a hole in the threshold stone below. Before it lay a neat smooth little court, surrounded by a close hedge, of a sweet scented red and white flower, resembling the honeysuckle in shape. On the ground were lying some bundles of corn, and two wooden mortars, with double-handed pestles, for removing the husks. Cooking utensils were ranged along the wall on one side of the door; to the left of the court were several corn stacks. The house was overshadowed by large trees, whose leaf resembled that of the Portugal laurel; and the trunks of these trees and the ends of the house were covered with a thick matting of small-leaved ivy. Nothing within corresponded to the taste and neatness of the exterior. The room, for there was but one, was dark and dirty, the walls and roof being either covered with cobwebs or glazed by the action of wood smoke. The floor was diversified by hill and dale, much in the manner of some cottages which I have seen nearer home, with the appropriate appendage of a lake here and there. The fire-place stood between two large boilers, sunk deep in rude brick-work, the use of which vessels we could not surmise. On the hot embers of the fire lay a couple of fish, one of which, a fine fresh haddock, we took the liberty of helping ourselves to, in the inhospitable absence of the rightful owners. On the wall opposite to this miserable fire-place, were ranged on two shelves a goodly store of coarse crockery, and two or three round shining metal pots and pans. On one of the shelves also stood what seemed two wooden stools, handsomely carved, and varnished with the brilliant lacker used in China. These implements, if we did not mistake their use, certainly ap-

peared much too fine for the rest of the establishment, and quite out of place standing on a shelf. The roof was of thatch, resting on a network of rods, and the eaves extended more than a yard from the walls, at once affording shade to a narrow verandah in front of the house, and giving shelter to the window from rain—a precaution quite necessary to its existence, as it was composed of oiled paper, pasted over small square openings in a wooden frame. The walls themselves were built of stones and mud, most inartificially put together—a want of neatness and skill which did not apply to the more difficult branch of architecture, the frame-work of the roof, this being constructed precisely on our principles, with a king-post and rafters, very neatly morticed in their proper places.' pp. 115, 116.

Several days were passed in sailing among the clusters of islands mentioned above, till at length the vessels departed from the coast of Corea, and proceded directly to the Great Loo Choo island. As they approached this island, the Lyra narrowly escaped shipwreck on a coral reef, but, without any other danger, good anchorage was obtained in the Bay of Napakiang, in the southern part of the island. Their first interview with the natives, who came off to them in canoes before they reached Napakiang, was calculated to make a peculiarly favorable impression. 'One of them, the instant he came alongside, handed up a jar of water, and the other put on board a basket of boiled sweet potatoes, without asking or seeming to wish for any recompense. The manners of our new acquaintances were very gentle and respectful; they made a rule of uncovering their heads when in our presence, bowed low whenever they spoke, and, when we gave them something to eat and drink, made a low salam to every person standing near, before they tasted what was given them.' Another party, when a rope was thrown to them from the ship, 'attached a fish to it and paddled away.' These marks of extraordinary kindness at the first acquaintance promised well, and the future conduct of the people fully confirmed the favorable opinion thus formed of them by the navigators.

The earliest account of the Loo Choo islands is derived from a Chinese work, published more than a century ago. In the year 1719 the Emperor Kang-hi sent an ambassador to Loo Choo named Su-poa-koang. On his return to Pekin, the year following, he published in two volumes a particular description of the islands, both in regard to their productions and the history and manners of the people. Such is the report of

the Jesuit Gaubil. Nothing more was known of Loo Choo, till it was visited by Captain Broughton about thirty years ago. He was a few days in the harbor of Napakiang, but was not permitted to land. No other European had probably visited this people before the present expedition. The island is under the Chinese government.

The ships were hardly anchored when they were surrounded by numerous canoes filled with people, many of whom came directly on board. Among these was a person of higher rank than the rest, who inquired into the motives, which induced the strangers to visit Napakiang, and gave notice that other chiefs of superior rank would shortly come off to the vessels. Luckily he could understand a Chinese servant on board, who acted the part of interpreter, and thus rendered the communication with the people of Loo Choo much more easy and satisfactory, than it had been with the suspicious Coreans. Much curiosity was excited among the inhabitants by the appearance of these new visiters. Canoes were moving rapidly around the harbor, crowds assembled on the beach, and every place suited for observation was occupied by the gazing multitude. An amicable intercourse was immediately established between the chiefs and the commanders of the vessels. Large supplies of provisions were sent to each ship, which were continued from day to day, and for which neither persuasion nor importunity could induce the chiefs to receive anything in return.

'The dress of these interesting persons was singularly graceful and picturesque. It consisted of a loose flowing robe folded over the breast, so as to leave the neck bare; but fastened round the middle by a broad rich belt or girdle of embroidered silk, nearly hid by the overlapping folds of the drapery. The sleeves were so wide that when the arms were crossed in front, the lower part reached nearly to the knees. Each of them wore on his head a yellow cylindrical cap, and on his feet a neatly plaited straw sandal, laced over a short cotton boot or stocking. Two of the chiefs were dressed in light-colored yellow robes, the others in dark blue, streaked with white, all made of cotton. Their caps or turbans were flat at the top, and appeared to be formed by winding a broad band diagonally round a frame in such a manner, that at each turn a small portion of the last fold should be visible above in front, and below at the hinder part. The sandals were bound to the feet by a stiff straw band passing over the instep, and connected with the fore part of the sole by a slender string drawn

between the great toe and the one next to it, the stocking being oddly enough contrived with a division like the finger of a glove, to receive the great toe. Each chief carried a fan either in his hand or thrust into the girdle, together with a short tobacco-pipe and pouch, enclosed in a small bag dangling at his waist. It seemed to be the fashion of the country not to cut the beard, in the nice arrangement of which they appeared to take particular pride. That of the senior chief was nearly a foot long, while those of the two others, though much shorter, were evidently cherished with great care.' pp. 137, 138.

As in Corea, so at this place, the people of distinction that came on board were extremely curious in examining everything they could lay their eyes on. Although their curiosity was eager, yet their manners were gentle and unassuming, and they were never troublesome or obtrusive. After two or three days had passed in this interchange of kindnesses on board the vessels, Captain Maxwell intimated his intention to land, and pay his respects to the great chief of the island. This proposition at first excited a good deal of alarm, and was met by several evasions on the part of the islanders respecting the character of the great chief, his place of residence, and other particulars calculated to throw obstacles in the way. They said, for instance, that he lived a thousand miles off, although the island was hardly half that extent in its whole length. Sometimes they denied, that there was any such chief, and then they affirmed that the Loo-Chooans were by no means a people of so much consequence as the Captain would make them, and that they were wholly unworthy of the honors he designed. By one artifice of this sort after another, they actually prevented the intended visit to the king, although the vessels remained six weeks in the harbor, and the voyagers were well satisfied that his residence was in sight, shrouded in groves of trees, at a distance of three or four miles.

Permission was granted to land on the beach for the purpose of taking astronomical observations, but the persons who went on shore were carefully watched, and none was permitted to walk into the country. By degrees, however, a little more confidence was inspired, and the sailors were allowed to saunter about under the shade of trees, and to recreate themselves within a limited space. When any one of the officers attempted to extend his walks, he was instantly met by a person in authority, who reminded him of his prescribed bounds, not refraining from gentle force, if admonition did not have its

proper effect. But as peace and good humor were objects of special consequence to the visiters, they took care to avoid direct occasions of offence, and always yielded to serious alarms and obvious manifestations of displeasure. Partly by stealth, however, and partly by a bold, strait forward manner, some of the officers contrived to stroll about the immediate environs of the landing-place, and to make some discoveries in the domestic economy and rural occupations of the people. Everything indicated contentment, plenty, and happiness, with much good taste in the arrangement of their grounds, and neatness and comfort in the structure, order, and furniture of their dwellings. No women were ever seen during the whole stay of the voyagers in the harbor, except on one or two occasions, and then by accident. It is supposed, that they were sent into the country as soon as the strangers arrived.

We shall here present our readers with Captain Hall's description of a Loo Choo entertainment, to which Captain Maxwell invited himself and his party rather unceremoniously, for however prompt and generous the Loo-Chooans were in sending all kinds of provisions on board, the chiefs had never hinted that it would give them any pleasure to meet their new friends on shore. Captain Maxwell insisted, that he could not any longer deny himself the satisfaction of showing his sense of their unbounded civilities by paying his respects to them in a proper way, and made it known to them that he should land for this purpose. Finding the Captain determined on this point, some preparation seems to have been made for the event, as will appear by the following extract.

'After a good deal of consideration, it was agreed that Captain Maxwell should take with him several dozens of wine, some books, two looking-glasses, various trinkets, and a large piece of blue broad cloth. I took half the quantity of Captain Maxwell's presents. Smaller donations were also made up for each of the chiefs. Thus prepared, we set out at one o'clock in the Ambassador's barge, with a large union-jack flying; and the wind being fair, soon reached the harbor. As we rowed past the shore, the people were seen running along the different roads leading into the town, so that by the time we reached the entrance, the crowd on both sides was immense, and the sight as striking and animated as can well be conceived.

'On our entering the harbor, four or five of the chiefs came down to a point of land, and made signs, by waving their hands, that we must row past the end of a pier or mole, forming the

inner harbor. By the time we had performed this circuit, the chiefs were ready to receive us at the landing-place. They gave us their hands to help us from the boats, and then conducted us along the shore, Ookooma taking Captain Maxwell's hand, the chief called Shayoon giving me his, and Jeema taking charge of Mr Clifford. The other natives, according to their rank, conducted Dr M' Leod, surgeon of the Alceste, Mr John Maxwell, the commodore's son, and another midshipman, Mr Browne, selected to accompany us on account of his proficiency as a draughtsman. They held our hands nearly as high as the shoulder, and we moved along pretty much in the fashion of a minuet, with a sort of measured step, which made it still more ludicrous. In this manner they carried us through a lane opened for us among silent, gazing crowds of people. The children were, as usual, placed in front, three or four deep, all shining in their best dresses, and looking as happy as possible. The next two or three ranks crouched down, so as just to look over the heads of the children, and in order to allow those behind to see us in passing. By these arrangements many more could obtain a good sight of the strangers, than if they had been crowded indiscriminately together. We were thus paraded slowly along for about a hundred and fifty yards, till we reached the gate of a handsome wooden temple, where we were met by the principal chief, our guest of the preceding day, who stood just outside of the threshold on a small square pavement of polished stones. Ookooma, who had brought Captain Maxwell thus far, now relinquished his office to the old chief, who gave his hand, and showed the way to a small flight of steps leading to the temple, two sides of which were completely thrown open, and the whole skirted by deep verandahs, precautions which rendered the interior shady and cool. The apartment was large, and neatly furnished with gaudy paintings hung round the walls, richly carved wooden cornices and pillars, and everything shining with the brilliant varnish in which the Chinese excel all other nations. In the centre stood a large table, finely japanned, and two ornamental high-backed chairs, one on each side of the chief's seat for Captain Maxwell and me; benches being placed at the sides of the table for the other gentlemen.

'The chief, as soon as the party were all seated, opened the conversation by expressing how much gratified he had been by the reception he had met with the day before, and how glad he was to see us at his table. He then asked our ages, begged to know which of us were married, which single, and expressed himself greatly pleased with the account of Captain Maxwell's family, which happened to correspond exactly as to numbers and age with his own. But he could scarcely be made to believe that young Maxwell, a strapping youth of six feet, was not more than

sixteen years of age, insisting that he must be at least six-and-twenty. The same mistake was often made by the natives, who judged of the ages of our young men by their height alone. After some time spent in this easy kind of friendly chit-chat, a wine which they called sackee was handed round in very diminutive cups, filled to the brim by one of the chiefs, out of a small metal pot, in which this beverage was kept constantly warm. The chief and his companions, after we had drank, followed our example, and took off their cups fairly; and during the whole feast the sackee pot never left the table, being considered a proper accompaniment to all the strange messes which were brought in one at a time, and handed round by the attendants. When the first dish was placed on the table, a pair of chopsticks was given to each person present, and these were not changed during the feast.

'Chopsticks, it is possibly not generally known, are two polished pieces of ivory or of some hard wood, about a foot in length, and as thick as an ordinary quill. They are used instead of knives and forks in China, and all the countries in that quarter of the world. They are both held in the right hand, one being fixed and the other moveable; so that the meat is caught up, as it were, by a pair of pincers. The middle of that chopstick, which is fixed, rests on the tip of the third finger and its top in the hollow space between the thumb and the knuckle of the fore finger; the moveable one is grasped by the fore and middle fingers and thumb. Until the manner of using these implements is learned, they are perfectly useless; and the chief observing some of us make no advances in acquiring the requisite knowledge, ordered sharp-pointed sticks to be given to us, that we might fork up our meat. As this would not do for rice, however, we resumed the chopsticks, but could make little progress, till we observed how the natives ate it, and even then our imitation was not very successful. They held the bowl in which it was contained close to their mouths as if going to drink, and then by means of the implements described, tumbled or rather stuffed in the rice till their mouths were quite full, sometimes also accelerating its farther progress by the agency of the chopsticks, in a very ludicrous manner.

'The next dish, consisting of slices of fish fried in butter, we found excellent; after this, came smoked pork sliced, and then pig's liver cut into small square pieces and boiled. Then tea was handed round, which was quite new, and not very good in its way, resembling, as our facetious doctor observed, more an infusion of hay than anything else. The short intervals between the numerous courses, were filled up with smoking, our pipes being filled and lighted by an attendant, whose sole business it was to run about with a small bag in his hand, and watch when any one required tobacco, which was not unfrequently, as the pipes were so

diminutive that some of the gentlemen of our party found no difficulty in smoking nine of them during the feast. The next dish was the oddest thing we had yet seen in the way of eatables, its very appearance disgusting most of the party; it consisted of coarse, very black sugar, wrapped up in unbaked dough, powdered over with rice flour, dyed of a yellow color. This dish was certainly very unpalatable, but most of the others were so good, that we made a hearty dinner long before the feast was over. The succession of dishes, however, continued without intermission, till our goodhumored host, seeing we no longer ate anything, ordered them all away, and then, suiting the action to the word, recommended the sackee by pledging us over and over again.

'By carrying this good example a little too far, the old gentleman's eyes at length began to glisten, the remaining crust of formality fell off, and observing that the room was hot, he requested us to take our hats off, as, till now, according to Loo Choo custom, we had kept them on. The chief, who by this time was quite in a merry mood, seized Dr M' Leod's cocked hat and fixed it on his own head, while the Doctor, who was never slow to profit by a good hint, did the same with the chief's hatchee-matchee, or band turban. The oddity of this transfer fairly overcame the gravity of all present; and excited the rapturous mirth of the chief's sons, two fine little boys, in gaudy dresses and high top-knots of hair, who stood one on each side of his chair during all the entertainment.' pp. 170–175.

We should gladly enter more minutely into Captain Hall's account of this peculiar and interesting people, but we could do little justice to the subject within the limits to which we are necessarily confined. The picture he draws contains a great variety of objects, well selected, and skilfully delineated. Could the Loo-Chooans read his book, they would be ungrateful if they did not accord to him unmingled praise for his favorable opinion of their character and manners; and they would at least allow him the merit of a goodnatured observer, whatever they might think of the freedom with which he speaks of their jealousy and caution. The following is the description of the departure from Loo Choo. It may be premised that Maddra was a person, who had been much on board, was a favorite with every body, and had made considerable progress in the English language during the short space of six weeks.

'At day-break on Sunday, the twenty-seventh of October, 1816, we unmoored; upon which the natives, seeing us take up one of our anchors, naturally thought we were going to sea imme-

diately, and meant to give them the slip without bidding adieu. This was very far from our intention; but the alarm spread immediately, and brought the chiefs off in a great hurry; not in a body, in their ordinary formal way, but one by one, as they could find separate canoes to paddle them from the shore. Old Jeema, called on board the Lyra on his way to the frigate; he was a good deal agitated, and the tears came into his eyes when I drew a ring from my finger and placed it on his, in exchange for a knife, which he took from his girdle to present to me.

'The other chiefs called alongside on their way to the frigate, but they went on when I told them I was just going to the Alceste myself. In the meantime poor Maddra came on board with the sextant in his hand; he was in such distress that he scarcely knew what he was about. In this distracted state he sat down to breakfast with us, during which he continued lighting his pipe and smoking as fast as he could; instinctively drinking and eating whatever was placed before him. In a little while he recovered his composure in some degree, and asked what books it would be necessary for him to read, in order to understand the use of the sextant; I gave him a nautical almanac, and told him he must understand that in the first instance; he opened it, and attentively looking at the rows of figures for a few minutes, held up his hands in absolute despair, being at last forced to confess it a hopeless business; he then put the sextant into its case, and bade us farewell. Before leaving the Lyra, he gave Mr Clifford his pipe and tobacco-pouch, with a crystal ornament attached to it, saying, as he held them out, "You go Ingeree, you give this to your childs." Mr Clifford gave him a few presents in return, and expressed his anxiety to be always remembered as his friend. Maddra, with great earnestness, and with the tears streaming down his cheeks, placed his hand several times upon his heart, and cried, "Eedooshee, eedooshee!"—My friend, my friend!

'To me he gave a fan, and a large picture of a man looking up at the sun, drawn, he said, by himself, probably in allusion to my usual occupation at the observatory. After he put off in his boat, he stood up and called out several times, "Ingery noo choo sibitty yootusha,"—I shall always remember the English people. When he went to the Alceste, one of the chiefs remarked to him, that he had come on board without his hatchee-matchee, or his state robes, and told him it was not respectful to wait upon Captain Maxwell for the last time, in his ordinary dress; particularly as all the others were in full array. Maddra, who, poor fellow, had been too much concerned about other matters to think of dress, was distressed at this apparent neglect of propriety, and immediately apologized to Captain Maxwell, who took him kindly by the hand, and, giving him a present, told him, he was always much too happy to see him to notice what dress he had on.

'On going to the Alceste, I found the chiefs seated in the cabin, all looking very disconsolate. We tried in vain to engage them in conversation; but their wonted cheerfulness had quite deserted them; and, indeed, it was natural that they should be so affected, for, unlike their visiters, these simple people could have had little experience of parting scenes.

'I took this opportunity of giving each of the chiefs some trinket, as a farewell present, and they in return gave me their pipes, fans, and knives, as memorials, accompanied by many friendly expressions. Mutual assurances then passed between us, of being long remembered, and the natives rose to take their last leave of us. Ookooma, who, as well as the others, was much agitated, endeavored to say something, but his heart was full, and he could not utter a word. The rest did not attempt to speak; and before they reached their boats, they were all in tears. Maddra, who was the last to quit the ship, cried bitterly as he wrung the hands of his numerous friends, who crowded round him, and loaded him with presents.

'While we were heaving up the anchor, the natives assembled not only in canoes round the ships, but in vast crowds along the neighboring heights; and as we sailed away, they all stood up, and continued waving their fans and handkerchiefs till they could no longer be distinguished.' pp. 275–277.

Among the most extraordinary particulars related by Captain Hall of the Loo-Chooans, is the fact that neither arms nor money of any sort were found in the island, nor any knowledge of either obtained from the inhabitants. Although the travellers saw no evidences of these potent engines so universally used in carrying on the operations of civilized society, it hardly follows that nothing of the kind actually exists. Grosier, probably on the authority of Su-poa-koang's work above mentioned, speaks of their tribunals of war, their manufactories of arms, and their soldiers, which would imply at least that they have at some time known other arts than those of peace. As to money, it is very possible that they have no use for it. Even in China it is comparatively little used. Taxes in that country are for the most part paid in articles of produce, and the salaries of the Emperor's officers are likewise paid in the same, such as grain, silk, and cloth. The first currency in China was in shells, but it is now extended to silver and copper. The silver pieces are exchanged by weight, the copper coin being the only one that passes by stamp. It is common for traders to keep constantly with them small scales for the purpose of weighing silver, and scissors to clip

pieces of a suitable size. Dollars may perhaps pass as currency in the neighborhood of Canton, where they are brought in such numbers, that the people have learnt their uniform weight, but we have seen that they would not take them in remote provinces.

Captain Hall mentioned to Bonaparte, whom he afterwards visited at St Helena, the circumstance of there being no arms among the Loo-Chooans. 'No arms!' he exclaimed, 'that is to say, no cannons. They have muskets?' 'Not even muskets,' I replied. 'Well, then, lances, or at least bows and arrows?' I told him they had neither one nor the other. 'Nor poignards?' cried he, with increasing vehemence. 'No, none.' 'But,' said Bonaparte, clenching his fist, and raising his voice to a loud pitch, 'but, without arms how do they fight?' Driven to this corner, the Captain could only reply, that they had no wars. '*No wars!*' reiterated the ex-emperor, with an expression of countenance, which showed how little credit he was disposed to give to such a report. He seemed equally incredulous, when he was told the Loo-Chooans had no money.

The two last chapters in Captain Hall's volume, the one on his interview with Bonaparte at St Helena, and the other describing Captain Maxwell's attack on the batteries at Canton, contain entertaining matter, and are written with spirit and vivacity. Indeed we think the author's style uniformly happy, and peculiarly well suited to this species of composition. He is a discriminating observer, his topics are selected with good judgment and good taste, his language is terse, appropriate, and varied; sometimes perhaps a little too much studied, but never stiff nor ponderous. In short, we could hardly name a better model of journal-writing, than the little volume, whose contents we have just been reviewing; and whoever would read for the double purpose of instruction and amusement, will find themselves richly compensated for the time they may give to its perusal.

Art. X.—*Bericht über die Naturhistorischen Reisen der Herren Ehrenberg und Hemprich, durch Aegypten, Dongola, Syrien, Arabien, und den östlichen Abfall des Habessinian Hochlandes, in den Jahren* 1820—1825. Gelesen in der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, von Alexander von Humboldt. Berlin. Gedruckt in der Druckerei der Königlichen Academie der Wissenschaften. 1826.

Report of the Researches in various Branches of Natural History made by Messrs Ehrenberg and Hemprich, on their Travels through Egypt, Dongola, Syria, Arabia, and the Eastern Slope of the Abyssinian Highlands in the Years 1820–1825. Read before the Royal Academy of Sciences, by Alexander Von Humboldt. Berlin; printed at the press of the Royal Academy of Sciences, 1826.

There is perhaps no department of knowledge, in which the difference between the ancient and modern literature is more apparent, than that, with which the work just named is connected,—we mean the department of Voyages and Travels. The *literature of travels* (if we may be allowed so to speak) can scarcely be said to have had any existence in ancient days. Travelling, indeed, was then, for the most part, a difficult, and even a dangerous business. We have only to recollect, that the Roman word, *hostis*, means *stranger* and *enemy*, and it will be easy to believe what has now been stated. The character of the Romans was indeed, in this respect, more exclusive than that of the Greeks, who, at some periods of their history, were great travellers. They however divided mankind into Greek and Barbarian, and although the polite Athenian made a distinction between ἐχθρὸς and παρεπίδημος, yet he acknowledged no standard of civilization but his own. As stranger and enemy were synonymous to the Romans, so ἀλλόφυλος is employed by the Seventy to designate a Philistine, or any heathen enemy of the Jews.

The difference between ancient and modern times, in regard to books of travels, is felt at once when we ask the question, Where in Greek, Roman, Egyptian, ancient Arabian, or other ancient literature, is there any work of this nature to be found? Not that there were no scientific travellers, in ancient times. We know the contrary to be true. But the result of their

journeys was embodied in other forms, than that of an itinerary. Solon composed no book of travels. Herodotus visited Egypt, Syria, and Persia, for the sake of making historical inquiries; and the result of these he has embodied in his history. Other ancient historians and antiquaries did the same. Ancient philosophers, lawgivers, geographers, poets, biographers, and letter-writers, have also left us many monuments of their personal acquaintance with nations and countries foreign to their own. Still there is no work, descending to us from antiquity, which has any near resemblance to the itineraries of the present time.

There is, indeed, a book called the 'Itinerary of Antonine,' drawn up by order of Antoninus Pius, the Roman emperor, which was designed to show all the great roads in the empire, and all the stations of the Roman army. In its present form this work is very defective, having probably suffered much in the hands of copyists. At best, too, it appears to have been only a kind of 'travelling register'; amounting to little more than an official report of military posts, and the distances between them.

The first work among the Arabians, which seems to approach very nearly to the shape of more modern Travels, appears to be that composed by Abdollatif, about the year 1200. Before this time, geographical works, the result of travels and observations, had been composed by Arabian authors. Such was that of Ibn Haukal, who wrote, in the latter half of the tenth century, a kind of universal geography. A similar work was composed by Edrisi, in the twelfth century. But Abdollatif visited Egypt in person, resided there for a length of time, and, during his abode in that country, composed 'Histories and profitable Remarks on things which he had seen in Egypt, and on the occurrences which he had there witnessed.' The work contains valuable observations on the physical condition of that country, and of its inhabitants, and also respecting its antiquities. It has been translated into Latin by Professor White of Oxford, and into German by Professor Wahl of Halle.

Many other geographers and historians, of particular countries, appeared in the Arabic not long after the time of Abdollatif; but none of them, for some time, came so near as he, to the modern method of writing travels.

Something of the same feeling, which roused the nations of

Europe to vie with each other, in the toils and sufferings of the crusades, appears to have given birth to the literature of travels, in its more appropriate shape. The superstition which had, for a long time, attached such high estimation and reverence to the relics, which were said to have come from the Holy Land, and which were borne in solemn procession through all the great cities and large towns of Europe, as objects entitled to a species of adoration; this same superstition would, of course, regard Palestine itself as an object of the most intense interest, and would create an ardent desire to gain all the knowledge respecting it, which could be had. It was to gratify this curiosity, that some of the pilgrims to the Holy Land, who belonged to the company that made the first crusade, undertook to describe the events which occurred during their journey, and the objects which they found in Palestine. Ruperti, a monk of Bergen, who marched with the army of Godfrey of Bouillon, was the first, we believe, who composed such a narration. Every successive crusade gave occasion to new ones, of a similar nature. Not long after the art of printing came to be in general use, books of this kind had become so numerous, and were in so great demand, that a kind of *Corpus* of them was published by Sigmund Feyerabend, in one considerable volume, printed in the year 1583. As this edition was soon sold off, and as it did not comprise all the works of the same nature which might have been included, Nicolaus Noth, of Frankfort on the Mayne, republished it with additions, in two folio volumes, in the year 1609. This collection embraced twenty-one Itineraries, beginning with that of Ruperti mentioned above, and ending with that of John Schwallart (Zuallart), a native of the Netherlands. A number of these Itineraries were composed in Latin, French, and various other languages of Europe; which were all translated (some of them very poorly) into the German, and printed by Noth in this language. To the whole collection thus made, was given the name of *Reissbuch des heiliges Landes*, that is, 'Itinerary of the Holy Land.'

Similar to this work, in manner and spirit, is another collection, entitled *Voyages faits principalement en Asie, dans les XII., XIII., XIV., et XV. siècles, par Benjamin de Tudèle, Jean du Plan Carpin, &c.; par Pierre Bergeron, Haag*, 1735. 2 tom. folio. The greatest curiosity in this book (and it is indeed a singular production) is the famous 'Itinerary'

of Benjamin of Tudela, a Jew, and a native of the province of Navarre. He set out on his journey in the year 1160, and travelled by land to Constantinople. Thence he proceeded through the countries north of the Euxine and Caspian seas, as far as Chinese Tartary. Thence he went to farther India, traversed various provinces in that region, embarked on the Indian Ocean, visited several of its islands, and thence returned to Europe, by the way of Egypt, after an absence of thirteen years. He died in 1173. His Itinerary was composed in Hebrew, and printed in that language, first at Constantinople, in 1543; next, at Ferrara, in 1556; and lastly at Breisgau, in 1583. A Latin translation of it was made by Arias Montanus, and published at Antwerp in 1575. Another Latin translation of it, with the corresponding columns of the original Hebrew, was published at Leyden, in small octavo, in the year 1633, by Constantine L' Empereur, professor of Hebrew at the University in that city.

In the article devoted to Benjamin of Tudela in Rees's Cyclopædia, the edition of his work published by the rabbis of Constantinople, is absurdly represented as containing the Latin version of the Benedictine Montanus; while it is still more ridiculously stated, in reference to the other translation, that 'Benjamin's book was translated by the emperor Constantine!' A pretty fair specimen this of Cyclopædia learning.

About a century after L' Empereur's edition of the work of Benjamin (1633), it met with a most singular editor in the person of John Philip Baratier, born at Schwabach in Nuremberg, in 1721. He is said to have understood the Greek, Latin, German, and French languages, when he was five years old. At the age of nine, he could translate the Hebrew language into the Latin or French; and the Latin and French into the Hebrew. He could repeat the whole book of Psalms in Hebrew, *memoriter*, at the same age; and when he was ten, he is represented as having composed a Lexicon of rare and difficult words, with curious critical remarks. At this age he joined the University of Altdorf, and addressed a letter, in French, to M. Le Maître, minister of the French church at Schwabach, respecting a new edition of the Bible, in Hebrew, Chaldee, and Rabbinic; which letter is preserved in volume twenty-sixth of the 'Bibliothèque Germanique.' At the age of thirteen, he published his version of Benjamin's Itinerary, in French, entitled 'Voyages de Rabbi Benjamin,' &c., 2 vols.

Amsterdam, 1734. It is allowed, by all competent judges, that he has corrected many errors of the veteran Hebraists, Montanus and L'Empereur; and besides this, he has added many notes and dissertations, which exhibit a high degree of critical skill and accuracy, and a profound and extensive knowledge. His notes seem to have been the first thing which destroyed the credit of the Rabbi's Itinerary, showing that it was filled with the most senseless fables, and that it abounded in the most obvious mistakes respecting the relative distances of places, and other things of the like nature. This was the downfall of the book; which after having gone through three Hebrew and two Latin editions, and circulated widely over Europe, and been greatly honored and much credited among learned men, came to its end by the fatal attack of a child of thirteen years of age.

Sed manum de tabulâ. We must proceed on our way. We do not intend to write a Bibliotheca of Travels; certainly not a *general* one; and with regard to the countries of hither Asia, with the adjacent ones on the continents of Africa and Europe, we shall only glance at some of the Travels, which give the most credible and valuable accounts of them. These countries are connected so intimately with the writings of classical authors, both sacred and profane, that no lover of literature can help feeling a deep interest in them, and a corresponding desire to know what are the best sources from which he can draw his knowledge. The work, too, which is announced at the head of this article, naturally leads us to dwell for a few moments, on those which have preceded it.

Ten years after the work of Rabbi Benjamin was printed, namely, in 1558, Pierre B. du Mans published, at Paris, *Les Observations de plusieurs Singularités et Choses Mémorables, trouvées en Grèce, Asie, Judée, Egypte, Arabie, et autres Pays Estranges.*' This author was distinguished as a learned and accurate naturalist; and his work may be considered as one of the first, which bore any considerable resemblance to the form which accounts of Travels have since assumed in the hands of the great masters in this branch of science. The principal design of the writer was to describe natural objects. Manners and customs, civil, social, and domestic regulations and arrangements, are merely secondary with him, although he does not neglect them. So valuable is this work, that Professor Paulus of Heidelburg, in his ' Collec-

tion of Travels,' has printed copious extracts from it, accompanied with the annotations of a naturalist. The author was murdered in the forest of Boulogne, in 1564.

In 1583, was published in Neuburg of Bavaria, Leonharti Rauwolf's *Beschreibung der Raiss* [Reise] *in die Morgenländer, fürnehmlich Syriam, Judæam, Arabiam, Mesopotamiam, Babyloniam, Assyriam, Armeniam, etc.* The author was a physician by profession, and so careful and accurate an observer of men and manners, that his book has continued in use down to the present time.

A useful book was published in 1614, at Antwerp, by N. C. Radzivill, entitled *Jerosolymitana Peregrinatio Illustrissimi Principis, Nicolai Christophori Radzivili.* In 1619, appeared also at Antwerp, one of the most useful of all the old works of this nature, and indeed, a master-piece for the time in which it was written. It was entitled *Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum et Syriacum, a Joanne Cotovico, J. V. D. et Milite Hierosolymitano.* 'From this work,' says Lüdeke in his 'History of the Turkish Empire,' 'much has been extracted by authors, without giving credit for it.'

But a greater work appeared in 1658–1663, in four volumes, quarto, by *Pietro della Valle*, a most learned and interesting man and author. He was a Roman nobleman, and published his work in Italian. He commenced travelling in 1614, went through Egypt, Turkey, Persia, India, etc., and in 1626 returned to Rome, where his work was composed, and printed some thirty years afterwards. One of the first geniuses of this age (Göthe, in the *Divan*) has given us a delightful sketch of the life of Della Valle. In the conclusion of it he says (as a kind of apology for dwelling on this subject), 'It may be proper to remark, that every one is prone to give the preference to that way, in which he has himself attained to a knowledge of anything; and also to introduce others to it, and initiate them into it. With this intention, have I given a particular description of Pietro della Valle, because he was the traveller, by whom the peculiarities of the East were first made known to me in the clearest manner; and to my partiality it appears, that by means of his representations, I first gained some ground which was appropriate to my *Divan*. I could wish this might serve to excite others, at the present time (which abounds so much in sheets and pamphlets), to read through a folio, by which they might come to a definite knowledge of an important

part of the world, one which in the latest books of travels is superficially changed, but which remains essentially the same as it appeared to our distinguished traveller, at the time when he wrote.' We have only to add, that Della Valle was the first man, in modern times, who made known the Samaritans to the European world. It was he who procured, at Damascus, in 1616, the first copy of the Samaritan Pentateuch that came to Europe. Della Valle purchased it for the French consul, De Sancy, afterwards bishop of St Malo, who presented it to the Fathers of the Oratory, at Paris; and there it was published by Morin, and became the ground-text of all succeeding editions of the Samaritan Pentateuch.

In 1647, appeared at Schlesswig, the *Travels of A. Olearius*, in German. He was a counsellor in the suite of the embassy, which Frederic the Third, duke of Schlesswig and Holstein, sent through Muscovy, to the court of Persia. His work is among the best of those which respect the countries travelled by the embassy.

In 1676, J. B. Tavernier, baron of Aubonne, published his *Six Voyages en Turquie, en Perse, et aux Indes, faits pendant l'espace de quarante ans.* These *Voyages* he made in the capacity of a jewel-merchant; in which character he gained access to all classes of people. His long continued intercourse with the East gave him the best opportunities for accurate information. His work has had great credit, and been often reprinted.

In 1686, Sir John Chardin, by birth a Frenchman, published, at London, an abridged edition of his Travels; and more fully afterwards, in 1711, at Amsterdam, in three volumes quarto, and in ten volumes duodecimo. Chardin, also, visited Persia and other parts of the East, in the quality of a jewel-merchant, and gained access to all classes of people. So great is the worth of his work, that it has been lately republished at Paris, by L. Langlès, member of the National Institute, Professor of Persian, etc., in ten volumes octavo, with maps and plates. The title is, *Voyages du Chevalier Chardin, en Perse, et autres Lieux de l'Orient, etc.* Descendants of Sir John Chardin were among the French Huguenot emigrants to this country.

Laurent d'Arvieux, long conversant with the East, and for many years French consul at Aleppo, left behind him papers, at his death, which happened in 1702, that were afterwards

published by order of Lewis the Fourteenth, in 1717, at Paris, by M. de la Roque. His account of the Bedouin Arabs, in particular, has been generally regarded as the best which has been given. It was translated into German, and republished in 1789, by E. F. K. Rosenmueller, at Leipzig. The largest and best edition of D'Arvieux is that published at Paris, in 1735, in eight volumes octavo, entitled *Mémoires du Chevalier D'Arvieux, contenant ses Voyages, &c.*'

A useful work, with special reference to places named in the Bible, is that of Franz Ferdinand Von Troilo, entitled *Orientalische Reise-Beschreibung*, printed at Dresden in 1677, and several times repeated. The author was four years in the East.

In 1665, was published at Paris, *Relation d'un Voyage fait au Levant, etc., par. Mr de Thevenot;* and in 1674 and 1684, additions to the above work. Of this work, Rosenmueller, the present eminent Professor of Oriental Literature at Leipzig, says, 'The notices are altogether simple and artless, and show a good talent at observation, as well as sound judgment. The work deserves to be better esteemed, than it has been of late.'

One of the most useful of all the *Thesauri* of Oriental Travels, is the work of Engelbert Kaempfer, Lemgo, 1712, entitled *Amœnitatum Exoticarum Politico-physico-medicarum Fasciculi V., quibus continentur variæ Relationes, Observationes, Descriptiones, etc.* He was secretary to the Swedish legation in the East, where, during a residence of ten years, he had an excellent opportunity to make himself acquainted with the subject on which he has written, in its various branches.

Maundrell's '*Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem*,' contains useful things, in respect to both the antiquities and the geography of the sacred Scriptures. Maundrell was chaplain of the English factory at Aleppo, where, of course, he enjoyed distinguished opportunities for observation; but his work is on the whole but meagre.

We pass over Paul Lucas' *Voyage au Levant*, 1705, more splendid than solid; and also over a volume of Travels by Nyenburg and Heyman, 1757, 1758, a work valuable, we believe, for those who can use it; but existing, as yet, only in the Dutch language. Tournefort's *Relation d'un voyage au Levant, etc.*, Paris, 1717, and often reprinted, is one of the richest works of his times, for comparative geography, and for the science of botany.

One of the most important of all the books of travels, which have reference to the East, is that published by Dr Thomas Shaw, in 1738, with a Supplement, in 1746. It is entitled *Travels or Observations relating to several Parts of Barbary and the Levant, &c.* Shaw was born at Kendall, in Westmoreland, in 1692, and was educated at the University of Oxford. At the age of twenty-seven he took orders, and was appointed chaplain to the English factory at Algiers. During a residence there of twelve years, he made various excursions, for literary and scientific purposes, into Barbary, Egypt, Syria, and the Levant. He was possessed of great learning, of sound judgment, and of the power to an uncommon degree of acute and discriminating observation. His work is not disposed in the usual method of a journal, but arranged systematically, according to the nature of the subjects treated. It is a rich treasure of geographical, physical, and antiquarian knowledge; most of it referring, more or less directly, to the sacred Scriptures. In 1733, the author returned to England; and in 1740, he was appointed Principal of Edmund Hall, at Oxford; and afterwards Regius Professor of Greek. He died in 1751. His 'Travels' have been often reprinted; and they deserve a new edition, at the present time, being of unspeakably more value than a great part of the superficial works, which pour like a flood from the presses of the present day.

The *Travels* of Charles Thompson, into various countries of the East, printed in 1744; and Mr Otter's *Voyage en Turquie et en Perse*, printed at Paris in 1748, are not worthy of very special notice. Of a far different character is the great work of Richard Pococke, published at London, 1743–1745, in three volumes folio, and entitled *Observations on Egypt, Palestine, the Holy Land, Syria, Mesopotamia, and Cyprus.* Pococke was a proficient in the knowledge of the classics and of antiquities; and his work has generally been regarded as one of the most important of all those which have respect to the East. It has been often reprinted, and many editions of it have been published in the German language. After all, however, it is not so much to be relied on as the work of Shaw. The author was in the East less than half the period of time that Shaw resided there. Pococke very often relates what others told him, and what he believed upon their credit; and not unfrequently, as Michaelis has said, 'one must distinguish between Pococke the eye-witness, and Pococke who heard the

story of others.' And the difficulty is, that the author has written in such a way, that oftentimes this distinction is not easily made. Pococke made some severe criticisms on the work of Shaw abovementioned; but the latter triumphantly vindicated himself, in the supplementary volume of 1746. Richard Pococke, the traveller, is not to be confounded (as he often has been) with the great Orientalist, Edward Pococke, first Professor of Arabic at Oxford, who resided six years at Aleppo, was worthy of a place among the most distinguished scholars of any age, and lived nearly a century earlier than our traveller.

In 1752, the work of F. L. Norden, entitled *Voyage d'Egypte et de Nubie*, was printed in two volumes folio, at Copenhagen, under the patronage of Christian the Sixth, King of Denmark; which was translated into English, and published at London, 1757; and republished, in the original, by L. Langlès, at Paris, in 1795, in three volumes quarto, with maps, plates, copious notes, and a full index.

Alexander Russell, in 1756, published *The Natural History of Aleppo, &c.* He was a physician to the English factory at Aleppo, for eleven years; and his remarks exhibit a minute and thorough knowledge of the plants, animals, climate, diseases, &c. of that oriental region. The book has been often printed in England and in Germany.

But the greatest naturalist, of former days, who travelled in the East, still remains to be mentioned. This was Frederic Hasselquist, a pupil and friend of Linnæus. Hasselquist was a member of the Academy of Sciences of Stockholm and Upsala, and visited Palestine, during the years 1749–1752. He died at Smyrna, on his return from that country, in 1752; and his *Iter Palestinum* was drawn up by Linnæus himself, from the notes of Hasselquist, and by order of the queen of Sweden. The work extends to Egypt, as well as to Palestine, and remains, to the present time, one of the most distinguished of all the works which respect natural science, in regard to the East.

We pass by the less important productions of Ives, 1773; of G. Mariti, 1768; and of G. Höst, 1781; for the sake of touching more at large upon the noble work of C. Niebuhr, first published in 1772 at Copenhagen, entitled *Beschreibung von Arabien;* and at Paris, in 1779, with the title, *Description de l'Arabie*, which is one of the best editions of the work. The expedition to which Niebuhr was attached, so much re-

sembled that of Professors Ehrenberg and Hemprich, an account of which we have proposed to give, that it will not here be inappropriate to dwell a few moments upon it.

Michaelis, of Göttingen, was really the original author of this famous expedition. He wrote to Count Bernstorff, one of the most intelligent and energetic of the king of Denmark's ministers, and urged him to persuade the king to fit out a literary expedition to Arabia, for the mere purpose of promoting a knowledge of the East. Bernstorff, following the suggestions of his friend at Göttingen, persuaded Frederic to engage in this undertaking. Five distinguished men were nominated, for this purpose. F. C. von Haven was to take charge of the department of languages; Peter Forskal, of natural history; C. C. Cramer, of medical science, with special regard to medicinal plants; Carsten Niebuhr, of astronomy and geography; and G. G. Baurenfeind was to superintend the drawings necessary for illustration. This important mission embarked at Copenhagen, January 4th, 1761, but did not arrive at Mocha, in Yemen of Arabia, until the end of December, 1762. Here, in about five months, Von Haven died; in two months more, Forskall deceased at Yerim, a village of Yemen; in another month, Baurenfeind fell a sacrifice to disease, at the island of Socotra, on his way to Bombay; and about six months after this, Cramer also died at Bombay.

Niebuhr, thus left alone, was not discouraged from his undertaking. He spent ten years in the East, principally in Arabia, and then, on his return, published not only the work which has been mentioned above, but also *Descriptiones Animalium, Avium, Amphibiorum, Piscium, Insectorum, Vermium, quæ in itinere Orientali observavit Petrus Forskal*, taken from the notes of this skilful naturalist. To this was subjoined, from the same source, a botanical work, *Flora Egyptiaco-Arabica;* both printed at Copenhagen, in 1775.

Michaelis, at whose suggestion, as we have observed, this literary expedition had been sent out, drew up, for the sake of assisting their inquiries, a great number of questions, pertaining to various departments of literature and science, but especially to philology; which were published in an octavo volume, at Frankfort on the Mayne, in 1762, and forwarded to Niebuhr by the Swedish minister; a book, which does no less honor to his memory, than the mission itself does to Frederic the Fifth, who sent it out, and to Christian the Seventh, his successor,

who, after the death of Frederic, continued to support and cherish it.

The fruits of this expedition have been lasting. Niebuhr has been regarded, by all competent judges, as one of the most sober, judicious, authentic, and instructive of all the travellers whose works have appeared for the last half century. His work is a kind of classic, in respect to the countries of which it treats. The notes of his friend Forskal, are also regarded as one of the most scientific and authentic sources of natural knowledge, in respect to the East.

The later Travels into the East are so well known, that we shall do nothing more than advert to them, in the briefest manner; and this, only in respect to a few of the more valuable. Bruce's 'Travels in Egypt and Abyssinia' came out with a brilliant reputation; then declined almost to the ranks of romance; and are now rising again in credit. Eyles Irwin, Sonnini, C. F. Volney, W. G. Browne, G. H. Olivier, E. D. Clarke, F. A. Chateaubriand, F. J. Mayeaux, J. H. Mayr, and T. R. Joliffe, have all published works of value, the result of their travels in the East. The most splendid work of this nature ever published, and which is not likely soon to have a rival, is the *Description de l'Egypte*, begun under Bonaparte, and completed by the present government of France. In the expedition to Egypt, undertaken by Napoleon, were included a large company of learned men, in various departments of the arts and sciences. Their stay was short in Egypt; but, while there, they were exceedingly active, and the result of their labors has been published in the imperial work just designated. A commission was named by Bonaparte to superintend its publication; the members of which were Berthollet, Conté, Costaz, Degenettes, Fourier, Girard, Lancret, and Monge. Conté and Lancret died, during the publication; and in their room were named Jomard and Jollois; to whom were also added Delile and Devilliers. The work consists of nine volumes, each of the size of three folios, made up of plates; five volumes for the antiquities; two volumes illustrative of the present state of Egypt, and two for natural history. The Atlas consists of fifty sheets. The plates and atlas are accompanied with appropriate *Explications des Planches*, *Descriptions*, and *Mémoires*. The whole costs above one thousand dollars. A copy of this most magnificent work has been presented to the library of Harvard University,

by one of her liberal and public-spirited *alumni*, of whom she can truly boast that she has very many. A cheaper edition of this work (in which, we believe, the same plates have been employed) has been published, at Paris, since 1821, by the bookseller Mr Pancoucke. Public libraries may afford to purchase this. The text of this edition is printed in octavo, so as to be convenient for reading. Of this great work, we propose at some future period to submit to our readers a more detailed account.

In 1803, U. J. Seezen commenced a journey to the East, and explored Syria, the Dead Sea, and parts of Arabia. He was murdered by the wild Arabs in 1811. The letters of this distinguished traveller, respecting the Jordan and the Dead Sea, were published by Baron de Zach, in his *Monatlichen Correspondenz* of 1808.

Very distinguished works in the department with which we are now concerned, are those of James Morier, particularly, his *Second Journey through Persia, &c.*; of Sir W. Ouseley, Secretary to the Persian embassy, under Sir G. Ouseley; of J. L. Burckhardt, published after his death by the Association for promoting discoveries, &c. in England, and translated by Gesenius into the German language. Robert Ker Porter has also published a very valuable work on Georgia, Persia, Armenia, &c. Other works by Hamilton, Legh, and M. A. Scholz, professor of theology at Bonn, deserve very respectful mention.

With these brief preliminary notices of preceding works in this department, we now proceed to that immediately before us.

Messrs Ehrenberg and Hemprich were sent upon their literary and scientific expedition at the expense, originally, of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Berlin; but afterwards were supported by the King of Prussia. After the return of the surviving member of this expedition, Dr Ehrenberg, from his travels, the Academy appointed a committee of distinguished members of their body, to make report of what had been accomplished by their literary missionaries. The members of this committee, were Alexander von Humboldt, and Messrs Link, Lichtenstein, Rudolphi, and Weiss. Their report was read before the Academy, by Von Humboldt, the chairman of the committee, on the thirteenth of November, 1826. It presents a very interesting and scientific view, of what had been accomplished by their mission. We proceed to lay the

substance of it before the public; sometimes merely translating the language of the Report itself; but, for the most part, following the train of thought which it presents, and investing it with our own language, but in an abridged and condensed form.

The Report commences with some very just and sensible remarks on the important influence, which the sciences have upon each other, and the beneficial influence upon the whole, which results from the enlargement of any one of them. The tenor of these remarks is as follows.

'Every accession to collections of objects, for the purposes of science, produces an animating influence on the enlargement of human knowledge. It would be a distinguished service, for the purpose of such enlargement, if any one, by long continuance in performing distant and dangerous journeys, should discover a great number of new natural substances; should preserve them in good condition, and cause them to be transported to Europe. But the merit of this service is greatly enhanced, if men, who are sent out at the public expense, furnished with distinguished preparatory knowledge, and deeply penetrated with a feeling of their high scientific calling, exhibit themselves not only as collecting, with restless diligence, materials for the advancement of science, but at the same time, as profound and philosophic observers of nature.

'Everything which relates to a geographical distribution of the forms of animals and plants; to the influence which the condition of the soil, the height of situation, and the various gradations of climate, exercise over organic life, can be investigated only by the immediate inspection of travellers upon the spot. The customary habits of animals are not less important, than the knowledge of their formation, which determines those habits. A great number of the nicest anatomical and physiological observations, can be made only upon the spot. The geognostic knowledge of the earth will not be really advanced, by sending specimens of minerals, which are merely broken off in isolated pieces, without any principle for a guide, and without regard to the manner in which they are grouped in particular species of rock, or their relative predominance, or their transition into one another, or the sequel of their respective ages. It is only the nice observer, who can truly aid the advances of geological knowledge. A science, the essential characteristic of which is, a representation of the connexion which exists among phenomena, and the thorough investigation of the relations of heterogeneous masses of fossils, can never be promoted, even by the most active efforts of mere col-

lectors without science; at least, not in any such measure as it may be, by those who are capable of accurately observing and describing. Nor will it be aided by such efforts so much, in proportion, as the sciences of zoölogy and botany.

'Messrs Ehrenberg and Hemprich, to the choice of whom this Academy was led by their many distinguished works that had already been published, have, in the happiest manner, answered all the demands which could be made upon them, as learned travellers, even in the present improved state of knowledge. The simple relation of what they have actually done, is the best proof of this. They have made collections, as though it had been their sole object to make them. They have labored also for the preparation, preservation, and specific naming of the objects discovered, in such a manner as, perhaps, no other travellers ever did. The specimens sent to the Royal Museum, filled one hundred and fourteen boxes each from twenty to thirty cubic feet in size. The collective number of individual plants amounts to more than forty-six thousand; and of these there are two thousand nine hundred species. The collective number of animals amounts to thirty-four thousand individuals, of which there are one hundred and thirty-five species of mammalia, four hundred and thirty kinds of birds, five hundred and forty-six species of fishes and amphibia, six hundred kinds of annelida and crustacea, and two thousand species of insects. The Royal Collection of Minerals is augmented by three hundred specimens of fossils, arranged according to their condition and super-position, which spreads much light over the internal formation of the earth, in remote lands, that have not hitherto been geologically investigated. But all these collections of minerals, of phanerogamous and cryptogamous plants (the first class only of which comprises five or six hundred kinds hitherto unknown), and of the exterior forms of animals of all classes, especially of the lower, which have for the most part been hitherto neglected by travellers, however important they may be for the Royal Collection, and however much the free use of them may enlarge the boundaries and facilitate the knowledge of natural science, still, they are all of secondary importance, compared with the gain which will accrue to it, from the publication of the observations themselves, made and arranged by Messrs Ehrenberg and Hemprich.

'An investigation of nature, in all the variety of her productions, and the coöperation of her powers, was the essential object of the expedition, of the fruits of which we now make a report to the Academy. Travels for the purposes of geographical discovery, like those of Mungo Park, Burckhardt, Caillaud, and Clapperton, are of a different character, and answer claims of another kind. By a careful separation of the different objects,

which both the kinds of travels have respectively in view, your committee will place the subject in such a light, that a correct judgment may be formed of what has been accomplished. To force one's way into the interior of a yet unexplored country; to investigate the connexion of streams before unknown, or the separation of them; to discover towns, rich in population and in trade, which are quite unlooked-for evidences of the advance of human improvement, promises, by good right, a fame to the discoverer, which is scarcely excelled by any other, that results from the exhibition of courage and resolution, Geographical expeditions (we do not refer to such as slowly and almost imperceptibly, by means of astronomical observations, enlarge or correct our knowledge of the definite situation of places and countries, but to those which suddenly resolve some problem of long standing and great curiosity) excite, almost every where, a deep interest, which quickly diffuses itself widely abroad; nay, popular language even limits the word *discoveries*, to the results of undertakings purely geographical.

'This partial view of what needs more thorough investigation, would ill become those who ought, with a lively acknowledgement of the mutual influence of the various branches of human knowledge upon each other, to comprehend, in one view, the knowledge of nature and of different countries, in all its parts. Deeper investigation of the internal life of plants and animals; the discovery of organic forms, which serve, as middle links, to connect groups that otherwise would appear remote and isolated; and an enlarged knowledge of the connexion of meteorological phenomena, or of the play of the ever active magnetico-electrical powers of nature; certainly do not confer less honor upon the intellect of man, as to its most strenuous exertions, than geographical discoveries; or than the determination of relative distances, with which descriptive geography is concerned. A right estimation of the bold and rapid traveller, Mungo Park, would surely not tax him with a fault, because his first journeys afforded no botanical or zoölogical results. As little ought we to demand of excursions for the sake of mere natural science, that they should put on the splendor of geographical discoveries. Every class of travels has a character appropriate to itself. The meed of praise belongs to those travellers, who have accomplished what was proposed to be accomplished.

'We have deemed it proper to preface our report respecting the travels of Messrs Ehrenberg and Hemprich, with these general considerations, in order to turn the attention of the Academy to that which distinguishes this important undertaking, supported and encouraged by them, from other travels in Africa. The variety of objects on which our naturalists have bestowed their at-

tention, has made it necessary for the committee to speak separately of the gain, which the sciences of botany, zoölogy, comparative anatomy, and geology, have derived from their labors. How much persevering diligence and exertion were necessary, in order to produce such results, will appear from a historical sketch of the journey itself, and from a consideration of the many hindrances, with which our travellers had almost incessantly to contend, and to which they were not unfrequently obliged to yield.'

A brief sketch of the journey itself is then subjoined by the committee, which is, in substance, as follows.

In 1820, the Baron von Minutoli determined on undertaking a journey to the East, for the purpose of antiquarian researches. He proposed to the Royal Academy, that they should send out some young men of scientific acquirements, at the expense of the state, in order to accompany him. The Royal Council gave permission to Mr Liman, professor of architecture, to attach himself to this expedition. The Academy of Sciences also made a pecuniary grant, for a like purpose, to Doctors Ehrenberg and Hemprich (naturalists already distinguished by their publications), which appeared to them sufficient for their support, during one year. At Rome, by the liberality of Prince Henry of Prussia, the literary mission was enlarged by the addition of Professor Scholtz, of Bonn, an orientalist of great acquisitions and of high promise. The original plan of the Baron von Minutoli was to visit Egypt, with its Oases, the Cyrenaica, Dongola, the peninsula of Sinai, Palestine, Syria, and a part of Asia Minor; and then to return home by the way of Greece.

The naturalists were furnished by the Academy, with brief written instructions; and also with a number of questions relative to objects in those countries, on which they wished them to bestow special attention. At the commencement of the month of August, the whole company, with the exception of Professor Liman, assembled at Trieste, and embarked on board of two vessels, which arrived in the harbor of Alexandria in Egypt, in September.

At this place, they obtained information respecting the practicability of a journey to the Cyrenaica, which satisfied them that no special danger would attend it. Mr Drovetti, the French consul, who had lived many years in Egypt, and had himself visited the Oasis of Siva, forwarded, with great readiness and obliging care, the preparations of the caravan; which consist-

ed of fifty-six camels, and fifty-five armed Bedouin Arabs, among whom was an Arabian Emir, or chief, and his relatives.

The Baron von Minutoli had taken the precaution to obtain a *firman* from the Grand Seignior, and letters of recommendation from the Pacha of Egypt, to Halil, Bey of Derne, on which the company relied for the removal of all obstacles of a political nature. After the caravan left Alexandria, Professor Liman arrived, hastened on, and overtook it at Abusir. Excessive haste had made him neglect to provide necessary clothing; and although his companions did the utmost in their power to accommodate him, yet his deficiency in this respect probably contributed very much to the lamented failure of his health.

The baseness of the free Bedouins now began daily to excite warm contention among the caravan. They belonged to several tribes; and when the company had already advanced far into the Libyan desert, the Hadgi Endaui declared, that he could exercise no control over these different clans. His impatience became even as great as that of the rest of the caravan.

Under these inauspicious circumstances, which rendered watches by night necessary, the caravan attained to a point, which was only one day's journey distant from the borders of the regency of Tripoli. The chief of the Bedouins declared, that he could not pass the boundaries, without the express permission of Halil Bey in Derne. Messengers were sent forward, in consequence of this, with the letters of recommendation. But as the contention among the Bedouins daily increased, the caravan was divided, so that Von Minutoli, with the chief of the Bedouins, and the principal interpreter, went over Ammonium, to Kahira; and the other part of the caravan, to which the naturalists and the artist were attached, waited the return of the messengers sent to Halil Bey. The separation, just described, took place at Bir el Kor.

For seventeen days they waited in the desert, and no messenger returned. Travellers, with whom they met, informed them that Halil Bey was in consternation at a message from a caravan in which a *general* (General von Minutoli) was found. By a still longer delay, the time, for which the camels were hired, expired. It was then determined to go to the Oasis of Siva, where they hoped to find protection against their own Bedouins. They made an offer to a leader of a

Bedouin clan, who remained behind, of a considerable present, in case he would bring to them a favorable answer from Halil Bay of Derne.

But in all their hopes they were deceived. The caravan travelled, almost without intermission, five days and five nights, through the desert. At Siva, the chiefs, who exercised supreme authority over the Oasis, denounced the travellers as spies, and threatened to shoot them, if they passed over certain designated boundaries. On their return to Alexandria, in consequence of the cold and the fatigues of the journey, Professor Liman and William Söllner, one of the aids of the naturalists, were taken sick. Both, however, reached Alexandria, but fell a sacrifice there, in the beginning of December, to the strenuous efforts which they had made.

The orientalist, Professor Scholtz, separated from the company at Kahira, and directed his way toward Palestine.

After their arrival at Alexandria, Messrs Ehrenberg and Hemprich followed closely the plan of journeying, which had been before marked out. In March they made an excursion into the province of Fayoum. Here their progress was interrupted, by a nervous fever which seized Dr Ehrenberg, and lasted three months; which time they spent under a tent at the foot of the great pyramid in Sakhara. Nothing but the most assiduous care of his companion saved the life of Dr Ehrenberg.

Near the end of July, the travellers moved forward again through Fayoum. This journey proved more prolific for the department of entomology than any other. At the Sea of Mœris they lost another of their aids, F. Kreysel, by a dysentery, which came on in consequence of a cold caught during an excursion upon the lake.

The money, which the Academy of Sciences had supplied from their own resources, was now all expended, and the journey would have ended here, if the wish of the Academy had not been seconded, in the most energetic manner, by the minister of state, Baron von Altenstein. Our travellers came to a determination, indulging the well grounded hope that they might discover new forms of physical bodies in the southern regions, to follow on in the train of Mohammed Ali's victorious army. Between August, 1821, and February, 1823, they had advanced through Nubia to Dongola. All the expectations, which could be excited by countries never before investigated

by naturalists, were here most happily fulfilled. Ehrenberg and Hemprich advanced through Nubia even into the desert near Embukol and Corti, which separates Sennaar, Cordofan, and Dongola. The exhaustion of their pecuniary means, and the wish to transport, in safety, the natural objects, which they had already collected, occasioned our travellers here to separate from each other. Dr Hemprich went forward with the collections to Alexandria, where, instead of the money which he looked for, he found orders to return. Dr Ehrenberg, who had remained at Dongola, speedily left that country, which was now thrown into great confusion, by a revolution, and by the assassination of Ismael Pacha. The intermittent fever of the tropics had greatly injured his health.

On this journey, the Italian, Vincenzo, was drowned in the Nile, and the interpreter, Ibrahim, died of the plague.

Our travellers were now forced to sell their camels and effects in Egypt. But while they were making preparation for their return according to orders, the joyful intelligence came, that the government had agreed to make considerable advances of money, to enable them to continue their undertaking. In order that they might employ the time in a profitable manner, until pecuniary supplies should be received, they determined to visit the Gulf of Suez, the cliffs of Sinai, and the islands along the coast of Akaba, as far as Moile. This excursion lasted nine months, namely, from May, 1823, to March, 1824. Dr Hemprich first returned with the collections they had made on the peninsula, to Alexandria, where he found only half the sum of money which they expected. Dr Ehrenberg stayed five months longer at Tor; but in a very perplexing condition, suffering even for the necessaries of life.

The plan, which had been before concerted, for the travellers to embark on board a vessel at Tor and sail to Abyssinia, was now necessarily abandoned. It was only after Dr Ehrenberg's return to Alexandria, that the darkness, which brooded over the arrival of the funds granted by the Prussian government, was dissipated. The sad intelligence arrived, that the Prussian consul at Trieste, with whom the pecuniary advances in question had been deposited, had become a bankrupt, and committed suicide.

Nothing remained now, but for our travellers to procure new orders and new advances of funds. The plague was raging in Egypt; and instead of remaining there idle, it seemed

to them more useful to visit Mount Lebanon, at a favorable season of the year, which would be only a journey of ten or twelve days, in case it were made by sea.

A stay of three months, in this region, sufficed for visiting twice the ridges of this mountain covered with snow, and for travelling over Sanin, through Cœlosyria, to the ruins of Balbec, and then from Balbec, over Bischerra and the cedar-forests of Lebanon, to the coast of Tripoli.

In the beginning of August, 1824, our travellers again reached Damietta and Alexandria. Their company now sustained a new loss. On their return from Syria, one of their European aids died of the intermittent fever. Happily, in the mean time, new orders respecting their journey, and pecuniary supplies to continue it, had already arrived. With newly animated courage, Messrs Ehrenberg and Hemprich immediately set out upon their long wished for journey to Abyssinia.

The Red Sea promised them a rich booty in corals, annelidæ, and mollusca. The fragments, which had been saved out of Forskal's papers, served to excite to new investigations in those tepid waters, for the extension of the science of ichthyology. The journey to Abyssinia was commenced, on the thirteenth of November, 1824. They proceeded, first, from Suez to Jedda, by sea. Thence they made an excursion to Mecca, in order to gain some definite knowledge of the famous balsam-plant. Farther south, in Gumfude, in Arabia Deserta, a Turkish governor showed his gratitude to them for the medical aid which they had afforded him. He gave them a military escort, which would enable them, in safety, to visit the neighboring mountains of Derban.

In the further prosecution of their voyage by sea, important objects of observation occurred, namely, the volcanic island of rocks, Ketumbul, and another, frequented by gazelles, and named Farsan by its inhabitants. The last is wanting, in the chart which accompanies Lord Valentia's Travels.

From Gisan, a border-town between Arabia Felix and Arabia Deserta, our naturalists went to Loheia; near which the unfortunate Forskal congratulates himself on having found the greatest treasures of Arabian plants. Farther south, they visited Kameran, Hauakel, and Dalac; and on the twenty-fourth of April, 1825, they arrived at the harbor of Massaua.

At this place, in a southwest direction, the Abyssinian highlands commence. This was the particular point which our

travellers were desirous of attaining. Dr Hemprich made an an excursion to the mountains of Geelam. Dr Ehrenberg went to the mountains of Taranta, as far as the hot springs of Eilet. On the slope of the highlands of Abyssinia, productions of nature were collected, which, in respect to their locality, are certainly the rarest which any European museum can boast.

Unhappily, however, the promising prospects of our travellers were soon obscured, by new accidents. An epidemic disease raged at Massaua, by which Niemeyer, a native of Brunswick, and one of their aids, lost his life. All the other travellers, except the Italian, Finzi, who had been hired as a painter, fell sick, and for a long time were in great danger. Dr Hemprich, wearied out by his laborious journey to the mountains, died on the thirtieth of June; after he had, for five years, given proof of most distinguished talents, and of restless activity, and personal energy and resolution.

Dr Ehrenberg, deeply afflicted by the loss of his friend, now thought only of his return; and after ten months' absence, he reached Alexandria, by travelling over Jedda, Cossir, and Kahira. On the first of November, 1825, he embarked here for the port of Trieste.

'Such,' say the committee, 'is the general view of the regions, in which the observations of our travellers were made. In the relation which follows, respecting what was achieved by them for botany and the geography of plants, for zoölogy and comparative anatomy, for geology and mineralogy, for the knowledge of countries and nations, your committee will not separate the labors of Ehrenberg and Hemprich; since both these naturalists were connected by the closest ties of friendship, and before their journey, and during the same, expressed the desire, that all which had been done should be attributed to them both in common.'

The committee next proceed to a particular account of the results of this expedition, in regard to several of the physical sciences and some others. We must only give a very brief summary of these particulars.

I. Botany. Here, the harvest was beyond all expectation. The number of species collected amounts to two thousand eight hundred and seventy-five. Of these, one thousand and thirty-five belong to Egypt and Dongola; seven hundred to Arabia and Abyssinia; and one thousand one hundred and forty to Mount Lebanon. The number for Lebanon is very remark-

able, as the travellers spent but two months there, and consequently only one season for plants. Many species of these plants were collected in great numbers; so that the whole amount rises to forty-six thousand seven hundred and fifty. The seeds of six hundred and ninety-nine species were gathered, and sent to the Royal Garden; where more than three hundred kinds have flowered, and among these many not hitherto described. The number of plants, not before described, may, in the whole, be reckoned at six hundred. The specimens of woods are forty-four; and the articles of medicine, belonging to the animal kingdom, amount to forty. The young shoots, to the number of forty-eight, which were forwarded in order to be planted, all died. The investigation of plants on the spot, during their growth, extends to more than one thousand kinds. Flowers and fruits were analysed in abundance, and drawings of them were made, as also of the succulent plants. The distinguished talent of Dr Ehrenberg in sketching, served an important purpose here; and he has exhibited much skill in discriminating the different kinds of foreign trees. Most of the kinds discovered by Forskal, were found again by these travellers.

Myrrh the travellers themselves gathered from the *Amyris Kataf.* The different trees from which the Gum Arabic and the leaves of the Senna are gathered, are accurately described by them. They have also given information respecting the manner in which aloes is obtained. Three new species of the bread-fruit tree were also observed by them, namely, *Zygophyllum album*, *Panicum turgidum*, and *Cucumis farinosa*.

The color of the Red Sea, has long given occasion to a variety of conjectures and speculations. Dr Ehrenberg discovered, that it is owing to small animalcules (which he names *Oscillatoria*), that hold a rank about midway between plants and animals. Through Dr Ehrenberg, we now know, that the various kinds of mould (which consists of small plants, that are produced upon substances in a state of decay) are altogether the same, under all the varieties of climate; which also shows, that the inferior kinds of vegetation are every where the same.

The beginnings of vegetation, on the low islands in the Red Sea, were accurately observed by the travellers. The prevalence of plants, both cultivated and wild, was also a subject of their particular attention; so that the science of the geography of plants will be greatly enlarged by them.

II. Zoölogy. This department of science was an object of special attention. As to the extent and variety of subjects, and carefully conducted experiments, as well as in respect to fundamental observations and facts, the labors of our travellers here were not only of equal magnitude with those in other departments of science, but were of so great importance, that if these alone had been performed, signal gain to the cause of science would have resulted from their undertaking. It is, indeed, difficult to conceive how they could have done so much here, while they also effected so much in other departments.

A brief sketch of the result of their labors, will justify this representation.

Of the class *Mammalia*, they sent to Europe no less than five hundred and ninety individuals, which belonged to one hundred and thirty-five different species. Very few of these had previously been either generally known, or accurately described. The specimens, and the remarks by which they were accompanied, afford very important explanations of older writers, and solutions of the doubts of more recent ones, respecting the imaginary representations of the ancients. The number and selection of the specimens also give, at the same time, a just representation of the changes occasioned by sex, age, and season. Anatomical examinations, also, which had respect to each of these circumstances, completed the circle of knowledge respecting these objects; and have left very little to be accomplished by subsequent investigators. The few known objects among those examined have become now more satisfactorily known, through the labors of our travellers, in respect to the countries where they are found, and with regard to the changes produced upon them, as to their form, by the influence of various climates.

Here the Report touches upon a great many particulars, in regard to which, either corrections of old opinions have been made, or information entirely new has been communicated. Our travellers met with many species, belonging to a variety of genera, which were before unknown in Europe. The *incisor* animals, the leap-mouse, the squirrel (new varieties of which were found on Mount Lebanon), the monkey, the various kinds of beasts and birds of prey, the *Cerdo* of the ancients, wild dogs and cats, foxes, jackalls, weasels, bears, ruminating animals, domestic animals, the hippopotamus, &c. were all subjects of examination; the result of which has been much enlargement of knowledge, in respect both to their nature and their varieties.

Ornithology also received its due share of attention. The number of specimens, of the various kinds of birds, of which the skins were preserved and stuffed, or the whole were preserved in spirits of wine, amounts to four thousand six hundred and seventy-one individuals, which belong to four hundred and twenty-nine species.

Some of the most remarkable specimens among these, are, the ostrich of Cordofan, the magnificent purple stork, the long beaked ibis, the great Egyptian monk-hawk, the white-headed large falcon (probably the original of the falcon which is so often represented in the Egyptian mythology in connexion with the solar god, *Phne*), the grey and black-headed sea-gulls, and the *Dromas Ardeola*, of which last only one specimen was before known.

The genera *Anas*, *Totanas*, and *Tringa*, are the only genera, to which no additions were made by the researches of our travellers. To all the other genera, many new kinds, before unknown, were added. It is remarkable, that a striking identity was found to exist, between the water-fowl of the Red Sea, and those which are found on the coast of Brazil.

Of *Amphibia*, twenty-seven were preserved in skins, six as skeletons, and seven hundred and four in spirits of wine. The number of species amounts to one hundred and twenty.

Of fish, there are two thousand one hundred and forty-four specimens. In skins, one hundred and seventy-four; as skeletons, eighty-four; in spirits of wine, two thousand one hundred and fifty-six. The whole number of species amounts to four hundred and twenty-six; of which the Red Sea afforded three hundred and ten. One hundred and ten species of these, Dr Ehrenberg and his coädjutor Finzi have painted and colored to the life. The flying-fish of the Red Sea, perhaps the winged *Selav* (שְׂלָו) mentioned in Exodus xvi. 13, that supplied the Israelites with food, our travellers met with at Rhalim (Elim), near where the Israelites received this supply. In a violent storm, they often fly on board of ships, in great numbers.

Such is the suggestion of the committee, in regard to this subject. They also add, that perhaps the occurrence of the *Selav*, (in our English version of the Scriptures, Exodus xvi. 13, rendered *quail*), may be accounted for, by the supposition, that a great multitude of locusts were thrown upon the shore of the sea, dead, but not putrid, that is, recently drowned. This

last supposition is not new. It was made, long ago, by Ludolf, in his *Comment. ad Historiam Ethiopicam*, Lib. I. c. 13. p. 172. Niebuhr adopts the same supposition in his *Description de l'Arabie*. But there are strong reasons to doubt its correctness. In Leviticus xi. 22., where the kinds of locusts are specified which it was lawful to eat, no *Selav* is found. In Psalms lxxviii. 27., this same *Selav* is called עוֹף כָּנָף, *winged fowl*, a name not appropriate to locusts.

Nor is the opinion, that *winged fish* were the *Selav*, new. Rudeck (in Ichthyol. B. C. Upsal. 1705, p. 35) long ago advanced it. But there is little probability of its correctness. In the first place, the number of these flying-fish (which are quite small in size) at any one place, would ill suffice to feed three millions of people, and this plenteously. Besides, these fish never take their flight over land. They only rise a small distance above the water, continue their flight for a little space, and then necessarily descend again, for respiration, into their native element. So says Hasselquist, who is worthy of all credit, in his *Palæstinense Itinerarium*, p. 255, German edition; so says Niebuhr, in his *Description de l'Arabie* So, too, a very recent representation of these fish, by the Rev. Mr Stewart, in his 'Journal of a Residence at Hawaii,' presents the subject. They go in shoals, and are often pursued by the larger fish, for the sake of prey. They avoid them for a while by rising out of the water. But as they cannot continue their flight, but must speedily descend, the pursuers watch them while in the air, and often receive them as they descend, in their opened mouths. The idea of such fish taking a flight over land, for some distance, is an extravagance, which we trust the travellers will not maintain in their work; whatever the committee may have thought upon this subject. At Rhalim, Ehrenberg and Hemprich may have seen flying-fish; but to have seen them taking a land-flight, unless by mere accident, such as often throws them on board of ships, seems really to be out of question.

Whatever may be the meaning of *Selav*, then, in Exodus xvi. 13., we are well persuaded it is neither *locusts* nor *flying-fish*. But as we are not now writing a commentary on the Scriptures, we cannot stop further to inquire what the word does mean, as used by the sacred writer.

Specimens of fresh-water fish were collected by the travellers from the Nile, the Nahhr el Kelb and the Nahhr Ibrahim

in Syria, from the outlets of the Warm Springs at Rhalim in Tor on Sinai, from the previously unknown streams of Wadi Kanune and Wadi Djara in the Arabian Desert, and from the outlet of the Sun Spring, in the Oasis of Ammonium.

Of Mollusca they gathered three thousand five hundred and eight, namely, two thousand five hundred and sixty-seven Conchylia, and eight hundred and fifty-one of other kinds. The species amount to three hundred and ten. The latest enumeration before this, of Conchylia to be found in the Red Sea, was by Professor Brocchi, in the 'Biblioteca Italiana,' which comprises only ninety-one species.

With Annelidæ our travellers filled two hundred and sixty-one glass vessels, comprising sixty-seven species. All these were investigated by the aid of the microscope, described, and the characteristics of the new kinds accurately delineated.

Of Crustacea six hundred and seventy-five were gathered, two hundred and three preserved by drying, and four hundred and seventy-two in spirits of wine. Of Arachnoidæ, two hundred and seventy-five, belonging to one hundred and twenty species. Of insects, more than twenty thousand specimens, of between one thousand five hundred and two thousand species. Clouds of locusts they also observed, and forwarded specimens of them. With Epizoa they filled one hundred and two glass vessels; with Entozoa, six hundred, and of these there were one hundred and ninety-eight species. Of Echinodermæ they collected three hundred and sixty-five kinds; of Acalephæ, twenty kinds; of Polypi and Corals, sixty-two kinds; of Infusoria, fifty different forms.

Most of these various animals are represented by drawings, and are accurately described, in reference to their locality and zoölogical geography.

Never before, we believe, was a collection, so rich, made at any one time, from the animal kingdom, or one which promises so much to enlarge the science of zoölogy.

III. Zoötomy and Physiology. Our travellers bestowed more pains on the anatomical examinations of the smaller, than of the larger animals; because a due examination of many small subjects can be made only when they are recent. By this means many new genera and species have been discovered. The formation, also, has been oftentimes very satisfactorily explained by them.

The anatomy of insects, in the Linnæan sense of this word,

has been greatly enriched by them, by a series of observations on the pupils of insects' eyes, illustrated by colored engravings; on the formation of the coloring in the same, during their metamorphosis; and on the metamorphosis itself.

Appropriate drawings illustrate the position of the entrails of one hundred and two different species of fish; besides which are a multitude of drawings illustrating the animals themselves. Very extensive representations are made of Amphibia, particularly of their eyes.

Of birds, one hundred and fifty-three eggs and many nests have been gathered. The tongues of fifty-two kinds, and the palates of fifteen kinds, have also been represented by drawings. The fœtus of fishes, amphibia, fowls, and mammalia, have also been preserved. Skeletons and skulls of the Hippopotamus, the Hyrax Syriacus, gazelles, &c. have also been collected.

For years to come, the whole of these treasures cannot be fully displayed to the public.

IV. Results for Geology and the science of Fossils. In large districts of country, through which our travellers went, they observed in the most careful manner the relations of locality. The masses of stone, of various kinds, are divided into five groups; 1. The alluvial and tertiary formations of Egypt and the neighboring desert. 2. The original and transition ledges of the cataracts, the granular lime-stone, and the hornblend stone, of Nubia, together with the salt rock of Dongola. 3. The porphyry and Syenite formations of Sinai, and the peninsula in its neighborhood. 4. The Jura lime-stone of Lebanon, with petrifactions of fish three thousand feet above the sea at Jebbehl, and sea-muscles at Sanin near to the region of snow, and also Bovey-coal in sand stone and slate clay at Bischerra, and Basalt at Haddet, some six thousand feet above the sea. 5. The coasts of the Red Sea, with the volcanic island of Ketumbul, and the southeast slope of the Abyssinian mountains. In all these countries, Messrs Ehrenberg and Hemprich observed a striking similarity of geological relations, particularly in the association of mountainous masses. Several sketches of mineralogical charts give testimony of the untiring activity of the travellers in this part of their labors.

V. Countries and Nations. Astronomical calculations, to fix the latitude and longitude of places, our travellers did not make. But they often measured the angles which the

most important places made with the magnetic meridian. They made estimates of distances, and kept an accurate itinerary. At the entrance of the bay of Akaba, and at Gisan, Dr Ehrenberg took sketches of several islands which are not noticed in Lord Valentia's charts. The island of Farsan, three days' journey in circumference, with three villages and several harbors for small vessels, is to be regarded as a new discovery. Special consideration, also, is due to the routes from Tor to Sinai and Suez; over Beda to the rush swamp near Mount Goaebe; from Suez to Cameran, along the eastern coast of the Red Sea, where are a multitude of anchoring places unknown to geographers; from Gumfude in the country of the Wechabites, to Mount Derban; from Massaua in Abyssinia, to the Taranta mountains and the warm springs in Eilet; from the two snowy peaks of Lebanon, through Cœlosyria, to Balbec, and from thence to the coast of Tripoli; from Alexandria to Bir el Kor, and thence to the Oasis of Siva.

In the countries on the northern coast of the Red Sea, geographical observations were collected, which may serve to cast light on the oldest and most venerable traditions respecting the human race. The travellers saw Bir Beda, probably the hitherto undetermined Bedea of the Scriptures. They also saw the sedge-sea, *Yam-Suph* (יַם סוּף). The ancient Midian, the place where Moses so long sojourned, is still marked by the situation of Magne, where are houses surrounded by gardens. At Tor, Ehrenberg and Hemprich recognised in the warm springs of Rhalim, the station of the Israelites at Elim. Wells, in this country, are more lasting monuments of nature, than forests or sand hills.

Besides these geographical notices, our travellers have sent to Europe, 1. A catalogue of the establishments of the Maronites, in the northern part of Lebanon, both in the Latin and Arabic orthography, amounting in number to six hundred and nineteen, and written out for them by the secretary of the Emir Beschir, prince of Lebanon. 2. A catalogue of anchoring places, islands, coral reefs, and towns, on the eastern coast of the Red Sea, between Suez and Cameran, in number two hundred and eighty-seven, and for the most part in the Arabic language. 3. A similar catalogue of places on the western coast of the Red Sea, in number eighty-six. 4. A chart of the country of the Wechabites, from Taife (near Mecca) to Assir and Gumfunde, by an Arabian, an officer in the army of

the Pacha of Egypt. 5. A profile of the mountainous coast of the Red Sea, of Sinai, of Lebanon, and of the island of Cyprus, by Dr Ehrenberg.

Their journal contains, also, many remarks on the races of men, their customs, language, &c. Every where they have paid attention to the influence of climate on organic formation. They have registered more than eight hundred thermometrical observations, on the average temperature of the climate within the tropics, or on the southern boundaries of the temperate zone, so little known hitherto by experiment.

Many mummies, also, of men and beasts, two papyrus rolls, found in Egypt, seven Arabic manuscripts, and an Abyssinian Bible (the Psalms in the Amharic language), are parts of the riches which they have amassed.

Such is a brief view of the scientifical results of the labors of Messrs Ehrenberg and Hemprich, in Egypt, Nubia, Syria, and the two coasts of the Red Sea. The committee, at the close of their excellent report, observe, that all the labors of the travellers would be of little avail (however important in themselves they may be, for the enlargement of natural science and of physical geography), provided the government should not assist in promoting the publication of their results. They express the fullest confidence, however, that this will be done. They then conclude their report, by urging on the Academy the importance of taking effectual measures that the contemplated work, with all its maps and very numerous drawings, should be executed in a style worthy of the times, of the present improvements in science, and of the source from which the publication proceeds, without making it, at the same time, too expensive for the purchase of naturalists in general. They recommend, in regard to the drawings, that where new genera or species are to be represented, sketches as well as full forms should be employed, so as to make the representations more graphic and complete. A close imitation of the masterly sketches of Dr Ehrenberg is all which they deem to be necessary, fully to accomplish this purpose.

The Report ends, by recommending to the Academy a speedy publication of the proposed work.

An Appendix to the Report informs us of the plan, sketched out by Dr Ehrenberg, the surviving member of the literary mission, for the intended publication. Our scientific readers will be gratified, we trust, with a brief view of this plan.

The work is to be divided into two principal parts, bearing the common title, *Travels for the purposes of Natural History, in Northern Africa and Western Asia.* The first part is to contain a narration of the journey; the second, a copious representation and description of the natural objects examined.

The first part is to be subdivided into, 1. Travels from Alexandria to the Cyrenaica. 2. To Upper Egypt, Fayoum, and Dongola. 3. Remarks on Egypt. 4. Journey to Mount Sinai. 5. To Syria and Lebanon. 6. To Arabia and Abyssinia.

These are to be accompanied with various remarks and charts, appropriate to their respective contents. The remarks will have respect to the geological and physical peculiarities of countries, and also their points of agreement with other known countries; to the physical and political condition of the inhabitants, their customs, sports, their improvement in language, their arts, trade, intercourse, &c.; to the organic productions of the countries, and as well the wild as the domestic plants and animals of the same.

Of maps, drawings, catalogues, &c. to accompany the work, are designated, a chart of the Red Sea, with many geographical corrections; a profile of the whole eastern coast of the Red Sea, and of a part of the western coast; a list of all the anchoring places and islands, on the eastern coast of the same, and also of some on the western coast; a view of Mount Sinai, from the highest peak of St Catharine, with the designation of the angles made by several islands and mountain peaks, which fall within the horizon of the same; an Arabic chart of the Hedjas, by an Arabian in the army of the Pacha of Egypt, which subdued the Wechabites; the route from Beirout in Syria, over the snowy peaks of Sanin on Lebanon, through Cœlosyria to Balbec, &c. and thence to Tripoli; an Arabic and Latin catalogue of all the places (six hundred and nineteen in number) in the northeast part of Lebanon; a series of seven hundred and seventy-three observations with the thermometer, mostly in tropical countries; vocabularies of several Arabic dialects, of the Berber language, of the Massaua, of the Amharic, of the Tigne, of the Saho, and of the Yaenke tongues, the last of which (hitherto unknown) is spoken by a negro tribe, on the coast of Sennaar; directions in regard to the manner of travelling, and collecting natural objects, &c.; and portraits of the various kinds of dress, of sailing vessels, of utensils, of kitchen vegetables, &c.

The first part of the work is to be contained in two volumes, with an Appendix, embracing the matters above enumerated. The second part, designed principally for naturalists, is to be subdivided into four parts. 1. Descriptive zoölogy, with anatomy and physiology. 2. Plates representing the newly discovered animals, &c., with a short text accompanying them, to be published in numbers. 3. Descriptive botany. 4. Sketches of plants, with a short descriptive text, &c., to be issued in numbers.

Such is the prospect of this magnificent and laborious work; a work calculated to exhibit to the highest advantage, what the *iron diligence* of the German literati is wont to accomplish. No nation on earth has more enthusiasm and scientific ardor, than the Germans; and none are more competent to apply these qualifications most effectually to the objects which come within their limits. The French corps of scientific men are, indeed, exceedingly active and laborious; and to none are the sciences of chemistry, physiology, mathematics, astronomy, pharmacy, and anatomy more deeply indebted. But there is, generally speaking, more of persevering and minutely accurate diligence among the Germans.

We cannot help doing honor to the king of Prussia and his ministry, as well as to the Royal Academy at Berlin, for the generous support which they have given to the scientific expedition, which has been described in the preceding pages. Nor is this the only noble transaction, in which the king of Prussia has been deeply concerned. Within a few years, he has made freemen of a large portion of his subjects, by making them lords of the soil which they cultivate, possessors by mere fee simple. He has raised up the second, if not the first University of learning, now in existence. We refer to that of Berlin, which is not yet twenty years old. He has greatly improved other Universities in his territory, particularly that of Halle. He supports, at his own expense, as we are credibly informed, twenty-five theological students at Wittenberg, on the very spot where Luther taught, and where three professors of theology still remain, one of whom is the well known Schleusner. He has made provision, that all the children of his realm shall be taught to read, and be in possession of a Bible. He every year bestows some distinguished honor or privilege on literary men, who contribute to the honor of his kingdom, and the instruction of his subjects. All this, too, with very moderate pecuniary resources, Prussia having scarcely any commerce with foreign countries.

When we think on this, and compare it with what our governments are doing in the cause of science and literature, our hearts almost melt within us. It has generally been the reproach of republics, that they had no sympathy for literature. Nay, they have often been reproached with even fearing and hating it, lest it should tend, if much honored, to introduce inequality among the citizens. When we call to mind, too, that literature is even taxed by our general government, that a poor student, who has not one dollar in his pocket, is obliged to pay one shilling on the pound avoirdupois, for every Latin and Greek book which he imports from Europe, which duty often amounts to five or even ten times the original price of the book; we are ready to ask, Where is the boasted illumination and liberality of the republic, and of the age, in which we live? We do beseech the enlightened men, who are at the head of our affairs, both in the general and state governments, to wipe away the reproach which rests upon us in this respect; and at least, not to frown upon literary effort, by imposing heavy taxation upon it. Every petty state in Germany, not so large as one of our counties, must have its University; and that generously supported too. Here, if the Universities live, it is well; a Governor's speech, or a President's message boasts of them to the world. If they die, too, it is equally well, so far as our political enthusiasts are concerned. In the scramble for office which pervades all ranks, the higher and permanent interests, and lasting glory of the country are apt to be forgotten. The question, who are to be our next presidents, and governors, and senators, and representatives, absorbs all other inquiries. A much deeper interest is felt in the business of *governing*, than in the inquiry, whether, by and by, there will be anything worth *being governed*.

We make the appeal to the country, and to the world, fearlessly in regard to this subject. Facts are before the eyes of every well-informed, clear-sighted man, which will not permit him to contradict this statement. A few solitary and honorable exceptions only can be made to it, in the appropriation of money for the benefit of literary seminaries.

Where are the voyages, like that of Ehrenberg and Hemprich, supported by government or by literary societies? We are aware that our own western wilds have been partially explored, by order of government. We know, too, that the intelligent and active men in office, who have been principally

concerned in all this, would have done very much more of the same nature, if their countrymen would have suffered them. We do hope, that more men of the like ardor will be raised up, who, heedless whether they carry the next election or not, will look at higher objects, and do something of permanent benefit to the interests of science, something which will contribute to the lasting honor of their country. We do believe there are men, now high in office, that would, with all their hearts, embark in such undertakings if they dared to do it. May the day speedily dawn, when they will venture upon the experiment!

But we must return from our discursive review, and come to an end. We trust the votaries of science, in this country, will thank us for laying before them the prospectus of a work, so important as that to be published under the auspices of the Royal Academy at Berlin. We cannot refrain from expressing our hope, our earnest desire, that some of our Colleges, or some Society of literary and scientific men among us, will not fail to make immediate arrangements to secure the importation and translation of the first volumes of the work above announced, and their republication in this country, for the benefit of our numerous naturalists, and through them, for the benefit of our community. Geography, too, is to receive no unimportant accession from the work.

Might we be permitted to name any literary Society, on whom we should feel the greatest liberty to call, and to urge on them this undertaking, we should name the Corporation of Harvard University, or some of the literary and scientific Societies in its neighborhood. It is worthy of their attention, and would well repay them for all the trouble and expense which it might occasion. Every genuine son of science, of literature, or of the arts, we are sure, will join with us in these wishes. Every man, who is enlightened, and who loves his country, will rejoice to see the means and the spirit of literature and of science multiplied and extended.

The Northeastern Boundary. Since the article on this subject passed through the press, we have seen a Report of a committee of the legislature of Maine, in which the same question is fully discussed. The committee had access to a great mass of documents, copies of which were obtained by the executive of Maine, from the department of state, of the United States. They have published some of the most important of these documents, as an Appendix to their report. We should have taken some notice of this valuable report, had it reached us a few days sooner ; but we do not find in it, on examination, anything which would have varied the course of our argument, or any material facts or documents which had escaped our attention. The report discusses some topics not within the scope of our inquiry, which it was our purpose to confine strictly to the question of right between the two countries. The proceedings which have been resorted to by the parties for enforcing their respective claims, and the measures which have been adopted for bringing the question to an adjustment, may be made the subject of another article. In another document, published by order of the legislature of Maine, namely, the Report of Charles S. Daveis, Esq., who was appointed by the governor of Maine to inquire into the facts of the case, a narrative is given of the controversies which have arisen, between the settlers on the disputed territory and the officers of the province of New Brunswick, from their attempts to enforce the jurisdiction of the province within that territory. These facts are important, and they show the cause of the excitement which prevails, in the state most directly interested, in relation to the question in controversy, and the necessity of a speedy adjustment of that controversy.

QUARTERLY LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

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Elements of Natural Philosophy. By E. S. Fischer. Translated into French with Notes and Additions, by M. Biot. Now translated from the French into English, for the use of Colleges and Schools in the United States. Edited by John Farrar. Boston. Hilliard, Gray, & Co.

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Memoirs of the Rev. Pliny Fisk, A. M. late Missionary to Palestine. By Alvan Bond. Boston. Crocker & Brewster.

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The Mental Guide, being a Compend of the first Principles of Metaphysics, for the Use of Schools and Academies. Boston. Marsh & Capen. 12mo. pp. 384.

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NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. LX.

NEW SERIES, NO. XXXV.

JULY, 1828.

ART. I.—1. *Reports of the Committee of the House of Assembly on that part of the Speech of His Excellency the Governor in Chief, which relates to the Settlement of the Crown Lands; with the Minutes of Evidence, taken before the Committee.* Quebec. 1821.

2. *Esquisse des Affaires devant le Parlement Provincial du Bas-Canada, dans la Session qui doit s'ouvrir le* 21 *Janvier*, 1826. (A Pamphlet compiled from articles inserted in the Quebec Gazette. pp. 30).

3. *Reflections upon the Value of the British West India Colonies, and of the British North America Provinces.* London. 1826.

AMONG the curiosities of contemporary British legislation, must be reckoned Mr Hume's motion in the House of Commons, in presenting Mr Gourlay's petition, on the plan of extinguishing the national debt of Great Britain, by the sale of the crown lands in the two Canadas. It must be admitted to show a somewhat limited knowledge of the matter in the honorable mover (if not misreported), that nothing was said by him, on that occasion, of the measures long ago adopted by the British government, with a view to the deriving of benefit from the waste lands in question, as well to the colony as to the mother country, or, at least, to the creating by their sale the means of defraying the expenses of the provincial government. It appears from the document which is mentioned at the

head of this article, that this subject engaged the attention of the British government so early as the year 1775, or twelve years after the conquest of Canada. By the instructions given to Sir Guy Carleton (afterwards Lord Dorchester), dated St James, February 3, 1775, that captain-general and governor in chief was empowered 'to agree with the inhabitants of the province for such lands, tenements, and hereditaments, as now are or hereafter may be in the king's power to dispose of, to be granted in fief or *seigneurie*, in like manner, as was practised antecedent to the conquest of the said province, omitting however, in any grant that shall be passed of such lands, the renovation of all judicial powers or privileges whatever.'

Three years after the recognition of the independence of the United States, Lord Dorchester was, by additional instructions, directed to order the surveyor-general to measure and lay out such quantity of land, as, with the advice of the Council, he should deem convenient for the settlement of the *loyalists*, 'such lands to be divided into distinct *seigneuries* or fiefs, to extend from two to four leagues in front and from three to five leagues in depth, if situated upon a navigable river, otherwise to be run square, or in such shape and in such quantities, as shall be convenient and practicable, and in each *seigneurie*, a glebe to be reserved and laid out in the most convenient spot, to contain not less than three hundred acres, nor more than five hundred acres, the property of which *seigneuries* shall be and remain vested in us, our heirs, and successors; the said lands to be held under us, our heirs, and successors, *seigneurs* of the *seigneurie* or fief, in which the same shall be situated, upon the same terms, acknowledgments, and services, as lands are held in the said province, under the respective *seigneurs*, holding and possessing *seigneuries* or fiefs therein, and reserving to us, our heirs, and successors, from and after the expiration of ten years from the admission of the respective tenants, a quit rent of one half-penny per acre.'

The loyalists and those whom these provisions concerned, are defined in the following passage at the beginning of the fortieth section of Lord Dorchester's instructions; 'our loyal subjects, inhabitants of the colonies and provinces, now the United States of America, who are desirous of retaining their allegiance to us, and of living in our dominions—and the non-commissioned officers and private men of the forces, which may have been reduced in our said province of [Quebec], and who shall be desirous of becoming settlers therein.'

The Canadians were greatly displeased and not a little alarmed at the great number of loyalists that entered the province, allured by the bait which had been thus held out to them or coming in the character of officers of government. 'From the manner,' says a committee of the House of Assembly, in a Report dated February 12, 1821; 'from the manner in which the influence of these gentlemen and their friends had been exercised in the old colonies, and from the ill success which had attended the policy adopted by their advice, Canada could augur but unfavorably of the administration which was destined to rule it.' It seems that several petitions were addressed to the king complaining against what the Canadians considered an infraction of the laws, institutions, and privileges guarantied to them by the Quebec Act of 14 George III. ch. 83. This law however does in no manner deprive the crown of the right of distributing the waste lands; the Canadians were only intended to be secured by it in the 'enjoyment of their property and possessions, together with all customs and usages relative thereto, and all their civil rights.'

It appears from a proposition brought forward in 1790, on behalf of Lord Dorchester, and discussed in the Legislative Council, that a strong party inclined to the commutation of the feudal tenures into estates of free and common soccage. The governor in asking the advice of the council, on this subject, invited them to attend to the statute 12 Charles II. chap. 24, by which the tenure in free and common soccage was made general in England.

The chief justice who, was then, we believe, as now, chairman of the council, made a similar motion which was received favorably by the council. Only one member entered his dissent; but at last, the government discountenanced the whole scheme; and though, by the forty-third section of the constitutional act (31 George III. ch. 31), all lands in future to be granted within the limits of Upper Canada, were to be granted in free and common soccage, the same enactment was extended to Lower Canada only in case the grantee should have desired it, remaining however 'subject to such alterations, with respect to the nature and consequences of such tenure of free and common soccage, as may be established, or any law or laws, which may be made by the king, his heirs,' &c.

In 1821, the question was brought before the House of Assembly, in consequence of the speech of the governor in

chief, at the opening of the session, and a committee to whom the matter was referred, reported against the suggested change. The principal ground upon which they placed their opposition was, that the feudal system was better adapted to the settlement of a new country, where capital is necessarily scarce, where labor wants the encouragement of constant outlets for its surplus productions, and where the returns of money, laid out in the clearing of land, are slow. They thought that these obstacles could only be removed, by one of the three following expedients; that the country should be settled by emigrants, furnished with capital and accompanied by free laborers, as was the case in the settlement of New England; or, that the government should make pecuniary advances or donations to support the new settlers, till their labor should become productive, as was the case in 1783 and 1784, with the settlers in Upper Canada; or, lastly, that the government should make the grants under conditions which might insure the investment of private capital, with reference to individual interest, but so as to insure the permanence of the settlement. The committee was disposed to adopt the latter course. They thought that such a policy would not only encourage the investment of the pecuniary resources already existing in the province, but produce an influx of capital from abroad.

Considering, however, the interest of those through whom the capitalists must derive their profits, the committee supposed that concessions, such as had been made to the great proprietors of some of the provinces now constituting the United States (as, for example, Lord Baltimore), would be too onerous for those who should actually become settlers. They concluded that, in regard to the interest of the latter, the French system of *seigneuries* was unquestionably the least burthensome, especially as, since the conquest, the inconveniences of the seignorial jurisdiction, in civil and criminal cases, had been removed. Under that system, the settler is not obliged to lay out any money for his land, and consequently the idle cash he may possess may be employed in the improvement of his farm. The annual rent is generally moderate. In return, the tenant has the support of the *seigneur*, who is interested to save his estates from the forfeiture to which he would be liable, were his lands to remain uncultivated. In many cases, he is obliged to provide for the means of intercourse from the remotest settlement on his estate, to the next concession of ungranted land, and to

construct mills at which the grinding is fixed by law at a moderate rate. 'The religious and social habits of the Canadian agriculturist' add the committee, 'prevent him from emigrating to the township. He is there deprived of all the substantial comforts of his religion. His child cannot be baptized nor receive instruction in the principles of his religion; on the verge of the tomb, he can receive no religious consolation. He has no means of attending Divine worship.' No new settlement however small can long be without a chapel and a priest, but this can only be effected, in the opinion of the committee, by the erection of seignorial settlements. The population, say they, is adequate to the settlement of the waste lands; and in concluding their Report, they express the opinion, that the principal obstacle which had existed in that respect, has been the carelessness of the colonial administration, in executing the king's 'wise and gracious instructions.'

The committee observe cursorily that by the statute 12 Charles II. chap. 24, the feudal constitution is only modified, and not abrogated, even in England.

Without pretending to follow in the track of Craig and Ferriere or the other writers on the feudal law, or to attempt to throw any new historical light on questions which have been discussed and elucidated in so masterly a strain by Montesquieu, Robertson, and Hallam, we shall now endeavor to explain how far the feudal tenures have been introduced into Canada.

The feudal system has been sufficiently discredited, and its inconveniences are universally known; but still we believe that many prejudices exist in respect to this system, as well as in respect to all institutions which are antiquated or in contradiction with the spirit of the age. In order to do justice to the ancient government of France, we must consider the modifications which had been applied to that system, long before it was demolished by the *fiat* of the revolutionary reformers. To be equitable to the governments which still maintain it, it would be requisite to show that it may be made consistent, to a certain degree, with modern principles, and that the feudal polity now existing, for instance in Spain and some parts of Italy, is not as we find it portrayed in ancient codes and legal disquisitions, or in philosophical denunciations against the wisdom of remote ages. But, if such an exposition is too remote from the subject which we are now en-

gaged in examining, and too complicated for a rapid and general view, we may at least, advert to some of the most essential differences between the actual feudal system of Canada, and that which once existed in the greatest part of Europe, and subjoin a few remarks founded on the facts brought together in the documents, to which we have asked the reader's attention, at the head of the article.

We may set it down as an incontrovertible position, that conquest was the origin and the basis of the feudal system. The lands conquered were generally divided between the conqueror and the original proprietor. Now, Canada, was, originally, not a conquered province. The settlement of that country, though less spontaneous, and less exclusively *economical* than that of almost all the states, now composing the North American Union, was, nevertheless, in point of law, more like such a peaceful occupancy, than an acquisition by military force. England had a better title to the right of conqueror in 1763, than the first French monarch, who introduced into New France the system to which we allude.* Yet as this system existed in the mother country, without being checked either by public opinion or by any legitimate power, and formed, on the contrary, the ground work of the whole political fabric in that kingdom, no objection could be urged, nor was probably urged against its introduction into the colony. It is the prevailing belief in Canada, at the present time, as we have already shown on the authority of one branch of the legislative body, that such a vast country could not in the beginning be settled, otherwise than by means of a partition of lands, among great feudatory landholders, since the first elements of its population were essentially different from those of the neighboring English colonies. The large quantities of land granted to a few individuals, were like a monopoly conceded to the promoters of a new branch of industry. Political economists admit, that manufactures, and commerce with distant countries which have long been inaccessible, may be encouraged by temporary privileges, without violating the most liberal principles towards strangers.

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* Lord Grenville made in the course of the important Parliamentary debates, to which we shall repeatedly have occasion to refer, a distinction between a *colony originally conquered*, to which the laws of Great Britain might be transported, and a *province conquered from another nation*, and already possessing settled laws, agriculture, and an extensive commerce. *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxix. p. 656.

The colonies were generally not considered in any other point of view than as outlets of national capital and national industry. France may therefore plead, that the feudal system was nothing but a monopoly; but on the other hand it might be objected—and the objection is irresistible—that agriculture and all the interests connected with it, are more steady, less moveable, and less independent of the general system of a country, than the other branches of industry; and that exclusive favors, once granted to any set of men in respect to landed property must have an irretrievably prejudicial influence on the destiny of the whole population.

The principal modification with which the feudal system was introduced into Canada, was the exemption from military services.

Under the French government, the seigniors exercised a territorial jurisdiction, though jurisdiction is not absolutely connected with the feudal tenure. In the earliest grants, mention is made of local judges, from whom appeals lay to the *prevôt* or *bailli* at Quebec, and of superior, mesne, and inferior jurisdiction. But the territorial jurisdiction is now abrogated.

The tenures are divided into noble and *roturier*. 'We have no English word,' says Hallam,* 'that conveys the full sense of *roturier*. How glorious is this deficiency in our political language, and how different are the ideas suggested by Commoner!' But Mr Hallam forgot that there were such 'ruptuarii,' as Du Cange calls them, under the laws of Great Britain, in Canada.

The noble proprietors (who, as we shall hereafter show, need not be patricians themselves) owe to the king the same rights as the mediate tenants owe to them.

The *roturier* tenures are, according to Ferriere, 'inheritances held on *censives* and owe but two principal servitudes, the annual *cens* and the "*lods* and *ventes*," which are due from the new proprietor to the *seignior censier*, in virtue of sale or other conveyance, equivalent to a sale;' and with respect to fines, they are subject to those for non-payment of the *cens*, or for failure of notifying the sale; the first is of $3\frac{1}{3}$ pence, the second of $37\frac{1}{2}$ pence.†

* State of Europe during the Middle Ages, vol. i. p. 207. London 3d. ed.

† British sterling.

In case of collateral succession the heir is bound to pay a year's revenue of the fief, or a sum fixed by arbitration or by offer of the heir, at the option of the lord.

'Fealty and homage' are probably now mere fictitious formalities. However in a work entitled an 'Abstract of those Parts of *the Custom of the Viscounty and Provostship of Paris*,* which were received and practised, in the Province of Quebec in the Time of the French Government,'† it is said: 'Fealty and homage constitute the fief and give it its name.' (Tit. II. of the Introduction.)

We find‡ that the *cens* amounted, under the French government, to fifteen eighteenths of a penny for every acre in front, by the whole depth of the grant; which varies from twenty to one hundred and twenty-six *arpents*.

The rents were stipulated between the lord and the tenant; before the conquest, the highest amounted in cash to one penny and a ninth for each superficial acre, and when payable in money and in wheat, to five ninths of a penny for each superficial acre, and a bushel of wheat for forty superficial acres.

The *censitaires* are, besides, subject to the '*lods* and *ventes*,' or the twelfth part of the purchase money, though the lords generally remit a fourth of it; and to the livery of seisin, which amounts to two thirds of a penny. According to the 'Custom of Paris,' the formality of seisin is not strictly obligatory.

In regard to fines, they can only be exacted by means of a judicial sentence, and amount to $3\frac{1}{3}$ pence in case of refusal of paying the *cens* and *rentes*, and to $37\frac{1}{2}$ pence for default of giving notice of the sale.

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* Mr Fox observed in the course of the debates on the Quebec Government Bill (House of Commons, May 11, 1791), that the French laws existing in Canada were not the laws of France, even at the time of the conquest of that Province. The whole French law was, indeed, never sent to the colony; but particular parts only. 'Whenever,' said he, 'an appeal from the French laws and the Custom of Paris came before the Privy Council of that kingdom, the great and able men, who composed it, were put into a difficult situation, and were obliged to inquire what the custom of Paris was, in such and such a case, and how the French laws operated under such and such circumstances; and in order to ascertain those points, they were obliged to inquire of antiquaries rather than of lawyers, before the Code Marchand could be established.' *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxix. p. 406.

† London, printed by the King's Printers. 1 vol. folio. 1772, (in French.)

‡ Report of the Committee, &c. p. 71.

The last feudal burthen is the obligation to bring the grain to the lord's mill, paying the fourteenth part for the grinding: to make or permit to be made all roads and bridges requisite for general intercourse (*corvée*), and to clear the lands and occupy them within a year and a day from the date of the deed.

These burthens being definite in their nature, it has been argued that they are analogous to soccage services. 'In France,' says Hallam,* 'all lands, held in *roture*, appear to be considered as villein tenements, and are so termed in Latin, *though many of them rather answer to our soccage freeholds.*' The commutation of the actual feudal tenures into free and common soccage would consequently not meliorate essentially the condition of the tenants.

The most important restriction upon the right of the seignors, is that every inhabitant can insist on a grant of land, for the purpose of improvement, subject to rent and dues, whereby the grantee becomes a perpetual proprietor, without paying any purchase money, or other expenses than the notary's fee for acknowledging the deed. Again, the seignors cannot sell any portion of their landed estates, under penalty of having them forfeited to the crown and voiding the deed of sale.

These two last conditions are striking and distinctive features in the feudal system of Canada. They deserve a few words of explanation.

When the French government, about the first quarter of the seventeenth century, entrusted the administration of the Canadas to a company, the principal object and condition of the grant was to improve the country as rapidly as possible. That company distributed large tracts of land to several individuals, but always subject to the obligation of carving out from their estates suitable portions for all those, who should offer to cultivate and improve the land. By a grant made in January, 1636, of the fief of *La Côte de Lauzon*, it seems, besides, that the company was bound to send settlers to Canada; for it is said that the number of those, whom the grantee and his heirs should send, would be deducted from the number which the company was obliged to furnish.

In March, 1663, the king resumed the rights surrendered to the company, and in the same month and the same year an *arrêt* was passed to remedy the inconveniences consequent

* Vol. i, p. 224.

upon bestowing large tracts of land upon persons who were never able to clear them, on account of their great extent, and to prescribe, that within a limited period all the lands should be cleared, or otherwise those which should remain uncleared, were to be distributed by new grants.

There is a grant dated October 11th, 1653, in favor of one Mr Perthins, of one league and a half in front by nine in length. Reservation is made of the king's right of constructing military and public works, and of felling all oak timber fit for the royal navy. Actual residence is enjoined to the grantee and his tenants, in order to cultivate the land, and in default thereof, the grant was to be void.

Another *arrêt*, dated July 6, 1711, imported that the uncleared lands should be reünited to the royal domain, and once more enjoined upon the lords to concede lands to such inhabitants as might be willing to take portions of them on rent.

A second *arrêt* of the same day required the grantees of lands on *roture* to reside upon and clear their lands, without further delay.

Some seignors having reserved to themselves extensive domains, and sold tracts of woodland, instead of conceding them merely for rents, a new term of two years was provided by government, within which the lands were to be cleared and settled, or otherwise they should be reünited to the royal domain; and all felling of wood was again prohibited, under the penalty of voiding the deeds of sale.

There are several ordinances reüniting lands to the crown domain, for default of actual settlement.

Judicial decisions, legislative acts, proclamations, and all the expedients which could be devised, were thus employed with the hope of promoting cultivation and the increase of population, and with a view of remedying the evils of the extensive grants, that had been lavished upon a few families. In fact, upon feudal principles, the settlement might have been enforced upon the fundamental condition, that *tenancy must always be full*, in order to do the lord's service.

It seems that, excepting occasional extortions of the principal officers within the colonies, and the heavy military services, which were exacted, the inhabitants had reason to be satisfied with the solicitude of the French government for the improvement of the country; and it is hinted, in one of the documents upon which we reason, that the British government has been

much less attentive to remedies required by the accumulation of extensive estates in a few hands.

Yet under the French government, the population increased very slowly and the improvement of the country was inconsiderable. Its territorial revenue consisted in *quints* (the fifth part of the purchase money) or alienation fines, and '*lods* and *ventes*.' But in reality the crown did not receive more than a third of the principal of these dues. Under the British government from 1775 to 1788, the territorial revenue, comprehending arrears, was below ten thousand pounds sterling.

It is stated in the Minutes of Evidence, that no seignories have been erected in Canada, from the time of the conquest, nor indeed since 1759, and that the number actually existing in the districts of Quebec, Montreal, and Three-Rivers, is two hundred and eighteen, amongst which are eighteen islands, comprehending in all twelve millions seven hundred thousand *arpents* of land.

With burthens comparatively so light and with the facility of obtaining lands without price, one would think that the country ought to be more settled than it is. Yet, even with the casual increase of settlers by means of emigration from Scotland, Ireland, and the United States, a large proportion of the seignories is still uncultivated. The committee from whose report we have borrowed the preceding details, have collected, it should seem, sufficient evidence to show that there is, in the province, an abundant population to settle the waste lands of the crown and the ungranted lands of the seignories; * that the want of facilities for internal intercourse, by means of roads and bridges, is one of the causes of the paucity of new settlements; that in the earliest times the settlement of the country was paralyzed by the great quantities of land which were, at once, offered to be granted and at last distributed to a small number of individuals; that the preference for settlements in townships originates from the religious spirit of the catholic inhabitants and their fears of a want of spiritual assistance and

* One of the members of the Council, who appeared before the Committee, said, that 'in no country where he had travelled, had he met with such a dense agricultural population as in Canada, except in French Flanders and Brabant.' (Minutes of Evidences, p. 15.) This may be true, in regard to the settlement of the banks of the rivers and on the principal lines of internal communication; but this *abundant* population would probably be found to dwindle into a scanty one, by an examination of some remoter portions of the province.

direction, in separate and isolated habitations, and from the judicial organization of the country; that the mode of acquiring land, under the actual system, is less expensive than under any other; that the fees for a soccage settlement are too heavy; that generally the lands reserved to the crown and to the protestant clergy are so situate, as to be an impediment to the settlement of the French inhabitants; that the *cens* of the feudal tenure is not burthensome; that the rents are generally moderate; that money is very scarce among the great mass of the population; that, besides, in many districts the soil is poor and the climate excessively severe, and that in many others, which are in both respects better situated, the settler would be obliged to make considerable sacrifices of labor and money in draining the soil; that in one part of the province, settlements are checked by the uncertainty of the exact limits in regard to the United States, and that in another district, the land titles are insecure.

It may be that the most powerful cause has not been mentioned by the committee; to wit, the natural indolence of the French inhabitants, arising, perhaps, from a disregard to what we call comforts, from education and habits, and from their religious tenets. The state of society in Canada, it must not be forgotten, is a very primitive, we had almost said a patriarchal one. Wealth has not there the same attraction as, for instance, in the superlatively artificial society of England. When political moralists and economists lament the 'dolce far niente' of the Italians and the supineness of the Spaniards, and call them indolent, degenerate, &c. they ought not to forget that maccaroni and a cigar, a piece of bread with an onion, are as much relished by those sunny and light-hearted philosophers, as the most refined dainties for which the laborious gourmand toils in London and Paris, with the most marvellous talent of forgetting the fatigue and anxieties with which he purchases them. The catholic religion is essentially inimical to the lust of wealth. On a people of primitive character that cause acts very powerfully. The Venetians became merchants from the moment that they were prepared to say to the Pope, '*Primo siamo Veneziani e poi Cristiani.*' Unless our personal observations have grossly deceived us, we may confidently say, that the Canadians are yet far from entertaining a similar notion.

The greater part of what we have said, in regard to the settlement of the seignorial lands, is applicable to the townships, which have been formed under crown concessions. As such grants have

been made by the provincial government, from the year 1796, in free and common soccage, it should seem that the number of settlements made under those conditions, might essentially aid in solving the question, whether the Canadians prefer the soccage to feudal tenures. But the first fact that strikes the reader of the Report of the Committee of the House of Assembly,* is that according to the public returns, from the year 1797 to February, 1821, no revenue has been raised by such sales. We cannot hope to give a more concise explanation of this remarkable circumstance, than is contained in the following passage of the Report of the Committee; and the complaints, which it contains, against some officers of the government might perhaps more properly come from the competent local legislative authority, than from an American Reviewer.

'Your Committee,' it is said in the eighth and ninth pages, 'have ascertained beyond a doubt, that these instructions were evaded in the following manner.

'An entire township, or half, or a quarter of a township, was, upon the application of an individual, who had the fortune to enjoy the favor of the colonial administration, promised to him. He obtained the names of thirty-nine individuals, who either lent them gratuitously, or sold the use of them, for some trifling consideration, or were to receive nominally a grant of twelve hundred acres of land, really and truly a grant of two hundred only. In each of these three cases, a bond or obligation was executed, whereby the real grantee of the township, known by the name of "*leader*," stipulated with these "*personnes interposées*," that upon the passing of the patent, these several associates should convey to the *leader*, either the entire twelve hundred in the two first cases, or the one thousand in the last case, in fee simple to the *leader*, the latter engaging to use the necessary exertions, and incur the necessary expenses, and also to pay the patent fees upon the grant, without any reïmbursement to him from the associates.

Under this system there was granted to the members of his Majesty's council, above one hundred and thirty thousand acres; to friends and relatives of members of the executive council, above one hundred thousand acres; to individuals who had not joined the standard of his Majesty during the revolutionary war, above three hundred thousand acres. To American loyalists, and to his Majesty's Canadian subjects, with the exception of the Canadian militia who served in the year 1776, none, or if there be some solitary exceptions, they are so few as not to merit consideration.

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* Second Report, p. 8.

'For these services, his Majesty directed, by a special mandamus, that there should be granted unto the Lieutenant Governor for the time being, an entire township of the waste lands of the crown, to each of the members of the executive council, one quarter of a township, which was accordingly carried into effect.'

The language of the committee is characteristically bold, and illustrates the mutual relations of the political departments and some of the principal officers of the government. 'Your committee,' they observe, 'unwilling to believe, that the above mentioned evasions of his Majesty's gracious instructions had been practised with the knowledge, privity, or consent of his Majesty's servants, bound by their oath, their honor, and their duty to obey them, instituted a long and patient investigation into the origin of these abuses. They have been painfully, but irresistibly led to the conclusion, that they were fully within the knowledge of individuals in this country, who possessed and abused his Majesty's confidence.' The instructions given to Lord Dalhousie, relative to the waste lands of the crown, and which were communicated to the House of Assembly in February, 1823, have for their object to prevent the granting of large quantities of land to those who have no immediate occasion for cultivating and settling them. They direct the governor not to make grants to any person who has not previously made it appear, that he is in a condition to cultivate and to improve the land; that the lands to be granted shall be laid out in townships, so far as local circumstances will permit, each consisting of ten miles square.

In the Minutes of Evidence, there is again a short but conclusive solution of the question, why Canadians settle so rarely on lands granted in free and common soccage.

'*Q.* To what cause do you attribute this?' the committee asked Mr Bouchette, the surveyor-general and author of the Topography of Canada.

'*Bouchette.* The reasons are obvious; they do not like the tenure, as they do not know it; they do not like to leave their relations and friends, and they like to be within the reach of their churches.'

Emigrants who might have been willing to settle in the townships, were often deterred from doing it, it seems, by the delay in the preparation of the several documents relative to the grants. The public duties of the council, by whom such grants are issued, are various. Some of its members are judges, who

are engaged in their judicial functions one hundred and forty days in the year, and a considerable part of that time is precisely the season most important for the emigrants to proceed upon their enterprises.

It appears from official papers, that in 1821, three hundred and seventy-six thousand two hundred acres had been granted to emigrants from the United States, as 'leaders' of settlements in townships.

The Fourth Report on Emigration is sufficiently important to this country to deserve a literal insertion in the present article.

'When, at the close of the long and sanguinary contest which had for more than twenty years agitated and desolated Europe, a new order of things arose in 1815, the United Kingdom, in common with the other nations of Europe, suffered greatly from the sudden transition from a war unexampled in the histories of mankind, to a state of peace; her government naturally looked to the North American colonies, as a refuge for her distressed subjects thrown out of employ. The landholders of England expected that by means of the emigration of the poor to the colonies, the increased pressure of the poor laws would be diminished. The poor themselves had a right to expect, from the vast and interminable waste lands of the crown in these colonies, a refuge and an honest independence; all classes might indulge a hope, that this would be one of the most powerful means to allay discontents and to restore tranquillity. How far these hopes have been realized in our sister colonies, it belongs not to your committee to inquire; their attention was necessarily confined to this province. Your committee find that there arrived at the port of Quebec, in the year 1817, 6796 settlers; in the year 1818, 8221; in the year 1819, 12907, and in the year 1820, 11239, making altogether 39163; that a great majority of these, intimidated by the length and rigor of the winter of this country, and unacquainted with the laws, institutions, and language thereof, have ascended the St Lawrence, and are now dispersed over the lands of Upper Canada and the United States, where they have found a more genial climate, their own language, and laws and institutions analogous to those to which they had been accustomed.

'Although the proportions are unknown to your committee, your committee have however ascertained that a very large number have gone into the United States, a very small number of the total number of emigrants have remained in this province, and this less from inclination than from accident, sickness, or want of pecuniary means to proceed further up into the interior. The only lands

within the disposition of the crown, upon which these individuals could have been located, were—

First. On the ungranted lands of the crown, within the townships on the southern and northern shore of the St Lawrence.

Secondly. On the ungranted lands of the crown situated in the rear of those townships, or in the rear of the old seignories of the country.

Thirdly. On the ungranted lands of the estates heretofore belonging to the late order of the Jesuits, and now administered by a commission.

As to the first, the large quantities of land held by private individuals, who have never settled or cultivated the same, and the want of roads of communication, rendered them inacessible to these poor emigrants; and if these obstacles had not subsisted, the quantity tendered by the colonial administration being but one hundred acres, afforded no sufficient encouragement to induce the emigrants to encounter the privations and hardships incident to a new settlement in the wilderness.

The crown and clergy reserves, interspersed as they are amongst the other lots, offered another insuperable barrier.

To all these were superadded an exaction unwarranted, as your committee believes, by law, of fifteen shillings and six pence on the name of each petitioner inserted in any petition, before the same could be laid before the executive council, an exaction required as well from the emigrants as from his Majesty's Canadian subjects, to whom his Majesty was graciously pleased to order that grants of land should be made for their services during the late American war.

Under all these obstructions, your committee have reason to believe that of the above mentioned 39163 emigrants who arrived at the port of Quebec, during the years 1817, 1818, 1819, and 1820, *not more than one hundred families* have found a refuge and subsistence upon the waste and ungranted lands of the crown.

It appears to your committee, that the ungranted lands heretofore belonging to the late order of Jesuits, and now administered by a commission, from their proximity to actual settlements, and from various other causes, constituted the most advantageous situation for locating such of the emigrants as could not proceed to the Upper Province.

Those lands are under the administration of a board of commissioners, and their advantages in this respect were fully felt by a committee of gentlemen associated at Quebec for the purpose of affording relief to the distressed emigrants. And in the last autumn, an application was made to that honorable board, by the said committee, to forward these views; that application was not successful to the extent that might have been wished, but the

causes which led to its failure your committee do not deem it their province to explore.

As connected with the subject which has been referred to your committee, they think proper to observe that in the course of their inquiries, they have found that emigrants, arriving in the ports of this province, on their way to their intended places of settlement, are subjected to various oppressions on the part of masters of vessels, from the want of sufficient authority in the courts of law for their protection, and to give due effect to the statute to regulate the vessels carrying passengers from the United Kingdom to certain of his Majesty's Colonies in North America. Your committee therefore deem it necessary that a bill should be introduced, vesting jurisdiction in his Majesty's Court of King's Bench, in the several districts of this province, for the recovery of the penalties in the said statute contained; and further that to relieve the emigrants from the inconveniences to which they are not unfrequently subjected, by being conveyed to ports and places different and at a distance from the ports and places to which the masters had engaged to convey them, a heavy penalty should be imposed upon this offence; and further, to relieve them from the occasional exactions from the masters and the detention of their effects by the said masters, to carry into effect the said exactions, which your committee have reason to believe are not unfrequent, that a summary jurisdiction within limits as to amount, should be vested in one or more magistrates.

Upon the whole of this branch of the subject, your committee are of opinion that the manner in which the crown and clergy reserves are interspersed among the other lands, contributes greatly to retard the settlement of the country, and that from the errors and vices of the system of granting the waste lands of the crown, which has hitherto obtained within the colony, not only has the settlement of those lands and the advancement and prosperity of the country been retarded, but also that relief to the distressed emigrants withheld, which it must have been the desire of his majesty's ministers to afford. All which, nevertheless, is humbly submitted.'

We have yet to speak of an important obstacle to the settlement of Lower Canada, alluded to in the foregoing report, and having a direct bearing on the relations of its French inhabitants with Great Britain. This arises from the lands reserved by the crown for the Protestant clergy. The right of the mother country to make such a reservation cannot be contested. It was contemporaneous with the constitutional act of

Canada, and stands, therefore, linked with the whole political system of the province. It was founded on expediency, and rendered indispensable by the religious and civil privileges of the Catholic clergy. That clergy possesses vast territorial domains. They are closely united by the ties of common origin, language, and old habits with the great mass of the population. They enjoy probably a greater influence over the minds of the people than the Catholic clergy exercise in any other country. It would therefore have been an inexcusable disregard of its own obvious interests, nay, of its security, had the mother country not provided for the clergy of its own established church. Yet such considerations and arguments have little weight with the common Canadian. He sees that the leases of the lots assigned to the Protestant clergy, are more burthensome than the feudal tenures; under these, at all events, he becomes a proprietor, while under the former system, the farmer, after many years of labor, does not become the owner of a single acre of the land he has so long cultivated.

Mr Pitt stated in the introductory debate on the Quebec Government Bill, that the appropriation for the Protestant clergy was meant to be permanent, and susceptible of increase in proportion to the progress of the population and the cultivation of the two provinces, which that bill embraced. He remarked, that in order to restrain the grants which might be made to the Protestant clergy, in Upper Canada, and to the Catholic church, in the province where the majority of the inhabitants were Catholics, it was provided that it should not be lawful for the king, in future, to assent to grants which might be made to either church, under the authority of the legislature of either of the two provinces, without having previously submitted such measure to the consideration of the British Parliament.*

A spirit of opposition has arisen among the clergy of the church of England, in Canada, against a scheme tending to extend to the Presbyterians the benefit of the clause of the government act for the reservation of lands for the Protestant clergy. A pamphlet on that subject appeared, four or five years ago, in London, entitled, *Letter to the Earl of Liverpool on the State of the Colonies, by a Member of Parliament.* It seems that the crown lawyers had expressed their opinion that the statute 31 George III. ch. 31. was applicable to the Pres-

* Parl. Hist. vol. xxviii. p. 1378.

byterian ministers. The author argues to the contrary, from the sections 37–40, that the church of Scotland was never intended to be put on the footing of the English reformed church. No express clause, indeed, is inserted, either in favor or against the dissenters, of any denomination. A *Protestant clergy* may be considered as a collective denomination in contradistinction to the Catholic clergy, which is, on account of the number of Catholic inhabitants, the principal ecclesiastical body in Lower Canada. In the session of parliament, April 8th, 1791, when the Quebec Government Bill was, for the first time, brought into discussion, Mr. Fox opposed the clause concerning the reservation of lands for the Protestant clergy, but seemed to suppose, that at any rate it would embrace all descriptions of Protestants.* But Mr Pitt expressly said at the close of the debate on the bill, in the House of Commons, on the 12th of May, that the meaning of the act was to endow the *Protestant clergy of the established church.* This was done, said he, to encourage the established church, and possibly it might be proposed to send a bishop of that church to be a member of the Council.†

The author of the pamphlet asks; 'When in 1793, the late

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* Parl. Hist. vol. xxix. p. 107.

† Ibid. 429. The little work which stands third at the head of this paper, contains, in a short passage, much exact information about the income of the Catholic clergy; and we transcribe it the more readily as the book has not yet been noticed in this country.

'Lower Canada contains a population of nearly half a million of souls and affords a militia of 76,000 able-bodied men, accustomed to the use of arms. They are a moral, industrious, sober, and contented people attached to their own customs, laws, language, and religion. They are Roman Catholics, but as their clergy are educated in Canada, and *have no connexion with the Pope* or with any foreign power, all political objections to that religion are, in the case of Lower Canada, removed. The church is not paid by the government, as was erroneously stated in parliament, but has the 26th part of the grain raised on the lands of the Catholics. This claim the law acknowledges, but this is all the favor shown to the Catholic religion. If a Catholic sells his lands to a Protestant, or if he thinks proper to become a Protestant himself, his estate is no longer liable to this very humble tithe. Hay and potatoes are exempted from the charge. The church is governed by a bishop (a native Canadian,) who receives, in addition to the rent of some lands of no great value, one thousand per annum from the civil list of Great Britain. This annual thousand pounds is all the catholic church establishment of Canada costs the

king erected the Canadas into a bishop's see, according to the laws of the church of England, lawfully made and received in England, was it the king's intention that the bishop and his clergy should become the stewards for the property of dissenters?' An innuendo is thrown out against the present governor, as being partial to the church of his native country, and allusion is made, in still clearer terms, 'to a stirring and aspiring Presbyterian minister [who] has been sent out to Quebec from Scotland. If the church of England,' adds the author, 'already somewhat moved from her foundation by the continual encroachments of the church of Rome, is to be elbowed in her seat, by the new raised ambition of the Presbyterian church, it is impossible she can maintain any true character of preëminence or permanent ground of establishment; and will this touch neither the principle nor the interests of the crown?'

We have alluded to this pamphlet, as much because it brings into notice an important discussion (no ecclesiastical question is unimportant), as because it shows how indispensable it is to look somewhat deeply into the connexion of the landed interest with the general polity and the views of the government of the country. No lawyer will need much argument to be persuaded, that political institutions can never be rightly understood, unless the rules of property which prevail in the country, are exactly known. Those of Canada have a peculiar interest to American statesmen. The crown lands in that province are in some degree analogous to the public lands of the United States. No other country, we believe, has fiscal lands; most of the sovereigns of Europe have lost or given up their demesne estates. The manner in which the waste lands are disposed of in Canada is, we think, not so generally known in the United States, as to render it superfluous to invite public attention to that subject. Besides, many erroneous views may arise from the misapplication of terms, which have by long use, by etymology, and the sanction of great publicists, a determinate signification. Now, the feudal phraseology and terms, used in Canada, are far from really expressing the

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mother country. The 26th part of the grain from the Catholic lands is found to be an ample allowance. The income of the *Curés* averages £300 per annum, which affords them, in a cheap country, the means of living most respectably and of even exercising a very liberal hospitality.'

things and relations which they were elsewhere appropriated to represent. *Fief, franc-allen, feudal tenure, fealty and homage*, have not amongst our neighbors the signification they had originally throughout Europe. Without recommending that system as a model of polity, for the promotion of the general weal, one may well hesitate before he condemns it on no other ground than the effects which institutions, distinguished by the same names, have produced elsewhere.

The existence of a class of great land proprietors to whom the bulk of the population is tributary upon feudatory conditions, and who, nevertheless, enjoy no privilege of nobility as individuals, nor form a real aristocratic body in their collective capacity, is a remarkable anomaly in government. Under the French dominion several of the *seigneurs* were nobles by birth, but not on account of their tenures. A few of these families still exist in Canada but are mixed with the rest of the landholders, and destitute of all peculiar distinctions and prerogatives. Indeed, this is but strictly conformable to the feudal law of France. 'Although every fief is reputed noble, it does not confer nobility on the possessor, for whatever length of time he may have possessed it.' *

The sixth section of the statute 31 George III. ch. 31. commonly called the Quebec Government Act, provides † that his Majesty may annex to hereditary titles of honor, rank, or

* Title II. Introduction of the '*Abstract of those Parts of the Custom of the Viscounty and Provostship of Paris, which were received in the Province of Quebec.* London, 1772.' p. 7.

† 'VI. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that whenever his Majesty, his heirs or successors, shall think proper to confer upon any subject of the crown of Great Britain, by letters patent under the great seal of either of the said provinces, any hereditary title of honor, rank, or dignity of such province, descendible according to any course of descent limited in such letters patent, it shall and may be lawful for his Majesty, his heirs or successors, to annex thereto, by the said letters patent, if his Majesty, his heirs or successors, shall so think fit, an hereditary right of being summoned to the legislative council of such province, descendible according to the course of descent so limited with respect to such title, rank, or dignity; and that every person on whom such right shall be so conferred, or to whom such right shall severally so descend, shall thereupon be entitled to demand from the governor, lieutenant governor, or person administering the government of such province, his writ of summons to such legislative council, at any time after he shall have attained the age of twenty-one years, subject nevertheless to the provisions herein after contained.'

dignity, the hereditary right of being summoned to the legislative council, although the following four sections provide for the forfeiture of these descendible rights. Nothing has been done to carry into effect the sixth section. Such a measure would indeed be attended with important and lasting consequences. It is probable that a scheme of a similar nature may have occurred more than once, to the British ministry, in regard to the United States in their colonial condition. But their circumstances were different from those of Canada. No great land-holders existed in this country by grant of the crown, except the proprietors. No feudal tenure was known, and few were the families, who had connexions with the aristocracy of the mother country. Mr Fox, in the course of the debates on the Quebec act, was against the hereditary honors, which were to be conferred in future times by the bill on the member of the council. 'Those honors might be very proper,' said he,* 'and of great utility in countries where they had existed by long custom; but in his opinion, they were not fit to be introduced, where they had no original existence; where there was no particular reason for introducing them, arising from the nature of the country, its extent, its state of improvement, or its peculiar customs; where instead of attracting respect, they may excite envy; and as but few could enjoy them, those who did not, might be induced to form an unfavorable comparison between their own situation and that of their neighbors [the United States] among whom no such distinctions were known.'

On the 11th of May, when the clauses of the bill were discussed, Mr Fox declared in the most expressive terms, that a sort of aristocracy ought to be introduced into the new political system of Canada. He considered it as an indispensable element of a mixed government, existing under a free constitution. The question with him was only on what principles it was to be founded; whether on property, birth, or talents. Property, he said, was the true foundation of aristocracy. But he thought it, above all, desirable that that branch of political power should be rendered independent of the executive government; that if property was to be the basis of it, persons of property alone should be chosen. But at such distance from the mother country, how could the crown ascertain the persons

* Parl. Hist. vol. xxix. p. 111.

who would unite with that requisite, the talents necessary for so eminent a station? The mode he proposed was to render the aristocracy of Canada elective, but on other principles or on a higher standard than the other elective branch of the legislature, and their electors should also possess higher qualifications, than those of the members of the lower house. Should this idea not meet the approbation of the house, he would vote for a council, wholly nominated by the king or wholly composed of hereditary members; a council chosen in any manner, he confessed, was better than none. The governor should not be left to act alone with a pure popular legislature. Yet, while he wished hereditary counsellors and a political aristocracy, he ridiculed the idea of *creating* a Canadian nobility. The *seigneurs*, he remarked, were in fact a sort of nobility. But, he declared them to be utterly unfit, as they were not respected enough, to be made hereditary nobles; '*and yet would ministers*, he asked, *pass by that nobility, and create a set of people over them, whom the world called nobility, and invest them with hereditary honors? By the bye*, he added, *the sort of titles meant to be given, were not named in the bill; he presumed the reason was, that they could not be named without provoking laughter.*' *

If the authenticity of the reported speeches may warrant such a remark, and if it were consistent with the respect due to a man like Fox, we should be free to confess, that we find it difficult to reconcile these opinions with those which are recorded in his previous speeches on the same question, or to understand what sort of aristocracy he really wished should be infused into the government of Canada. When Mr Wilberforce asked him, whether the elective council was to be for life or for a term of years, he replied '*that he had not decided upon that point*, but was rather inclined to constitute them for life.' † Much of what he said in the session of the 11th of May was obviously intended to obliterate the impressions, which he might fear had been produced by some vague or ill considered remarks, that had fallen from him and had been referred, by his political adversaries, to the British constitution. According to the private history of the time, Mr Fox had shortly before entertained hopes of getting into power;—

* Parl. Hist. vol. xxix. p. 414. † Ibid. p. 427.

the king had spoken favorably of him, and in such a juncture he was particularly desirous to avoid any discussion, that might lead him to explain his principles and opinions in regard to the late events in revolutionary France. He was drawn, however, into the debate, by Mr Burke, either at the instigation of Mr Pitt (as he himself suspected), or because the former had made up his mind not to delay any longer an attack on the spirit and principles of the Revolution.

Mr Pitt said, that there existed elements of a future nobility in Canada, but that meanwhile there should be an hereditary one. He considered the absence of such a counterpoise in the constitution as one of the causes which accelerated the separation of the other British colonies. The aristocratic power, which was to exist in Canada, ought not to be founded on property alone. In founding it exclusively on that basis, it would be almost elective and too popular ; while it ought, on the contrary, to be made in a great degree immediately derivative from the crown, after the model of the British aristocracy.

In his reply to Mr Burke, Mr Fox repeated that nobility could not be ingrafted upon the existing society in Canada.*

A question arose upon the constitutional legality of the division of Canada into two provinces ; but upon consulting the 14 George III., it appeared that the king had authority to propose that measure. † Mr Fox however was against it.

'It had been argued,' said he, 'that by such means, we could separate the English and the French inhabitants of the province, that we could distinguish, who were originally French from those of English origin. But was this to be desired ? Was it not rather to be

* Parl. Hist. vol. xxix. p. 402.

† The following passage, transcribed from a letter of Gibbon, to J. Holroyd, dated October 14th, 1775, (4th ed. vol. i. p. 495,) is a curious statement of what the author thought of the public opinion and party feelings in Canada, at that time.

'We are not quite easy about Canada ; and even if it should be safe from an attack, we cannot flatter ourselves with the expectation of bringing down that martial people of the back settlements. The priests are ours ; the gentlemen very prudently wait the event, and are disposed to join the stronger party ; but the same lawless spirit and impatience of government, which have infected our colonies, are gone forth among the Canadian peasants, over whom, since the conquest, the *noblesse* has lost much of their ancient influence.'

avoided? Was it agreeable to general political expediency? The most desirable circumstance was that the French and English inhabitants of Canada should unite and coälesce, as if it were in one body, and that the different origin of the people might be obliterated for ever. If this had been the object in view, the English laws might soon have prevailed universally throughout Canada, not from force but from choice and conviction of their superiority. He had no doubt that on a fair trial they would be found free from all objection. The inhabitants of Canada had not the laws of France. The commercial code was never established there; they stood upon the exceedingly inconvenient Custom of Paris. He wished the people of that country to adopt the English laws from choice and not from force; and he did not think the division of the province the most likely means to bring about this desirable end.'

The reply of Mr Pitt is all-important, even at this distance of time. We transcribe it therefore almost literally from the Parliamentary History.*

'He agreed with the right honorable gentleman, in thinking it extremely desirable that the inhabitants of Canada should be united, and led universally to prefer the English constitution and the English laws. A division of the province, he considered to be the most likely means to effect this purpose, since by so doing the French subjects would be sensible, that the British government had no intention of forcing the English laws upon them, and therefore they would, with more facility, look at the operation and effect of their own laws, and probably in time be induced to adopt those of England from conviction. This he thought was more likely to be the case, than if the British government were, all at once, to subject the entire population to the constitution and laws of this country [England.] Experience would teach them, that the English laws were best; and he admitted that they ought to be governed to their satisfaction. If the province had not been divided, there would have been but one assembly; and there being two parties, if those parties had been equal, or nearly equal, in the assembly, it would have been the source of perpetual faction. If one of the parties had been much stronger than the other, that other might justly have complained that they were oppressed.'

We now proceed to give a summary account of the second publication mentioned at the head of our article. It is a free exposition of the different interests and claims that have been successively brought before the provincial parliament, and have

* Vol. xxix. p. 113.

not yet been decided or settled to the satisfaction of the colonists.

The assembly have, from the year 1807 down to the present time, made several attempts to obtain the right of appointing an agent to reside in London and watch over the interests of the province, as circumstances might require, and the provincial government might direct. But until the year 1825, the council refused their assent to the bills, intended to give effect to this measure. All the other colonies have, it seems, similar confidential agents in the mother country. The house of assembly, or at least the party in whose name the writer of the pamphlet presumes to speak, thought that the union of the two Canadas would never have been seriously proposed, had the ministers been enabled to confer on that subject with a deputy of Lower Canada. Though the measure has not as yet been carried into execution, the mere rumor of its probable adoption, has excited apprehension and uneasiness. Thus also the British parliament has inadvertently (the author says) passed one or two acts, which more properly belonged to the jurisdiction of the provincial legislature.

The next complaint is, that the powers of the council as a court of justice, are yet uncertain, and consequently that the officers of the government cannot be effectually subjected to the control of the legislature, by means of impeachment.

Again, the representation in the house of assembly is thought inadequate to the population, and unequal. In some counties, fifteen hundred land proprietors send as many representatives as six thousand elsewhere. Thirty thousand inhabitants, living in townships, have no delegates at all.

The lands formerly belonging to the Jesuits, and indeed, the entire property taken from that society, which, whilst it existed, was useful in disseminating elementary knowledge, and in supporting the college of Quebec, are now claimed, in order to be appropriated to the same object. These estates had been granted to lord Amherst, after the conquest; but from the dubious nature of the title, he preferred accepting an annual pension; and at the decease of the last Jesuit that remained in Canada, they were taken possession of in the name of the king, and continue to be administered on his account, without any provision having been made for the object (public instruction), to which their income was originally consecrated. A bill for the establishment of parochial schools, liberal in its

provisions towards all religious sects, repeatedly passed the lower house, from 1817 to 1823, but was constantly rejected by the council. Each school was to receive annually eight hundred dollars. In 1824, the bill underwent some amendments in the other branch of the legislature. The house concurred, and by this act, instead of a general admission, Catholics alone were to be educated in the parochial schools ; and these schools instead of pecuniary assistance, were to receive from the respective parishes, lots of land for buildings, and to be maintained by voluntary contributions to a certain amount.

A board for the direction of public schools was created in 1820, in conformity to an act passed in 1801. The members were twenty-four in number, and with the exception of three or four, were Episcopalians ; and to that communion belonged also the principal officers of the body, although there are ninety-nine Catholics in the province for one of the latter persuasion. The author seems well inclined to put all the religious sects on the same footing, in regard to the enjoyment of public instruction.

A bill has also been proposed for the exclusion from the legislature of every member who should accept an office under the government, though with the right of being afterwards re-elected.

The judicial organization of the country is the next point to which the author refers.

'During the last sixty-five years, says he, 'this province has had four different judicial systems. During the first five years, it was under martial law. During the next ten years we had the laws of England, courts organized upon the British system, and rules and forms of proceeding borrowed from that country. Afterwards, for a period of eight years, we had a mixture of British, French, and provincial legislation, motley courts, and rules of pleading partly according to both the English and French system, and in part agreeably to provincial ordinances. For thirty-two years we continued to have a mixed code, and courts of judicature existing under an act of the provincial parliament and the several amendments successively added to it. During that whole period (of sixty-five years) the benefits of the administration of justice, civil as well as criminal, have been almost entirely withheld from the agricultural districts, where the mass of the inhabitants reside.'

In 1824, the house of assembly impeached the judges, on account of irregularities in the mode of proceeding; and in the following year, both branches of the legislature passed resolutions, importing that the judicial organization, was inadequate

to its purposes, and an address to the prince regent was voted. Several fruitless attempts have since been made to reörganize the courts. In 1825, a bill passed the house, providing for the administration of justice in the rural districts. The number of judges was to be increased to twelve. Amendments were made in the council, but at last the parliament adjourned, without having come to any definite result. The judges complain of the weight of business, of the insufficiency of the court of appeals (which is composed of the council and the judges of Quebec and Montreal, excluding those who have presided in the courts below), and of a want of uniformity in the judicial decisions. Lawyers and parties complain of a loss of time and of excessive expense.

The author proceeds to inculcate the necessity of an independent judiciary. In Lower Canada, the judges hold their offices during pleasure, as in England before the revolution of 1688. Yet the influence of the executive government over them seems to be checked, by some provisions which the author does not specify. But as the judges exercise executive, legislative, and judicial powers, there is the more reason, that their commissions should be *quamdiu se bene gesserint*.

Lord Grenville, who was then secretary of the foreign department, said in the House of Lords, in the course of the debate on the 30th of May, 1791, in answer to an objection stated to the bill for the settlement of the government of the two Canadas, on account of the judges not being made independent, that

'This was certainly a circumstance of great importance, and a most desirable object; but from the *present* uncertain state of the law in Canada, he thought that the appointing judges in the way in which they were appointed in Great Britain, would be attended with much more evil than good. In this country [England], no danger could possibly be apprehended from appointing a judge for life, because the laws were so well known, and the bar so enlightened, that if an improper act were to be committed by any judge, it was sure to be detected, exposed, and punished. Although the judges in Canada were not made independent by this bill, as it was at present conceived improper to appoint them but during their good behavior, yet he conceived the time was very near when this could be done, so as to be productive of the greatest good. Before it could be done, there must be a general system of

known laws, and such salaries settled on judges, as would induce men of real abilities to undertake the office.'*

The author of the pamphlet makes several suggestions relative to the fees of the principal officers of the courts, and the execution of the precepts directed to them; the qualification of justices of the peace; the prison of Montreal; the improvement of the navigation upon the St Lawrence; the extension of the commerce with the United States,† and the suppression of the smuggling trade; a bankrupt law, together with the subject of the rate of damages on protested bills of exchange; and the promotion of agriculture and internal improvement.

It appears, from another part of the pamphlet, that the assembly had passed a bill, giving to the subjects the right of commencing suits against the crown; but the council refused to concur in it.

It is stated, at the conclusion, that the annual subsidy voted to the government, including the salary of the lieutenant governor (in the absence of lord Dalhousie), amounted to £64,000 and the permanent militia pensions to about £47,000.

The province is free from all public debt, notwithstanding the expenses for the construction of the *Canal de la Chine*.

We have omitted to mention at the head of the present review, a Report of the committee of the house of assembly on the decision of the courts of justice, upon the question as to the use of the French or English language in the original process; and we have also in our possession, a pamphlet on the same subject, entitled, 'Letter to the Honorable Judge Bowen, one of the Judges of the King's Bench for the District of Quebec. (Montreal, James Lane, 1825.)' A good deal of sensibility is shown in regard to what is considered as a decisive step towards the proscription of the French language in official proceedings.

But it is time to bring these remarks, for the present, to a close. At some future period we hope to follow up the discussions, of which we have given a brief sketch in the preceding pages, to an epoch more recent, and to enable our readers to form a proper opinion, respecting the present relations of Great

* Parl. Hist. vol. xxix. p. 658.

† A committee of the house of assembly made a report on the 11th of March, 1825, recommending the further encouragement of that commerce; but it was not considered for want of time.

Britain and her North American colonies. Our limits permit us only at this time to add, that those discussions are still in the unsettled state in which we have represented them; that a good deal of irritation has lately been observed between the principal delegate of the executive power and the second branch of the the legislative body of Lower Canada; that the union of the two Canadas is still dreaded by the French inhabitants; and that probably before long, the British government will come to some decisive measure, either to satisfy or to silence the pretensions of its Canadian population. Meanwhile, the military defence of Lower Canada is incessantly attended to by the governor and the other generals entrusted with the superintendence of the fortifications of Quebec; and Great Britain is furnishing largely the means required to carry them to an extent and to give them a strength, which may in time make of the capital of Lower Canada a rival of the impregnable fortresses of Europe, and thus add a new feature to the military character of the country.

Art. II.—*Storia dell' America, in Continuazione del Compendio della Storia Universale, del Sig. Conte di Segur. Opera originale Italiana.* Milano, presso la Società Tipographica de' Classici Italiani (Fusi, Stella, e Compagni.) Tom. 29, in 18mo. 1820—1823.

These volumes have not, so far as our observation extends, been criticised or even mentioned in any American journal. The work amply deserves, respectful notice at our hands, as well for its general subject matter, being the history of the whole continent of America, as for the merit of its execution. It was undertaken, as it appears, at the suggestion of the intelligent publishers in Milan; who, at the commencement of the publication, hardly anticipated the value and magnitude of the book, which they were calling into existence. Its design originated in a Compendium of Universal History, commenced by count Segur but not completed, which the publishers of the book before us procured to be translated from the French into Italian, and printed by subscription at Milan. Twenty-seven volumes of the Compendium as composed by

Segur, comprising ancient history, so called, with that of Rome and the Empire, preceded the history of America in twenty-eight volumes, after which came the history of several nations of modern Europe. All these are professedly translations into Italian from other languages, excepting *America*, which is an original work written by the cavaliere Giuseppe Compagnoni, and aspires to be something much beyond a common abridgement.

It is, in fact, what no other nation but Italy possesses, a full and methodical account of events in America, from the first discovery of the new world by Columbus down to the present day, omitting only the recent history of the Spanish and Portuguese colonies. With the exception, then, of this portion of the history of America, the work of our author is complete.

And it is a little remarkable, we think, that the classic history of Botta should be so soon followed by the present publication, which although more compendious in its plan, yet covers a much wider field, and is therefore calculated to be more generally interesting to Americans. The Italian language, the mother tongue of the poetry and fine letters of modern Europe, can thus boast the first finished history of the American Revolution, and the first, also, of the entire New World.

Italy, if she have planted no colonies upon our soil, if none of the new family of nations inhabiting this continent can look back to her as the home of their forefathers, possesses, nevertheless, ample claims on our regard, through the exertions and talents of individual Italians. Whilst other nations, with resources much inferior to those of Italy united, were collecting means to found colonial establishments abroad, the want of union and harmony unnerved her arm and paralyzed her vigor. As a body, therefore, the Italians do not occupy a single page in the history of America, because they have achieved nothing as a body ; but in respect of the fame attached to the names of individuals of that country, Italy need not shrink from comparison with any other people. Her citizens led the early expeditions of every nation, which gained important possessions in the new world. If the example of Columbus were a solitary case of its kind, it might be attributed to chance, and not to the preëminent intellectual character of the men of his nation at that period. But we can be at no loss to understand the true cause, when we consider that Sebastian Cabot, with his brother and father, gave England her title by discovery to

territory in America, and was afterwards the first to explore the river La Plata in the service of Spain ; that Vespucci, when employed by the Portuguese, taught them to appreciate the value of Brazil, originally denominated America, in honor of Vespucci himself, before the word was applied to the whole continent ; that Pigafetta was the guide of Magellan ; and that Verazzani conducted the French to the shores of the New World ; all these distinguished navigators being Italians by birth and education. And their countrymen of the present time are not unworthily associating their reputation with the name of America, by historical writings of well earned celebrity, devoted to the western continent.

The work before us, it is to be understood, is of a popular cast, and intended to supply the wants of the public at large, rather than of the profound scholar. No other consideration would justify the absence of citations and of original authorities, a thing so essential to the credit of a digested history, in the view of sound criticism, and only to be dispensed with, as in the present case, where the main object is to communicate information to the general reader in the most compendious and agreeable shape. In obedience to the same rule of composition, Compagnoni has introduced into his book numerous details of remarkable events, and individual traits and incidents, which many writers of deserved eminence have seemed to consider as derogatory to the dignity and stateliness of the historic muse. Our author adopted this feature of his work, it may be added, in imitation of the Historical Library of Diodorus Siculus, which is distinguished for this peculiarity of plan.

Compagnoni exhibits another peculiarity of plan, the influence of which over the general character of his work is yet more decided. He enters fully into the history of the indigenous nations of America, describing their government and usages with considerable minuteness, and dwelling with evident interest upon events in which they bore a leading part. Most other writers have contented themselves with presenting a very general account of the aborigines and of their various customs. Compagnoni, regarding it as highly useful to unfold the character of the native Americans circumstantially, because affording us the clearest and truest idea of man in his primitive condition, has distinguished the various races with uncommon care, from the rude savages of the Orinoco to the culti-

vated people of Peru, discriminating between all the prominent tribes, which lie scattered over the vast extent of the continent. This course is not wholly without objection, because among the little Indian communities, thus raised into notoriety, are some which present few qualities to fix the attention, and the attempt to describe them all particularly, leads inevitably to some faults of confusion and repetition. Our observation, however, does not apply to those aggregations of tribes, in different parts of America, which on all accounts may fairly lay claim to the dignity of nations, possessing stable institutions as curious as they are peculiar. The Indians of Arauco, Peru, Bogotá, the Missions, Guatemala, Tlascala, Mexico, the Natchez, and the Six Nations, for example, better deserve the study of the antiquary and historian, than many a people of Europe and Asia, to whom accident has imparted disproportioned celebrity.

But without detaining the reader any longer with general remarks upon our author's book, we shall proceed to make a few extracts in illustration of its style and execution, interspersing such observations of our own as occasion may suggest. The two first volumes are introductory altogether, comprising a physical description of America, a general view of the moral qualities and of the manners and customs of the Indians, an account of the indigenous animals and other natural productions of the country, and some brief speculations upon the origin of the Americans. Passing over the introduction, we come, in the third volume, to the voyages of Columbus. Respecting this familiar topic we offer but a single remark. Our author yields assent, we perceive, to the old hypothesis of the disingenuous conduct of Americus in giving his name to the continent, in derogation of the just claims of its discoverer. We accordingly feel justified in the renewed assertion of the facts published in our journal some years ago, tending to vindicate the reputation of the Florentine. It is well known that all writers, contemporary with the discovery of America, distinguished it by the appellation of the *New World*; by which name, or that of the *Indies*, it is called to this day in Spain. All the Portuguese historians of Brazil, and many of the old writers on the subject of that country among other nations, alike concur in stating that *Brazil* was originally denominated *America*, in honor of Vespucci. The application of the name to the whole of the New World was a later thing, and

happened in the following manner. For fifty years after the discovery of this continent, most (we may perhaps very safely say all) of the maps published in Europe treated the New World as if it were a group of islands, few portions of it having been thoroughly explored, and it being some time before the true geography even of those portions was universally understood. Thus Florida, Cuba, Hispaniola, Venezuela, and Brazil, under the name of America, were depicted in the maps as islands. It gradually became known that the land stretched uninterruptedly far south along the region called America, and this supposed island was therefore gradually increased in size on the maps, until, by the time that the actual state of the facts became well established, the *island* of America had extended itself on either hand so far as to occupy substantially the very space upon the globe, which belongs to the southern continent. Meantime, the tracts of land that were really islands retained their primitive names, while the name of America having spread with the growing expansion of the region to which it was originally affixed, was left in the possession of the new meaning it thus had accidentally acquired. All this happened, not merely without any contrivance on the part of Vespucci, any scheme to injure the reputation or appropriate to himself the fame of Columbus, with whom he remained on terms of the most cordial and confidential intimacy to the day of his death,—but so far was Vespucci from contributing to bring about the result, that no acts of his could possibly have produced the series of mistakes by which it was occasioned. It is due to justice, that all these facts should be borne in mind, whenever the mere good luck of the name of America, should afford argument for questioning the integrity of Vespucci *

The same volume gives an account of the early establishments in Cuba and Hayti, in the course of which our author feelingly contrasts the amiable and pacific disposition of the natives with the savage enormities practised upon them by the Spaniards. One trait deserves to be extracted.

'It was in this island [Hayti] that the Spaniards originally made use of those fierce mastiffs, who cruelly aided them against the Indians, by mangling their naked bodies. And it reflects eternal shame upon these ferocious conquerors, and a shame peculiar to

* See North American Review for April, 1821, vol. xii. p. 336; and for April, 1827, vol. xv. p. 284.

them, that Spanish writers of no small repute should have celebrated the prowess of one of these dogs, called Bezzerillo. * * * * The Spaniards had trained them in such manner that they did better service, either in battles upon a fair field, or in standing sentinel during the night, or in guarding prisoners, or in watching against unexpected attacks, than men themselves. And so habituated were they to track the scent of the Indians and of their blood, that none could escape their ferocity. And Bezzerillo enriched his master, who drew for him a day's pay and a half, as ranking with cross-bow men. His custom was, when despatched in pursuit of an Indian, to rush upon him, and drag him by the arm to the camp or entrenchments ; and to rend him into pieces on the instant if he offered any show of resistance. * * * Such, indeed, in a good measure, were the ferocity and the habits of the other mastiffs, whom the miserable Indians justly dreaded more than the Spaniards themselves, because from the latter there was some chance of escape, but from the former none. The race of Bezzerillo was propagated from the islands to the continent, for the destruction of the inhabitants of the main.'—*Storia dell' Amer.* vol. iii. p. 164.

In the four volumes which follow we have the history of the conquest of Mexico, preceded by an account of the early expeditions of Alonzo de Ojeda, Diego de Nicuessa, Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, and others upon the Spanish Main. The enterprises of Ojeda and of Nicuessa are memorable for the series of unparalleled disasters which they sustained, terminating in the total destruction of their forces ; and still more memorable for the haughty declaration of the alleged rights of the king of Spain, which they put forth on occasion of their expedition ; and the calamitous result of them would tempt us to regard it as the visitation of divine justice upon pretensions so extravagant and outrageous. Our author copies this celebrated document from the pages of the Spanish writer Herrera, who records it as the fruit of the united wisdom of the jurists and theologians of his country ; and Compagnoni treats it with no less indignation than our own Robertson.

The expedition of Cortez for the conquest of Mexico opened a succession of adventures so singular, and of achievements so wonderful, that, if the events attending the overthrow of the barbaric monarchy of Montezuma were narrated in the form of professed romance, we sincerely believe the work would be censured as consisting of incidents too extraordinary for the limits of reasonable probability. Compagnoni describes

them in a simple, unambitious style, relying upon the inherent quality of the facts themselves to communicate interest to his relation. Indeed, so strange were the vicissitudes of the war, that Cortez must inevitably have failed of success in his daring enterprise, but for a remarkable coïncidence of events in his favor, without which, notwithstanding his fertility in devising expedients and his undeniable superiority in courage, activity, and other military virtues, his destruction would have been certain. Among these, his fortunate alliance with the republic of Tlascala may be ranked as one of his foremost advantages.

Compagnoni draws a much more full and accurate picture of the unheard-of miseries inflicted by Cortez upon the Mexicans than we find in Robertson. Such a scene of calamity and destruction the world has seldom witnessed. In the last siege of the city of Mexico, more than a hundred thousand persons perished in battle, and more than fifty thousand by infectious distempers, occasioned by the impurity of the air arising from the great multitude of putrefying bodies. There is no excess of suffering which the wretched Indians did not undergo in the defence of their capital. Bernal Diaz del Castillo, one of the *conquistadores*, bears witness, from his personal observation, that it exceeded all the horrors recorded of the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus. It would seem, indeed, as if Cortez and his followers had become actually brutified in this terrible war ; for the same insatiable thirst of blood appears to have animated all alike, the officers as well as the common soldiers. The individual acts of cold-blooded cruelty which they committed are truly astonishing. But what was to be expected from the low-bred foot-soldier, when Cortez himself could condescend to torture Guatemotzin, with his chief minister, and his vassal, the king of Tlacopan, by smearing their feet with oil, and suspending them over brasiers of burning coals? Even the obdurate army itself murmured, when he caused the captive emperor, and the two highest princes of the empire, to be ignominiously executed as common malefactors, on some such light suspicion as had before furnished a pretext for the similar murder of Xicotencatl, the noble-minded Tlascalan chief. The populous cities of Chila and Panuco razed to the earth, and four hundred and sixty of the principal nobles of Panuco burnt alive, sufficiently signalized the vindictiveness of Cortez and of Gonzalo Sandoval, the best and trustiest of his officers, under whose direction were

performed these acts, better beseeming infuriated demons than christian men. Nuño de Guzman rendered his name infamous by marches, every step of which was tracked with blood wantonly shed, and which ended in his plundering the inhabitants of Mechoacan, in violation of the faith of treaties, and burning their king alive on the most frivolous allegations. And not to be wanting in their vocation, the Spanish friars busily coöperated in the work of destruction, so far as lay in their power. Thus, regarding the Mexican paintings as instruments of idolatry, they piled up an immense heap of these precious records in the market-place of Tezcuco, and consigned them to the flames. Actuated by the same spirit of Vandalism, the first bishop of Mexico caused the most valuable monuments of Mexican sculpture to be broken into fragments and employed as common stones in the construction of a cathedral.

In passing from this subject to the four succeeding volumes, devoted to Peru, we change the scene indeed, but the character of events undergoes no change. Compagnoni justly remarks that if the story of the conquest of Peru were not supported by irrefragable proofs, it might be deemed a romance copied from that of Mexico, so entirely did the conduct of Atahuallpa resemble Montezuma's. How worthy of the cruelty of Cortez towards Guatemotzin was the execution of the Inca by Pizarro ; and yet how mean the spirit which could seek to disguise this murder under the mockery of a trial! The observations of our author, on the treatment of Atahuallpa, are in a high degree judicious and forcible, but our limits oblige us to hasten over them.

In his account of the Mexicans and Peruvians, Compagnoni bestows adequate space upon the history and institutions of these two nations, the most polished of all the inhabitants of America. The extent of a single article would not afford room for discussing these copious subjects. We pass on, therefore, to the volumes which relate to Chile, La Plata and Paraguay. And in perusing the account of Chile, we are struck with the simplicity, and at the same time the perfect efficacy, of the plan of warfare adopted by Capolican and the intrepid Araucanians, in their engagements with Valdivia. When we recollect the sufferings of the vanquished Mexicans and Peruvians, we are prompted to wish that, instead of prodigally wasting their strength in hopeless general encounters, they had anticipated the decree of Capolican. His army consisted of only

fifteen thousand men, and these neither braver nor more devoted to their country's cause, than the myriads who fell before Cortez. Finding that in every pitched battle his undisciplined forces were speedily thrown into confusion and driven from the field by the Spanish cavalry, he divided his little army into separate bands of a thousand men each ; and organized them in such manner that they should fight, not as parts of one army, but as successive and independent armies. He tried his battalions, at first, by occasionally sallying from his fastnesses in the desert, and attacking the Spaniards, in front, in flank, or in rear, as advantage offered, without leaving them the slightest interval for repose. After harassing Valdivia in this way sufficiently to discipline his own followers, he determined to venture a general engagement, upon his new system of tactics. There was no cause, he conceived, to apprehend the Spanish cavalry now ; for as the number of their horse did not exceed five hundred, one of his battalions might sustain the first brunt of the attack ; and another and another successively marching to the relief of their countrymen, the Araucanians would thus combat always with fresh forces, while the Spaniards would all be exhausted and disheartened alike.

The event exactly corresponded to Capolican's anticipations. His onset was conducted with a precision and firmness never before witnessed among Americans, and struck the Spaniards with astonishment and hesitation. Ere these last had fully regained their presence of mind, he insensibly drew off his leading battalion, as it began to waver before the Spanish fire-arms, and marched up the second to the attack with equal impetuosity, and after this the third ; and thus attack after attack followed on without intermission for the space of eight hours, when the Spaniards, reduced to the very last degree of helpless fatigue, fled in confusion from the field of battle. But true to the maxims of military discipline, Valdivia's men rallied at some distance off, where he deemed them safe from the assaults of the Araucanians. Capolican, however, having obtained intelligence of their place of refuge from a Chilian page in the Spanish army, fell upon them unawares with a body of lancers, who rushed among the wearied Spaniards, and destroyed them almost to a man. Valdivia escaped ; but was soon taken prisoner, and despatched by a blow from Capolican's club. Some authors relate that the Araucanians poured a stream of molten gold down the throat of Valdivia, in scorn of his insatiable

thirst after riches; but the account is not altogether probable; and its exact similitude to the well known punishment inflicted upon Crassus by the victorious Parthians, tends to confirm the suspicion, that the incident has been greatly embellished by the Spanish friars. It is more credible that, as some reports have it, the Araucanians stuffed the mouth of Valdivia with gold dust,—a gratification of vengeance more simple than the other, and more accessible to these rude savages. Thus much is certain, however, that of the bones of Valdivia and his principal officers they constructed trumpets to animate their men in battle; and, like the northern invaders of the Roman empire, preserved the skulls of their enemies as trophies of a victory, which secured the independence of the conquerors to the present day and perhaps for ever.

Next to the history of Chile, comes that of the countries bordering on the great river of La Plata and its far extending branches. Of all the principal divisions of the Spanish empire in America none was acquired so peaceably, and holden with so little oppression of the natives, as this. Sebastian Cabot, who first explored the Parana, conciliated the good will of the savages; and it was a singular accident that interrupted the tranquil progress of the Spanish settlers. It is thus related by Compagnoni.

'A chief named Mangore became enamored of a beautiful Spaniard, Lucia Miranda, the wife of Sebastian Urtado. Failing in his attempt to seduce her, the daring savage determined to obtain possession of her by force. Seizing the occasion of the absence of the commandant of the fort, with forty men and Urtado himself, who were gone in quest of provisions, he concealed a party of his tribe in thickets near the place, and at early nightfall presented himself at the door, asking admission, because, having often come as a friend, he knew he should be received without distrust, and saying moreover that he brought provisions. The moment the door was opened, at a preconcerted signal, all his companions rushed from their hiding-place, and suddenly attacking the Spaniards, who had suspected nothing, slew them all, many of the Indians also falling in the affray, and among them Mangore himself. It is needless to describe the surprise and grief of the other Spaniards, when they returned from their expedition. Above all Urtado was desperate, when he sought in vain among the dead for the body of his wife, which he naturally inferred was in the hands of the savages. Frantic with grief, he pursued the track of the Indians, who at first doomed him to death, sparing his life only a

short time at the instance of the lady. A brother of Mangore was now enamored of her, but finding she would not return his passion, he barbarously caused her to be burnt alive, and shot her husband with an arrow.' Vol. xii. p. 77.

But, although hostilities continued for many years between the colonists of La Plata and the native inhabitants, yet the history of events unfolds none of those atrocious acts, which disgraced the Spanish arms in other quarters of America. Many of their conquests were achieved under the overpowering impulse of the lust after gold, which seemed to create in the mind a species of delirium, converting mild and merciful men into absolute monsters. But Buenos Aires and Paraguay being destitute of the precious metals, no such enormities occurred there at the period of the conquest, nor were the natives afterwards cruelly sacrificed by the tyrannical oppressions of the *mita* and *repartimientos*. The Indians, who submitted peaceably, were obliged to live in villages; prisoners taken in war passed into the gentle servitude of the *commende* established by the governor, Martinez de Yrala; and the Jesuits finally introduced the system of the Missions, which, whatever other objections may lie against it, cannot be chargeable with being cruel or sanguinary, like the government of the Spaniards in Peru. Nay, many tribes of Indians found refuge in Paraguay from the pursuit of the Portuguese of Brazil, who hunted them down like wild beasts for the purpose of making them slaves. Indeed the Indians in these countries, far from suffering the like miseries with the natives elsewhere, bid fair to become at no remote day an object of very serious apprehension to the Spaniards. What is there to distinguish between the brave and hardy Indian *Llaneros* of the Pampas, and the mounted Scythians, whom Genghis Khan led to the conquest of Asia?

Four volumes, from the fourteenth to the seventeenth inclusive, embrace the history of Brazil, in the events of which, all and more than all, that gives animation to other portions of our author's work, is here assembled. Riches not surpassed by those of Peru and Mexico, pursued with not less avidity by the Portuguese than by the Spanish *conquistadores*, Indians as fierce and independent as the Araucanians, examples of untiring industry in the cultivation of the finest region of America, if not of the earth,—add to this all the surprising vicissitudes of the Dutch invasion, and the reader will appreciate the singular interest attached to the whole course of the Brazilian his-

tory. English, French, Dutch, successively fixed a longing eye upon this fascinating country. And if France, instead of wasting her resources upon religious wars without any useful aim or object, had lent a little aid to Villegagnon, she might have been mistress of Brazil. Or if the Dutch had not conducted themselves with such folly, cruelty, and perfidy, they would have retained possession of their rich prize, in spite of all the efforts of the Portuguese settlers to regain their liberty. And how changed would be the whole face of America, and perhaps of Europe too, at the present day, if Brazil had become a colony of either France or Holland.

Following up the coast of South America, next to that of Brazil we have the history of Guiana, New Grenada, and Venezuela. In these volumes, among other topics of interest, there is an investigation of the subject of the far-famed El Dorado, which the cruel fate of Sir Walter Raleigh has rendered but too familiar to the English reader. The circumstances collected by Compagnoni certainly tend to show that the existence of some offset of the empire of the Incas within the interior of the continent is neither impossible, nor so improbable as it is generally supposed. The tradition among the Peruvians has been constant that a body of their countrymen, led by some of the surviving Incas, fled beyond the mountains into regions not yet explored. Some of the wandering tribes of the Orinoco have related the same story. Quesada, the conqueror of Bogotá, was so firmly convinced of it, that he retained the intention of penetrating Guiana to the last, and upon his deathbed, enjoined upon his son-in-law and heir, Antonio Berreo, to undertake the expedition. The discovery from time to time of inexhaustible gold mines in Brazil, is of itself sufficient to prove that there is nothing to violate all probability in supposing other tracts, abounding in mineral wealth, may exist in the immense extent of the untrodden interior of the continent. But the central regions of America and Africa seem alike fated to exercise and to confound the curiosity of geographers.

The conquest of Bogotá, which forms the principal subject of the nineteenth volume, is remarkably similar, in the course of its incidents, to the overthrow of the Mexican and Peruvian empires. Similar domestic factions enabled Quesada to contend with success against the power of Tizquesuca. The plunder of the golden bells of the valley of Tinsenu and of the graves of the caciques; the wanton and perfidious cruelties

everywhere inflicted by the Spaniards upon the Indians; the irresolution of the court; the plunder of cities, and gratuitous murder of princes and people; the destruction of the temple of Sagomoso;—all, even to the fate of Quesada, whose declining years were filled with disappointments and who died a leper, recalls to mind the sufferings of the conquered in Mexico and Peru, and the unenviable lot of their sanguinary conquerors.

In the twentieth and twenty-first volumes, our author gives the history of the Islands, including a particular account of the adventures of the buccaneers and of the Haytian revolution; but that we may subjoin a few words on a subject nearer home, we proceed to the concluding volumes of the work, which embrace the French and English colonies in North America, wherein the prominent place is devoted to the United States. Compagnoni's relation of our own history is impartial, spirited, and substantially correct. Commencing with the feeble beginnings of our greatness, in the little colonies planted at James Town and Plymouth, he traces the fortunes of our forefathers, through the years in which our country was imperceptibly filling out into the muscular proportions of national strength, to the time, when all its energies were put in requisition to maintain the great cause of independence, and thence down to the present day, when we ourselves are in the full fruition of all the blessings attendant on unexampled political freedom. Obeying the dictates of impartial historical truth, he speaks in terms of well-founded censure of the spiritual pride and uncharitableness in matters of religion which dishonored our New England ancestors, yet he bestows merited applause upon their fortitude, their simple purity of conduct in the duties of private life, their undying love of liberty, and their industry, enterprise, and perseverance, which enabled us to be what we are as a nation. He sketches the events of the revolutionary contest with boldness and effect, taking Botta for his guide, and faithfully abridging the fuller history of his countryman. In depicting the progress of our country since the adoption of the constitution, he follows Warden for his main authority respecting facts; and his observations upon party differences and the actual condition of the country, are, we think, distinguished for good sense and for great liberality of feeling in judging of us as a people, and of the operation of our free institutions.

Art. III.—1. *Medical Dissertations, read before the Massachusetts Medical Society.* Published by the Society. Vol. IV. Part iv. Boston. 1827.

2. *Proceedings of a Convention of Medical Delegates held at Northampton, in the State of Massachusetts, on the 20th day of June,* 1827. Boston. 1827.

It has sometimes been regarded as a reproach to the numerous medical societies in our country, that they have done no more for the promotion of science. Medicine is a liberal profession; and is, equally with any other profession, dependent upon the promotion of science; and especially upon the various departments of natural science it is much more dependent, than any other profession. Its members might therefore reasonably be expected to furnish their full quota, not only to the advancement of their own profession strictly speaking, but also to that of science generally. Then there is no lack of medical societies in the country. Almost every state in the union furnishes at least one such society incorporated by law, and with a greater or less extent of privileges and immunities. And yet, it may be asked, who ever looks to the transactions of these learned bodies for additions to the stock of knowledge, or even for evidence of its progress?

To the physicians of this country as individuals, however it may be in their collective capacity as composing medical societies, no such reproach can justly apply. There has not been wanting a fair proportion of learned men among them who have been ready to apply their diligence to the extension of all the branches of knowledge, which in any way connect themselves with their profession. But with respect to these societies themselves, the reproach has arisen rather from a misconception of the main objects of their institution, than from a want of zeal and industry among their members.

There are two modes by which medical societies may exert a beneficial influence upon the community. By exciting and concentrating the energies of their members, they may bring together and publish the results of their observations and inquiries, and thus add to the stock of knowledge in the scientific world; or by adopting suitable regulations for the education and examination of candidates for the profession, they may elevate its character and extend its usefulness. In the one

way, they add to the stock of knowledge in the scientific world; in the other, they provide that a sufficient portion of the knowledge already in the possession of the learned, shall be acquired by those, who would assume the responsibilities of the profession.

In regard to the first of these means of usefulness, our medical societies have not been wholly deficient, although it cannot be said that much has been accomplished by them towards the advancement of science. The Massachusetts Medical Society has published three volumes, and several small parts of a fourth, of Medical Communications and Dissertations. Some of these Communications are elaborate papers of great value. For several years past however these publications have not extended beyond the discourses read at the annual meetings of the society; from the occasion on which they were delivered, therefore, they necessarily incline somewhat to a popular character, not very well suited to thorough scientific discussion. Some of them are notwithstanding able and valuable productions. Others, it must be confessed, are of much less value, and not of a character to elevate or even sustain the reputation of the society. Some of the other medical societies in the country have published volumes of communications, of various merit; but it is not necessary to our purpose to speak particularly of their value. For it is not upon their publications that the chief utility of these societies depends.

It is upon the other mode of promoting the public welfare, that we rest the claim of our medical societies to an exemption from the reproach, to which we have alluded, of having failed of the object of their institution. If they have not done much to increase the amount of scientific knowledge, they have not failed to diffuse the benefits of that knowledge over the whole body of the medical profession, and by that means to extend it to the whole community. Their operations have raised very essentially the standard of professional character and conduct, at the same time that irregularities of practice, and irregular practitioners have been effectually discountenanced, and in many places nearly suppressed.

To many persons it may appear, that these are advantages of which the benefit is reaped by the members of the profession exclusively, rather than by the community at large; and there never have been wanting those who have stigmatized every attempt to raise the character and improve the condition of the

profession, and to exclude from it ignorant and unworthy pretenders, as a scheme to gratify the avarice, or promote the ambition, of those who have engaged in it. This is a question of some importance, and we propose to examine it. For although it has often been examined, and fully settled, to the satisfaction of informed and well disposed men, yet the facts and arguments, upon which a just determination of it rests, are so readily forgotten, while a jealousy is so easily excited of everything that has the least appearance of monopoly or privilege, that we think a slight review of it may not be without its use at the present time. If our medical societies are designed and calculated only to promote the interests of their individual members, or to secure privileges to their own corporations; and still more if they are associations for the purpose of enabling their members to prey with the greater security and effect upon the necessities and distresses of their fellow men, then have they received too much of favor both from the laws, and from public opinion. But if, on the contrary, the best interests of the community are advanced by their prosperity, at least equally with their own, and if the men who have been actively engaged in them, while they have labored for the good of their own profession, have no less promoted the good of the whole community, then they are not unworthy of all the protection and confidence they have received.

That the learning of every scientific man is a benefit to the public as well as to himself, is so obvious as scarcely to need remark. There is no knowledge so abstract that its influence and its advantages are confined to the immediate possession of it; like the garden of the rich man, the beauty and healthful fragrance of which are enjoyed by the poor neighbor, no less than by the opulent proprietor. But the learning of the physician has its influence diffused over the whole community more directly than that of almost any other class of men. His business brings him into immediate contact with every portion of the human race; and under circumstances favorable to the exertion of a powerful influence, whether that influence be for good or for evil. There is a sort of universality to the profession which belongs to no other. Every village has its physician; and he has direct access to every family and every individual in it. Were his knowledge therefore of the most abstract kind, there would be no part of the community to which it would not be a matter of strong interest that the profession should be learned and respectable.

On the contrary, however, medical science is in its very nature peculiarly practical. It embraces an epitome of the more practical parts of all the physical sciences. The physician, if he is properly educated to his profession, must be familiar with many parts of natural philosophy, with natural history, botany, chemistry, &c. as well as with those branches of learning which more immediately connect themselves with the science of life and the knowledge of diseases. Such in point of fact is the real state of things in our country. If we except those whose province it is to teach those branches of knowledge, physicians are almost the only men among us who cultivate them. That even they cultivate them, in any considerable approach to the degree to which they deserve to be cultivated, we would by no means assert. But that they do it much more extensively than any other class of men, cannot, we think, be questioned.

We have thus far spoken of physicians, simply as men, and of their connexion with society as being of the same kind with that of other scientific men. But if we regard them in their professional capacity, engaged in the performance of their peculiar duties, we shall find that the community have a still deeper interest, in their qualifications and character. The physician is not only brought into contact with all classes of men, but every individual in the community is sooner or later directly dependent upon him in matters which concern his most valued interests, his health and his life, and those of the friends most dear to him. It is not a matter in which he has a choice, as in most of the other concerns of life. Man is born to disease; and they that are sick have need of the physician.

There is also a peculiar implicitness in this subjection to medical skill and science, which belongs to no other profession, and which while it involves all classes of men, levels at once all distinctions of rank and intellect. The lawyer advises and argues, and the clergyman hopes to influence only so far as he is able to convince; but the physician prescribes. And the prescription is followed, not because the patient comprehends either the character of his disease or the nature of the remedy, but simply because he relies upon the character and skill of the physician. It is wholly a matter of confidence, and on this confidence the most learned are as entirely dependent, as the most ignorant. The one is no more than the other induced to submit to his physician's directions, by judging for himself of the wisdom of his prescriptions.

If we examine the grounds of this confidence, we find still another peculiarity, in which the medical profession differs from every other, and one which gives to the community at large a deep interest in the general character and intelligence of that profession. Except in cases where a physician has established a reputation by a long course of professional conduct, the confidence that is placed in him is not so much a matter of personal consideration referring to him individually, as it is a confidence in the intelligence and skill of the profession as a class of men. The knowledge of the physician, upon which of course all his skill is founded, is chiefly made up of branches of learning, of which all other men, however learned in other respects, are profoundly ignorant. It necessarily follows that none but a physician can judge of a physician's fitness to practise. This remark is partly true in the other professions. But it is so in this in a peculiar and exclusive sense; since it not only applies to the first examinations in which the candidate is called upon to exhibit the extent and sufficiency of his knowledge, but it extends also to the observation of his readiness and skill in applying that knowledge to actual practice. His standing among the members of his own profession is therefore the measure, and the only true measure of his desert, for the public at large.

If it be asked, why these beneficial results may not be produced by the character and conduct of the individuals of the profession, without the intervention of an organized society, the answer is a ready one, that the efforts of individuals unassociated with each other, can neither secure the establishment of a sufficiently elevated standard of professional acquirement, nor, were it practicable to fix such a standard, could they compel the candidates for the profession to attain to it, or the members of the profession to maintain it. There would still be men of high worth and learning in the profession, and the success which almost uniformly attends a long course of meritorious exertion would induce many to follow their example. But their effect on the whole community would be like the bravery of an individual in an undisciplined army. He may sometimes be able to excite his companions to such an imitation of his courage as shall secure success; but he will often fail, and he will not unfrequently fall a victim to his efforts. But let those whose character and standing fit them to be leaders in the march of improvement, become associated together for

this purpose, and without doing violence to the rights or the feelings of any, the whole body of the profession find it for their honor and their interest to be associated with them. Even those to whom it is a restraint to be confined within the rules of propriety and honor, find it better to submit in some measure to such restraint, than to cut themselves off from the benefit of being ranked with their more worthy associates. Thus the character and conduct of the most deserving become not only an example for the imitation of those who are less so, but a sort of law which, however disposed, they dare not disobey.

In the practical operation of this simple principle, its effects are manifold ; and in every point of view its benefits are extended to the public at large, no less than to the profession itself. In the first place it secures, as we have already remarked, an elevated standard of professional attainment. This cannot be effected by the uncombined efforts of individuals, however desirous they might be of accomplishing it. Many young men, having a just idea of the great responsibilities of the profession, and of the varied learning requisite to sustain them properly, would still prefer to acquire a thorough education before they entered upon it. But many more in their eagerness to get forward into life, would rush into the profession but half prepared, and a considerable proportion of those who, under other circumstances, would belong to the former class, would be carried along with them. It is only by the operations of an organized society, that any fixed rules can be established, by which a candidate shall be compelled to go through a prescribed course of study, or to possess a certain amount of knowledge, before he shall be permitted to undertake the care of human life and health.

But then, if we suppose such a standard to be agreed upon, there must be some acknowledged power to compare the attainments of the candidate with it ; and this can not be effectually done by individuals alone. It could only be attempted by each physician, in the case of his own pupils ; and if we could believe a given individual to be sufficiently impartial to judge fairly of the extent of their qualifications, it cannot be supposed that the public would feel such a confidence in his impartiality, as to place much reliance on his testimony. The interests of the candidate himself, therefore, as well as those of the public and of the profession, require that there should be

such an impartial, independent body of examiners as can be provided only by a society, which shall concentrate the power and influence of the profession.

It is a natural and almost inevitable consequence of a low or an uncertain standard of professional requirements, that other considerations besides those of science and worth, come to be relied upon, as the means of gaining influence and distinction. While that sound learning, which, from its very nature, elevates the character, is neglected, those arts of winning popularity, which as certainly debase and degrade it, are cultivated in its stead. He need not be an old man, who can remember when it was the general impression throughout a great portion of our country, that the same course of preparatory education which was even then regarded as a necessary preliminary to entering upon the study of either of the other learned professions, was quite supererogatory in this. For our individual selves, though we can lay no claim to the honors of age, we have heard in our day a worthy member of a New England legislature speak with great contempt of the folly of sending a young man to attend a course of lectures, and declare that his son, who was to be a doctor, should go to a dancing-master to learn the arts of ingratiating himself with his patients. It need not be said that a physician educated upon this principle, although it should not be carried to the same absurd length, is wholly unfit to take charge of the lives and health of his fellow men. Nor is it for this purpose that the subject is here introduced. We have alluded to it rather for the purpose of remarking, that it is mainly to the insufficiency of the education of practitioners of medicine, that the jealousies and quarrels which have so often disgraced the profession, are to be attributed.

Whenever an individual admits and acts upon the idea that any other consideration than that of professional knowledge and worth is to be the chief measure or means of his success, he becomes accessible to motives which will almost inevitably lead him into practices dishonorable to himself and injurious to others. These of course lead to retaliation, and mutual recriminations. The kind of intercourse, which exists between the physician and his patient, favors such a result. It is, as we have before remarked, wholly a matter of confidence ; and at the same time, the delicacy of the subject, or the seclusion of the scene of operations, may render it difficult to explain any

circumstance that may have a tendency to impair the confidence. Hence the physician is naturally jealous of everything like interference in his professional duties. Everything tends to produce a sensitiveness on this subject, which can only be prevented by an habitual reliance upon his own consciousness of scientific worth.

The disputes and quarrels which thus arise, are sufficiently disgraceful and injurious to the profession itself, but to the community at large the injury is still greater. The sick man is fairly entitled to the best means of relief within his reach. And if the jealousy and animosities of his physicians, deprive him of them, whether it be by cutting him off from the benefit of consultations, or, as oftener happens, by taking away from him the comfort of feeling an assurance that all is well done for him, he suffers a positive, and sometimes a serious injustice. The perplexity and distress inflicted upon the patient and his friends, by disturbing his confidence in his physician, occasion a degree of suffering scarcely less severe than that caused by the disease itself. The question so often asked in ridicule of the profession, is here asked with the most anxious solicitude ; and an answer is sought for in vain.

We shall not now stop to inquire how far these evils have been corrected in our own community, by the operations of our Medical Society. This inquiry will best be met when we have shown what those operations have been. We will only remark at present, that their tendency has been to correct them, not only, as we have seen, by raising the minds of physicians, as they have improved the standard of medical education and character, to the contemplation of more worthy methods of professional advancement ; but also by fixing the principles of a correct professional conduct, and providing tribunals to which an appeal may be made in case of the infringement of them. It is true the principles already established are not always very closely adhered to, nor the tribunals often called upon to enforce them. Nor is this necessary, in order to give efficacy to the system. While the principles themselves are maintained, and the few simple rules which are founded on them, it is of little moment that they are occasionally violated. He who voluntarily and wilfully breaks through them, does so at the expense of his own self-respect, and of much of his reputation ; yet he does not thereby destroy that mutual confidence which the better portion of the members of the profession feel in each other.

It thus appears that the interests of the medical profession are so blended with the public good, that the one cannot be promoted without advancing the other. We do not mean to claim any peculiar disinterestedness for those physicians who have labored (and some there are who have labored much) to advance the character of their profession. But we do claim for them an exemption from the charge of a selfishness, unworthy of a learned and liberal profession, which would seek their own good or that of their associates, at the expense, or in utter disregard, of the welfare of the rest of mankind. In those particulars, by which a selfish man may be supposed to be most readily affected, these are the men to be, less than any others, benefited by improving the condition of the whole profession. They surely have nothing to fear, either for their gains or their ambitious projects, from the encroachments of unworthy pretenders to the profession, whose characters and standing are established, so as to give them opportunity to look around them and busy themselves in elevating the character of their associates and successors. In a more extended sense, they do indeed share largely in the benefit of adding to the general respectability of the whole body of physicians. It is not the least of these benefits, that the profession is no longer held responsible for the acts of those who do not truly belong to it. Quackery and quacks there will be in every community. But the line of distinction between them and educated physicians is now so strongly drawn among us, that the odium of their misconduct no more attaches itself to the medical profession than to any other. In like manner too, the irregular conduct of individual members of the profession itself (for we will not pretend that all are spotless even here) brings not its reproach upon the profession as a whole; for the very rules which they violate furnish the proof that their irregularities are discountenanced by their brethren.

The view we have taken of the interest which the whole community has in the wellbeing and respectability of the medical profession, is still farther sustained and confirmed by the nature of the privileges which have been bestowed upon it. These privileges have been granted from time to time, not as a bounty conferred upon a favored class of men, but either as facilities indispensable to a regular performance of their professional duties, or as an equivalent for the benefits which the community derive from their services. The exemption from the obli-

gation to serve as jurors, which has so often been the subject of reproachful jesting, by regarding it as imposed on the profession, and associating it with a less pacific occupation, was granted by the act of 5 Henry VIII. to the Company of Surgeons in common with exemption from 'constableship, watch, and all manner of office bearing any armour,' 'for the continual service and attendance that they daily and nightly, at all hours and times, give to the king's liege people, for the relief of the same, according to their science;' and the number to whom the grant was made was limited to twelve.

A few years later in the same reign the charter of the College of Physicians was granted, which at the same time that it exempts the president and fellows from liability to be summoned to assizes, juries, inquests, &c. requires them to elect censors, who should have the superintendence of all persons exercising the faculty of medicine, and scrutiny of all medicines and their administration within the city of London. Again, when a few years later these privileges and exemptions are somewhat enlarged and more accurately defined, the same thing is done with the obligations laid upon the censors, and they are made subject to a penalty, if they refuse or neglect to perform their duty. Thus it is everywhere; the grant of privileges is everywhere connected with the imposition of obligations to perform some office, by which the public, rather than the profession, are supposed to be benefited.

Many of the privileges which are now enjoyed by physicians among us, and some of the duties which devolve upon the profession, have descended to them by custom and usage from these early charter provisions. Others have been the subject of statutory regulation in the several states; and these vary considerably in different states, in the extent both of the obligations and the privileges. In Massachusetts the fellows of the Medical Society are exempted from enrolment in the militia, which is not generally done in the other states. In many of the states there is at least one medical school; and in most of them a medical society incorporated with powers and privileges varying more or less in each particular case. But upon all of them is laid the obligation, and in some cases under the sanction of a severe penalty, of providing for the safety of the community against the introduction of uneducated practitioners of medicine. The methods pursued to effect this object are as various in the different states as are the powers of the

different institutions themselves. But they all have reference, in this country, chiefly if not exclusively to the education and examination of the candidates for the profession. Rarely, if ever, do the profession interfere with the practice of an individual member of it. Nor do they even attempt to control the conduct of those practitioners who belong not to the profession, any farther than to make it manifest that they have no affinity with them, and are not responsible for their misdeeds.

It being then settled that to the medical profession belongs the office of fixing the standard of qualifications of its practitioners, it becomes an inquiry of importance by what means this standard shall be supported, so that the great body of the profession shall individually have attained to it, before they are suffered to practise. We have already seen that this can only be done through the medium of organized societies; and we are now to inquire what are the means by which such societies can most effectually accomplish the great objects of their institution.

These means are very naturally divided into two general classes; those which derive all their efficacy from the direct exercise of power; and those which accomplish their object by the influence they are made to exert on public opinion. The first would shut out uneducated practitioners from the profession by compulsion and penalties; the second would deter them from entering it, simply by withholding from them the countenance and encouragement of those already in the profession. The regulations of every medical institution partake more or less of one or the other of these characters. In some they are purely of the former class, in a few, as purely of the latter; and in many the two are variously intermingled, but in this country chiefly inclining to the latter. It is not difficult to see which interferes least with the natural right of every man to do what he will with his own powers and faculties, and consequently which is best fitted to the genius of our free institutions. But it is not so well understood, and will not perhaps be so generally agreed, which most effectually answers the purposes for which they were designed. In order more fully to illustrate this question, we propose to compare the state of things in reference to it, as they present themselves in the commonwealth of Massachusetts, with that presented by the condition of the profession in England. We select these not merely because

we are better acquainted with the history and operations of the institutions which chiefly regulate the condition of the profession in the two countries, but also because they will furnish us the purest specimen of each of the kinds of power, to which we have alluded, and the best examples of their effects in their practical results.

So early as in the ninth year of Henry the Fifth, a petition was presented to the English Parliament, praying that the practice of physic might be restrained by law to such as had been examined and licensed. 'Wherefore pleseth to your excellents wysdomes, that ought after your soule to have no entendance to youre body for the causes abovesaid, to ordaine and make in statute perpetually to be straitly y used and kept. That no man of no manner, estate, degre, or condition, practice in fysyk fro this time forward, bot he have long time y used the scoles of fysyk, having letters testimonialx sufficianty of on of those degrees in the universite in which he took his degree in, under payne of long imprisonement and paying XL lb. to the king, and that no woman use the practice of fysyk under the same payne.' Accordingly an ordinance was passed giving to the Lords of the Council authority to establish such acts as to them should seem proper and necessary for the punishment of those who should practise physic without the approbation of the universities, or surgery without that of the masters of the art.

In the third year of Henry the Eighth an act was passed, which, after stating that 'the science and cunning of Physick and Surgery is daily within this realm exercised by a great multitude of ignorant persons, of whom the great part have no manner of insight in the same, nor in any other kind of learning; some also can no letters on the book'—'to the high displeasure of God, great infamy to the Faculty, and the grievous hurt, damage, and destruction of many of the king's liege people, most especially of them that cannot discern the uncunning from the cunning'—provided that no person should 'take upon him to exercise and occupy as a physician and surgeon' in London or within seven miles, until he had been examined and approved by the Bishop of London, or the Dean of St Paul's, with the assistance of four physicians or surgeons, under the penalty of a fine of five pounds for every month. In like manner, and subject to the same penalty, every physician and surgeon out of London was required to be examined by the bishop of his diocess, assisted by 'such expert persons in the said Faculties'

as he should think proper. The archbishop of Canterbury has occasionally granted licenses, in consequence of a power to confer degrees, transferred to him from the Pope by an act of 25 Henry VIII., and in 1670 he licensed William Lilly, the astrologer, to practise physic except in London and within seven miles. It is said that the bishop of London has within a few years licensed a practitioner in the city. The validity of such licenses is however now disputed, since, although the act granting the power of licensing to the Bishops has never been repealed, a paramount authority has been granted by charter, and confirmed by acts of Parliament, to the College of Physicians, the College of Surgeons, and the Company of Apothecaries.

The charter of the College of Physicians under which that body still holds its powers, although several subsequent charters have been prepared and offered to it, was also granted by Henry the Eighth, in the tenth year of his reign. It was ratified in the fourteenth and fifteenth years, by an act, declaring that 'forasmuch that the making the said corporation is meritorious, and very good for the common wealth of this your realm, it is therefore expedient and necessary to provide, that no person of the said politick body and commonalty aforesaid, be suffered to practise physick, but only those persons that be profound, sad, and discreet, groundly learned, and deeply studied in physick.' The powers granted for the purpose of carrying into effect this provision are, one would think, abundantly ample, if power alone could do it; especially when taken in connexion with those added a few years later by the act of 32 Henry VIII. The college are authorized to make by-laws for the government, superintendence, and correction, not only of its fellows, but of all persons exercising the faculty in the city, or within seven miles of it. No person is permitted to practise in London or within seven miles without a license from the President and College, under a penalty of five pounds for every month he shall so practise; nor is any person permitted to practise elsewhere in England without submitting to an examination in London before the censors of the college, and being licensed by them, unless he has received a medical degree at the university of Oxford or Cambridge. The four censors elected by the President and College have the superintendence, correction and government of all persons exercising the faculty of medicine, in any manner,

in the city or within seven miles, and the superintendence and scrutiny of all medicines and their administration, with power to punish for malpractice 'by fines, amercements, imprisonments, and other reasonable modes.' The act of 32 Henry VIII, to which we have just referred, directs how the superintendence, and scrutiny of medicines shall be performed. It requires the four censors, at least once in each year, and 'as often as they shall think meet and convenient,' to enter the house of every apothecary and 'to search, view, and see such apothecary's wares, drugs and stuffs' as he may have in possession; and all that they find to be 'defective, corrupted, and not meet nor convenient to be ministered in any medicines for the health of man's body,' they are to cause to be burned, or otherwise destroyed. It may well be supposed that such an exercise of power cannot be very agreeable to either party, and accordingly, the censors are each laid under a penalty of forty shillings for every neglect of it, and the apothecary under a penalty of five pounds, which was afterwards increased to ten pounds, for every refusal to submit to it. To complete the powers of the College of Physicians, by an act passed in the first year of Queen Mary, the president or the censors in order to 'correct and punish all offenders in the said faculty, within the same city and precinct,' are authorized to commit them to any prison in the city, except the Tower; and the officers of the prisons are required to keep 'such offender or disobedient,' at his own expense, until he is discharged by the president or censors.

In a manner somewhat similar all persons are prohibited, by a series of enactments, from practising surgery without examination and license. There is however a remarkable difference between the two colleges of physic and surgery in respect to the power of inflicting penalties upon unqualified practitioners. The College of Surgeons do not appear to possess any such powers. The reason may have been that until 1745, the surgeons were not a separate corporation, but shared their corporate powers with the worshipful company of barbers; and that was too late a period for the acquisition of such enormous powers as are possessed by the College of Physicians. We are not quite satisfied with this reason however, since at a much later period a heavy fine was laid upon apothecaries for practising without license.

It seems to have been a consequence of the rigid exercise of

their powers by the College of Physicians, by which either the qualifications of physicians were raised above, or their number reduced below, what the wants of the community required, that apothecaries came to take a part, and a very extensive part in the practice of medicine. Whatever may have been the cause of the change, the apothecaries having become established in their right to practise, we find them also regulating their admissions to it by licenses and penalties. In 1815 they obtained an act of Parliament, which subjects every one who commences practice as an apothecary in any part of England or Wales without a certificate of qualifications to a penalty of twenty pounds, and every one who thus commences as an assistant to an apothecary to the penalty of ten pounds, besides depriving them, in either case, of the power to recover their charges in a court of law. They were indeed long before, at least as early as 1666, bound by rules which were sanctioned by penalties, to a prescribed course of requirements in respect to compounding and delivering medicines; and these rules were not annulled, nor their penalties remitted, when they were admitted to a higher rank in the arts of healing. For by the act of 1815, if any apothecary 'shall refuse to compound or administer or deliberately or negligently, falsely or unfaithfully mix, compound, or administer any medicines ordered by any lawful physician, by any prescription signed with his initials,' he shall on conviction before any justice of the peace, unless he can show a satisfactory excuse, forfeit for the first offence, five pounds, for the second, ten pounds, and for the third be deprived of his certificate, and be rendered incapable in future of using the art of an apothecaay, until he shall give satisfactory security that he will not again be guilty of a like offence.

Thus we see that in every department of the profession in England, the sole dependence for the protection of the community against the intrusion of unworthy and unskilful practitioners is upon the force of prohibitions and penalties. There is nowhere manifested any reliance upon the readiness of the public to prefer the attendance of an educated and skilful physician, however fully his qualifications may be attested, to that of an ignorant pretender. On the contrary everything is founded upon the presumption that they 'cannot discern the uncunning from the cunning.' We call the attention of our readers particularly to this circumstance, because it is a principal feature in the distinction between the system established in Eng-

land and that which has been adopted under the auspices of the Massachusetts Medical Society in this commonwealth. Here are no prohibitions and no penalties; but a simple reliance upon the confidence of the community in the faithfulness of the profession in respect to the qualifications of its own members.

Before we proceed however to a comparison of the two systems, we will return to that of England, and inquire how effectually it has accomplished the objects for which its various provisions were designed. And first, in respect to irregular and ignorant practitioners, England has become proverbial for their number, until it has been called not unaptly, the paradise of quacks. Prohibitions and penalties may answer for the more despotic governments on the continent of Europe; but where public opinion operates so directly, they serve to weaken the confidence of the mass of the people in those who rely upon them for protection, while they awaken a sympathy for those who are proscribed by them. Of what concern is it to the itinerant, whose only property is his wheelbarrow and its beggarly contents, that he incurs the liability to a fine of five pounds for every month of his miserable practice. His poverty and insignificance are a sufficient protection against the severity of the law, while that very severity becomes the principal means of all the influence he obtains.

But it is not in these lower walks of practice alone, that similar effects have been produced. The introduction of apothecaries to the right to visit patients and prescribe for them, affords a signal example of the impracticability, in any but a despotic government, of executing a law which is opposed by the sense and feeling of the community. In 1704 the College of Physicians instituted a suit against an apothecary for a breach of their charter by practising without a license from them. In the Court of King's Bench the case was decided against him; but on an appeal to the House of Lords, the judgment was reversed; and thus was permanently established the right of apothecaries to practise medicine for ever after, subject only to the absurd condition that they shall take no fee for professional advice, but only charge for their medicines. It is quite apparent, that the House of Lords were induced thus to evade the strictness of the law, by the urgency of the demand for a class of practitioners, who should be more accessible to the body of the people than were the licentiates of the college.*

* The case turned upon the question, what is meant by *practising*

This sudden extension of the privileges of apothecaries, was for a time a great evil to the community; for it drew into practice a great body of men who had been educated for a different line of business. But the evil has gradually corrected itself, and now the apothecaries themselves require an education in the members of their Company, who as we have seen are alone allowed to practise, scarcely less thorough in its practical parts, though less formal and expensive, than the physicians themselves. Thus the wants of a people will provide means for their own supply, and in some degree suited to their own condition, in spite of all the enactments of the laws.

A still more striking example of the inefficacy of severe enactments, in opposition to the general sense of the community, and of the reäction to which they are exposed, is exhibited at an earlier period of the history of medicine in England. We have mentioned a statute of 3 Henry VIII, which prohibited any person from practising medicine or surgery in London or within seven miles, without a license from the bishop. In the thirty-fourth and thirty-fifth years of the same reign a bill was passed which, referring to this act, declared, that 'since the making of which act, the company and fellowship of surgeons in London, minding only their own lucres, and nothing the profit or ease of the diseased or patient, have sued, troubled, and vexed divers honest persons, as well men as women, whom God hath endued with the knowledge of the nature, kind, and operation of certain herbs, roots, and waters, and the using and ministering of them to such as have been pained with customable diseases, as women's breasts being sore, a pin and the wale in the eye, uncomes of hands, burnings, scaldings, sore mouths, the stone, strangury, saucelim and morphew, and such other like diseases.' After various other severe charges against the surgeons, among the rest that 'it is well known that the surgeons admitted will do no cure to any person, but where they shall know to be rewarded with greater sum than the cure extendeth unto,' and 'the most part of the persons of the said craft of surgeons, have small cunning, yet they will take great sums of money, and do little therefore,' the act authorizes every person having knowl-

medicine. The Court of King's Bench decided that it consisted in judging of the disease and constitution of the patient, and judging of the proper remedy, and applying it, all which had been done in this case, but without fee. The house of lords on the contrary seem to make the practice of medicine consist essentially in the fee.

edge of herbs, roots, and waters, in any of the king's dominions, to 'minister in and to any outward sore, uncome, wound, apostemation, outward swellings or disease, any herbs, ointments, baths, pultess and emplasters, according to their cunning,' 'or drinks for the stone, strangury, or agues, without suit, vexation, trouble, penalty, or loss of their goods.' It matters little to our purpose whether the surgeons of Henry the Eighth's time really deserved the character here given of them, or whether these reproaches were the result of an unreasonable excitement against them produced by their claiming the privileges which had been previously granted them. In either case it is a powerful illustration of the unsuitableness of penal enactments for such a purpose. Whether abused or not, they are necessarily liable to be in some cases oppressive in their operation, and will always tend to cast an odium both upon the profession and those who practise it.

If the London Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons have failed of accomplishing that part of the design of their institution which relates to the exclusion of the ignorant and unskilful from practice, they have scarcely less signally failed of producing that harmony and concert among the members of the profession, which we have before said, should be one of the great means of usefulness of such institutions. We have not left ourselves room to pursue this branch of our subject as we intended ; but must content ourselves with remarking that the whole history of the College of Physicians furnishes a series of legal controversies, sometimes with men of distinguished worth, about the extent of their privileges, and their right to restrict the enjoyment of them to a small and favored number. A by-law was early adopted, declaring that no person shall ever be elected a fellow of the society who has not had a medical degree at the university of Oxford or Cambridge. The absurdity of this by-law is the more conspicuous from the fact, that neither of these universities has ever had a medical school of any distinguished celebrity. So that to enjoy the high honors and privileges of this college, a physician must have obtained his education under circumstances much less favorable to a thorough professional knowledge, than fall to the lot of many of those who are excluded from it. It necessarily follows, that many physicians of the first talents and character, being shut out from a share of its privileges, are opposed to many of its operations. Thus instead of harmony and con-

cert, it produces division and contention. Each of the three great institutions, the College of Physicians, the College of Surgeons, and the Company of Apothecaries, is at this present time, before the public in a state of controversy and high excitement; the first in the courts of law, the second in parliament, and the last, in the public journals, respecting alterations of their rules.

Let it not be supposed that we forget or undervalue the benefits conferred on mankind by the Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons, by what they have done for the promotion of science. We are aware that in this respect they have accomplished much good; although when the great extent of their powers and their patronage are considered, not more, perhaps less, than was fairly to be expected from them. But to speak of this, is not to our present purpose. Our inquiry has related only to those other means by which they have exerted so powerful an influence upon the condition of the profession; and we now return to pursue the same inquiry in relation to the state of things in the commonwealth of Massachusetts.

The powers and duties of the Massachusetts Medical Society are as simple and well defined, as those of the London College of Physicians are complex and uncertain. This Society was first incorporated in 1781. Its only privileges were the right to act and to hold property as a corporate body, and to make by-laws for the government of its members, sanctioned by a penalty not exceeding twenty pounds; and the only duty prescribed was the election of censors who were required to examine and license candidates for the profession under a penalty of one hundred pounds. This license conferred no privilege upon the recipient of it, and was of no other benefit to him, than as it made known the fact that he had been examined and approved. In 1789 some farther directions were given by an additional act respecting the reception of licentiates, and the counsellors of the society were required to point out and publish from time to time a suitable course of instruction and education.

In 1803 the charter of the Society was entirely remodelled by a new additional act of the legislature. The number of fellows, which was before limited to seventy, was extended without limitation, any physician or surgeon in the commonwealth being made eligible; and authority was given to the counsellors to establish subordinate district societies, with

boards of censors for the examination of candidates. Under this provision, and that of a subsequent act, there are now four distinct boards of examiners, elected annually by the counsellors, and of course subject to the same regulations. Every candidate who has been licensed by the censors, or who has received a medical degree from Harvard University, being of good moral character, is, after three years' approved practice, entitled to be admitted a fellow of the Society. The only privilege granted to the fellows of the Society, beyond those enjoyed by other physicians, is an entire exemption from liability to enrolment in the militia; except such as arise incidentally, from the very existence and the operations of the Society as a corporate body.

Immediately after this act was passed, the counsellors took measures to seek out and elect into the Society, as fast as their merits could be ascertained, all the respectable physicians and surgeons in the state, so that in theory (and it is very nearly so in practice) every physician and surgeon of sufficient respectability to be fairly entitled to confidence as a practitioner of medicine, who has been three years in practice, is a fellow of the Society, and is pledged by an express declaration to conform to its regulations and by-laws. This single circumstance is sufficient to preserve a general harmony in the profession; for while these by-laws point out the general course of conduct which ought to be observed by individual physicians towards each other, and contain their pledge to conform to it, they also provide a tribunal to decide the controversy, if any should arise. At the same time a by-law was adopted, that no fellow of the Society should consult with, or otherwise aid or abet, any practitioner of medicine or surgery, who should thereafter commence practice, unless he were either a fellow or licentiate of the Society, or a medical graduate of Harvard University. It is in this by-law, in reference to the exclusion of unfit persons from practice, that the whole strength of the Society lies. By it a broad line of distinction is marked out between those whom the Society believe to be qualified to take charge of the health and lives of others, and whom they are therefore willing to recommend to the confidence of the community, and those whom they do not recommend, either because they do not possess the proper qualifications, or do not exhibit the proper evidence of possessing them. It is no hardship to those who are not included within the rule; it imposes no pen-

alty ; and it cuts them off from no privilege which they might have enjoyed if the Society had never existed. On the contrary if it were true, as empirical practitioners often pretend, that they actually possess a skill which education and science do not give, then the line of separation will be an advantage, not an injury. Those whose merits are best acknowledged, suffer by being confounded with others ; and therefore to complain of being distinguished from them is in itself an acknowledgment of inferiority.

At the same time this regulation is in practice perfectly efficient. The reasonableness of it, and the mildness of its operation, successfully claim for it the support not only of the profession, but also of the whole community. It is but twenty-five years since this by-law was adopted, and it has required a considerable portion of that time for the Society to become acquainted with and elect into it all those whose merits fairly entitled them to a place in it ; so that in the more distant parts of the state, it has not been in operation long enough to put its efficacy fully to the test. But in the more central parts of the state where it has been longer in operation, it is perfectly settled, that no man can obtain any tolerable share of respectability, or property, by the practice of medicine, who is not acknowledged by the Medical Society as an educated physician. The evidence of this fact is abundant and incontrovertible ; but we cannot now go into its details. It is true that we still have among us a few uneducated practitioners. But the number is small, smaller probably than in almost any other place ; and they are regarded by the whole community, and by themselves too, as a distinct and by no means respectable class of men. The hold which they have upon their patients is so frail, that they are often obliged to promise to relinquish it in case of alarm, as the only condition on which they are allowed to prescribe ; and not unfrequently they are subjected to the mortification of being compelled to retire, before even the younger members of the profession.

Such is the system established by the Massachusetts Medical Society. Possessing, as it would seem, few of the insignia of power, in its practical operation it is most efficient. Whether we regard its effects in producing harmony and good fellowship among the members of the profession, in securing to the profession the confidence of the community, or in protecting that community from uneducated and unskilful practitioners, we

believe we may safely say that it has fully answered the great purposes for which it was designed. We mean not to say that the system is perfect, or that it admits of no amendment; but that there has been a constant improvement in the condition of the medical profession, since this system has been in operation, no one who has lived long enough to observe it, and has looked about him, can fail to acknowledge. The standard of medical education and attainment has been constantly rising, and the consciousness of respectability in the profession has given mutual confidence to its members in their intercourse with one another. We do not claim for the Medical Society all the credit of these great and rapid improvements. The Medical School has ably and cordially coöperated, and other circumstances have been favorable to improvement. But we may claim for the Society the praise of having taken the lead in this work, and of having pursued it zealously and steadily.

It is manifest that the system of the Medical Society is built upon the supposition that it should have the control of all admissions to its privileges. But when the Society went into operation there already existed in Harvard University the power to confer medical degrees; and it was necessary to allow to these degrees, the same authority and the same claim to admission into the Society after three years' approved practice, as are conferred by a license from the censors of the Society. These two institutions therefore still furnish two distinct modes of entering the profession. Although the requirements in each are of nearly equal extent, yet the discrepancy is an evil so far as it goes; and it is much to be desired that it should be wholly done away. A plan was once digested for effecting a union in this respect, but it was prevented by some unnecessary jealousies from being completed. No such jealousies now exist, and there is every reason to believe that an entire uniformity, if not a union, will soon be accomplished.

Another medical institution has within these few years been incorporated in this state with the power to confer degrees; but its degrees confer no rights in reference to the Medical Society. The legislature has indeed by statute given to its graduates all the privileges granted to similar graduates of Harvard University. But, as they had already vested in the Society the power to regulate the privileges of their own licentiates and fellows (except so far as they had been determined in the acts of incorporation), this provision can only have refer-

ence to the right to practise and recover fees, provided for in an act which we shall notice presently. We have already observed that the power to regulate admission to any of its privileges should have been vested exclusively in the Society. It was conceded to Harvard University, solely as a matter of necessity, because that institution possessed a similar authority, even before the existence of the Society; and this authority could not be taken away. But this case furnishes no reason that the Society should relinquish their rights and duties to another institution which has no such claim upon them.

Before the Society had gone sufficiently into operation in the more remote parts of the state, to exhibit its full efficacy, an act was passed, in 1818, for regulating the practice of physic and surgery. But the provisions of this act were found to be so impracticable, that before any attempt was made to execute them, they were entirely altered, the following year, by an additional act. This act divided the state into districts for the appointment of censors, and provided that no person who should commence practice after the first of July, 1819, should be entitled to the benefit of law for the collection of any fee for professional services, unless he had been licensed by the censors, or had received the degree of Doctor of Medicine in Harvard University; and a subsequent act included Doctors of Medicine of Williams College; a copy of the letter of license, or diploma, being deposited with the town clerk of the town in which the practitioner resides. These provisions, it should be remembered, form no part of the true system of the Massachusetts Medical Society, but are an appendage, wholly extraneous, and are regarded by many of its members as impairing both its beauty and its usefulness. They were not sought for by the Society, but were rather forced upon it, and it was better to execute them, than to contend with the legislative authority. In their practical effects they are nearly inoperative. We believe they have done very little either of good or harm, and therefore, although we could wish they had never been made, they are hardly of sufficient importance to call for an effort to procure their repeal.

A proposition is now before the medical public for an attempt to extend still farther the benefits of concert and coöperation among the members of the profession. In December, 1825, a letter was addressed by the Vermont Medical Society to the several societies and medical schools in New England,

proposing that each should agree to the adoption of certain terms for the admission of candidates to the profession; which they had themselves adopted, subject to the condition that the other institutions should do the same. This letter, after various discussions and correspondences led to the appointment of delegates, which met in convention at Northampton in June, 1827, for the purpose of agreeing on a uniform system of instruction and examination of students of medicine. The convention agreed upon a system of regulations, which they referred to the several medical societies and institutions for their adoption or rejection. It remains to be seen what will be the result.

This system proposes to form an association of medical societies and institutions for the purpose of establishing the same course of education and examinations throughout the whole of New England and New York, and to include as many of the other states as shall adopt the the same regulations. Such a proposition seems at first view a very interesting one, and yet on a little reflection, it becomes very questionable whether the different parts of the country varying so much as they do in their habits and condition do not require some difference in the general qualifications of their physicians. It is true that the value of human life is everywhere the same, and the same degree of knowledge and skill may everywhere be necessary to preserve it. But it is no less true that no higher standard of acquirements can be maintained in any community, than that community will pay for. If in one place the fees of the profession are high, and in another, low, no system of regulations that human wisdom can devise, or human power execute, can provide an actual equality in the qualifications of its practitioners. It is as true in medicine as in everything else, that where the compensation is the best, there will be the best qualified men to receive it. If the standard is the same for different places, however unequal in the rewards which they yield to the profession, then that standard must be too low for some of them, and consequently not only useless, but injurious in its operation, or it must be too high for others, and therefore incapable of being maintained in practice. We have already seen that no regulations can be enforced, whose requisitions are essentially above the actual wants of the community. The regulations will be either broken or evaded, or some new class of practitioners must be introduced to take the place of those who

are excluded by them. The introduction of apothecaries to practice in England, is a most striking proof of the impotency of such regulations.

We regard it therefore as certain that if the system prepared by the convention is adopted at all, it can only be, after many and some of them very important modifications; and it is to our minds extremely doubtful whether any modification can fit it for such an extensive application, as that for which the convention designed it. Still the benefits of a general concert and coöperation may remain, although each institution should be left at liberty to establish such regulations as it shall deem most useful for its own community.

Art. IV.—1. *A Statement by the Council of the University of London, explanatory of the Nature and Object of that Institution.* London. 1827.

2. *Report of a Committee of the Overseers of Harvard College, January* 6, 1825. Cambridge. 1825.

Political wisdom has to solve the difficult problem of directing the industry of the people, under the limitations of their constitutional compacts, to the advancement of the public good. The public felicity which attends the accomplishment of this task, bestows the means of private prosperity on every individual, whom the laws protect. The means used for the attainment of this end, are suggested by sound, practical reason, and ratified by successful experiments, which will ever outstrip philosophy in her fanciful visions and speculations. The acquisition of property, made accessible to a whole nation on equal terms, and guarded by a wise constitution, opens the richest sources for the free and unlimited exercise of talents, industry, and enterprise. Wealth accumulated by these means is honorable, and promotes national welfare in the same degree, that acquired in all other ways it it dishonorable, and directed against the public good. The great difference in the capacities and occupations of men must, from natural causes, give rise to inequality of worldly advantages, notwithstanding the level on which the whole nation stands in a political view; and the same reasons operate upon the formation of

the various stages of society in different communities. Equal rights and privileges may be equally enjoyed by a whole community, without giving a monotonous uniformity to civil life, which, were it practicable, would not be desirable. Frugality and integrity are the two guardians of popular institutions. They must impart strength and stability to the political fabric in its steady progress. They are inseparable and support each other. If they should cease to be respected and cultivated, licentiousness will begin to prey upon the vitals of the frame, and prepare its decline and ruin. It must, therefore, be the sacred duty and highest aim of patriotic zeal, as it is the favorite wish every philanthropist, to secure the continuance of popular institutions in their native purity, by obstructing the strong current of abuses and vices which may break in upon them. Societies formed by charity for the suppression of various vices are honorable in their purposes, and laudable in their exertions. They check, at least, an inveterate evil, by a system of temporary restraints. Thus, intemperance, the base mother of many other vices, may, in some degree, be restrained, through the vigilance of those respectable societies. But this perhaps is the most that can be expected. The evil, to a great degree, will remain. Great precaution may likewise put a similar check upon other abuses. But restraints and checks, salutary as they are, will soon lose their power over a crowded population, as has been proved by the experience of all countries.

The moral influence of individuals decreases proportionably with the augmentation of numbers. A numerous population is, undoubtedly, one of the true causes of national prosperity, when existing in unison with frugality and industry; but without these allies it annihilates that moral force, which is and must be the basis of popular governments. Rome, and more especially the Grecian republics, disregarded this principle; and their crowded population became, consequently, a great calamity to them, of which, at various times, they attempted to rid themselves, by encouraging the surplus of the people to seek a new home in different climes of Europe, Asia, and Africa. But the extermination of an evil can never be effected by measures of temporary benefit. Military force, when all other means prove ineffectual, has generally taken the place of moral force, and terminated in licentious despotism; an infallible sign of moral debility and the entire loss of freedom. It is a most useful study to investigate the origin of such evils as

have been prejudicial to republics of all times and countries, in order to avert them from our own. How accurately the political forms and governments of the ancient states were known to the framers of the constitution of the United States, is manifest from the documents which contain the records of their deliberations; and the result of their labors shows, how well they have succeeded in erecting the republican fabric on a highly improved plan. Its maintenance in its primitive purity is committed, as the most sacred trust, to the discretion of each successive generation; whose duty it is to do something, for the promotion of humanity, as a legacy for ages to come.

Whoever has looked deeply into the interior of the ancient republics, will discover the origin of their dissolution, in the neglected education of the youth. We are dazzled by the splendor of some shining characters, which appear in the decline of most of the popular governments of former times, and this circumstance sometimes leads to an erroneous inference in favor of the high mental improvement of the majority of the people. But we forget that luminous bodies shine the brighter for the surrounding darkness. A large majority of the Grecians, in the time of Demosthenes, and by far the greater part of the Romans, after Augustus, were entirely uneducated. This prepared them for despotism. Tyranny raises her iron sceptre over ignorance; liberty rests on knowledge. For knowledge is power, and liberty, founded on such power, is the purest liberty; but without this, it soon degenerates into licentiousness. Sound knowledge expands the mind, strengthens virtue, enlarges the sphere of liberty, and is in fact its very soul. The understanding, like the soil, is softened, improved, and rendered fertile, by constant and industrious cultivation, that is, by learning and thinking; while it becomes hard and sterile by negligence. A solid and liberal education, therefore, guided by religious and moral sentiment, is the most invaluable boon that a country can confer on her youth. In our own country, universal education will contribute more than any thing else to stay the powerful currents of national jealousy, rushing against each other from the north and south; to combine the energies of so great a nation, occupying an immense territory, in one common cause; to strengthen the ties, and confirm the pledges of mutual friendship and harmony, which arise from our history, our institutions, and our prospects.

What, then, can be of greater moment for an age of public

tranquility and domestic happiness, than to improve and to diffuse the means of education. What more worthy of imitation than the example of our fathers in the early ages of New England, who, relying upon the sound principle, that the maintenance of good literature tended most to the advancement of the flourishing state of societies and republics, secured by law, a hundred and sixty years ago, the blessings of public instruction for all their children; and appropriated a considerable part of their means for the purpose of popular education. They knew that the equal diffusion of general knowledge, through the mass of the people, is more powerful in awakening energies and liberal ideas, and in preparing for a great catastrophe, than the exertions of individuals even of the greatest talents, who have concentrated within themselves, and monopolized all the information which their age affords. With the early institution of the schools of New England, the foundation of her liberties was laid.

The same cause has produced the same effect in other countries. What fuel nourished the flame of liberty in the breasts of the modern Grecians, before it burst out into a general conflagration? It is matter of recent observation, that large numbers of high-minded Grecians, after the bloody contest of Europe against the power of Napoleon had come to a fortunate issue, were seen in the Italian and German universities, gathering the seeds of knowledge to be sown in the new schools, established in various parts of their own country, the fruits of which the ignorant Turk did not foresee. The greatest zeal for the diffusion of knowledge was shown in the year 1820, when Corfu, the university of Greece, began to flourish under the influence of the young men who had been educated in Italy and Germany. What else but the irresistible power of liberal ideas, kindling in the heart of Europe, and calling exasperated nations to arms, annihilated the unconquered forces of Napoleon? It was with reason that he looked with an eye of jealousy upon the numerous literary institutions of Germany. They were more dangerous to him than her military array. Several of them sunk, in consequence of the innovation, which his policy led him to force upon them; while those which survived them, kept alive the principle of resistance in those disastrous times, when armies were routed, when courts were struck with perplexity and despair. Whoever is acquainted with the spirit of German education in universities, knows how

direct the influence is, which the instructers exercise over their hearers. The exchange of liberal ideas was, in spite of the secret police, never more rapid and more general than in the two years previous to the great events of 1813 and 1814, in which the hurricane rose to such a height as to sweep down almost at a blast the fortresses of military oppression.

Such are the effects of knowledge, which in its very nature revolts at tyranny slowly but surely. We all know how much our own independence owes to this eternal truth. But the enjoyments, matured by the cares and labors of others, impose the highest obligations on each succeeding age. The talent must be improved and doubled, and not be transmitted from age to age unaugmented. Has this been done by us in proportion with the advancement of the other interests of life? A careful examination, recently held on that important subject, will convince every impartial observer, that popular education has not only been stationary for a long time, but that it is even on the decline. The causes are apparent. There are no adequate means to prepare an instructer specifically for his profession; and this all-important department is entirely left to chance. Where can an instructer be educated, and study the principles of his art? A public institution for this purpose does not exist in this country. Private efforts, which have been made, are highly honorable in themselves, but have as yet had little effect, for want of encouragement and patronage. The legislatures of the different states should consider this subject with greater earnestness, and should not act upon the principle that the promotion of literature and taste cannot be primary objects of political institutions. They should feel, that the education of youth, on which the welfare and destiny of the state depend, is a primary object of their attention. It is an undoubted fact, that a teacher needs as serious and thorough a preparation for his practice, as a divine, or lawyer, or physician for his; and education is surely as of great public utility, as any of the professions which are dependant on it. In fact the standard of these professions will be raised, in proportion to the general improvements in education.

Great dissatisfaction has, in different parts of the union, been expressed with our public institutions for the purpose of preliminary education, that is, such as precedes the study of the professions. The chief objection to them appears to be, that they are too limited in their literary sphere, not sufficiently

popular in their spirit, and inadequate to satisfy the interests of the present state of society, whose claims go far beyond the power and ability of the systems of education. The defects in the present organization and modes of instruction of our colleges are well known, and have, in some instances, been the subject of serious discussions. A few alterations in the old system have been adopted in consequence of these discussions, and an enlargement in the plan of usefulness has recently been attempted in Harvard college to bring it nearer to the model of a university. But the very nature of a university requires, that the study of the professions should form its basis and its principal object, to which all other pursuits ought to be placed in remote or immediate relation, as contributing to the liberal education, or to the ornamental accomplishments of a professional student.

In this respect, also, the new institution of London, strictly speaking, does not possess the qualifications of a university, however extensive and excellent its plan may otherwise be. The statement lately published by the Council of that establishment, explanatory of its nature and object, shows that the studies, which constitute the essential parts of a liberal education *preparatory* to a professional course, are the leading object, and occupy the first division of the seminary; the second division comprehends the various branches of polite and general literature; and under the last head are arranged those subjects which belong to legal and medical education. In regard to the legal department in that establishment, though its success may be considered as certain, with the extent of its present means, that success will be perhaps more owing to the inherent temptations of the legal profession in England, than to the adequacy of the system pursued in the London university, in a philosophical point of view. The profession of medicine is, in fact, the only one, for the benefit of which great efforts and effectual provisions have been made. We have had occasion to speak in the preceding article of the state of medical education in England. London, like other large cities, concentrates all the advantages, from which alone the systematic knowledge of this science, and medical skill and experience can be derived. The success of the plan to attract the most eminent teachers, who are now lecturing on the medical sciences in different parts of that immense city, will place this department above all other establishments of the kind in Great Britain. Nothing exceeds the efficacy of the united

powers of able men 'stimulated to the utmost exertion of their faculties, by closer rivalship, larger emolument, and wider reputation.' There is one inconvenience in the system of the London institution,—the entire exclusion, not only of theology, but of any religious instruction or discipline whatever. Necessity, it is true, produced this defect. For a great majority of persons dissenting from the established church, render a uniform system of religious education far less practicable in England than in Scotland, which has but a small minority of dissenters. Since the fundamental principle of the institution is, that it shall be accessible to students of all religious denominations, and not exclude dissenters, as Oxford, or admit them under degrading restrictions, as Cambridge, it has been found utterly impossible to introduce the study of that important profession, without injuring the consistency of the plan, or giving offence to the public. The education of the clergy of the established church is, of course, left to Oxford and Cambridge, which offer superior advantages for that purpose.

The greatest claim, however, which the London institution has on the gratitude and patronage of the English public, is the good preliminary education it affords to those who intend to devote themselves to the learned professions of law and medicine. The extravagant abuses into which the practice of these two professions has sunk, on account of the want of a liberal education, which alone renders men, engaged in those professions, worthy of the confidence the public must place in them, will, no doubt, under the influence of the new establishment, gradually decrease, and finally, as far as possible, be abolished. It is, indeed, matter of great surprise, that England has, till now, borne with the existing state of things, without the least effort to obviate its pernicious tendency. All the statements, published within the last two years, agree in the fact, that among the whole number of physicians, only one hundred; among the six thousand members of the College of Surgeons, only six; and among the eight thousand attorneys, only eight, are graduates of either of the English colleges. Does this fact leave any doubt in regard to the causes, that have operated upon the present state of the English population?

But we return to our more immediate subject. The great solicitude expressed by Washington, in the last days of his eventful life, on the subject of scientific education in this coun-

try, shows the depth of his philosophical mind, the extent of his philanthropy, and his ardent desire to secure the welfare of his country by giving a salutary impulse to all its great interests. The subject, which has, several times, been submitted to the consideration of Congress, and is, at present, acknowledged by many to be of paramount importance, the establishment of a national university, in a central part of the United States, was first proposed by Washington in the following expressive words, as written in his will; 'It has always been a source of serious regret with me, to see the youth of these United States sent to foreign countries for the purpose of education, often before their minds are formed, or they had imbibed any adequate ideas of the happiness of their own; contracting, too frequently, not only habits of dissipation and extravagance, but principles unfriendly to republican government, and to the true aud genuine liberties of mankind, which thereafter are rarely overcome. For these reasons it has been my ardent wish to see a plan devised, on a liberal scale, which would have a tendency to spread systematic ideas through all the parts of this rising empire; thereby to do away local attachments and state-prejudices, as far as the nature of things would, or indeed ought to admit, from our national councils. Looking anxiously forward to the accomplishment of so desirable an object as this is (in my estimation), my mind has not been able to contemplate any plan more likely to effect the measure, than the establishment of an university in a central part of the United States, to which the youths of fortune and talents from all parts thereof, may be sent for the completion of their education, in all the branches of polite literature, in arts and sciences, of acquiring knowledge in the principles of politics and good government, and (a matter of infinite importance in my judgment) by associating with each other, and forming friendships in juvenile years, be enabled to free themselves, in a proper degree, from their local prejudices and habitual jealousies, which have just been mentioned, and which, when carried to excess, are never-failing sources of disquietude to the public mind, and pregnant of mischievous consequences to the country, under these impressions, so fully dilated.'

Had this noble plan been carried into effect at a period, when the evils foreseen by the father of his country were still at a greater distance than they are now, the Union would, at the

present time, have been in the full enjoyment of the fruits which his intuitive perception anticipated. One generation would have grown up, the children of this benign, intellectual parent. How much fierce contention, arising from the insanity of party spirit and mercenary politics, might have been spared! But we trust that it is not yet too late for the accomplishment of the end, notwithstanding the powerful tendency of the separate states to an insulated political existence, and the multiplication of powerful local interests, which make it next to impossible to devise acceptable plans for any object of general concern.

The course of these remarks now leads us to some observations on the nature, scope, and usefulness of universities, especially of those established on the continent of Europe. The richness of this subject must lead us to be brief, in dwelling on the separate topics comprised in it. Our remarks will be general, with a view to afford our readers an opportunity of discussing the comparative merits of the literary institutions of different countries, in such a manner, as may assist in rendering them competent judges in deciding the question which has, for some time, attracted the attention of the English public; 'What most effectually administers to the present wants of the nation? The institution of new universities on a different plan, or the enlargement of the plan of the old ones?' We begin with an historical sketch of universities in general, to which we shall annex a concise description of a German university. The latter division of our subject may perhaps be postponed to a future number of this journal.

Universities were, originally, privileged communities of instructers and students, invested with limited or unlimited power of establishing statutes and laws for their discipline and modes of teaching; with the rights of exercising their own jurisdiction; of appointing magistrates, instructers, and other academic officers from their own body; of conferring degrees, and of sending delegates to the seat of government. They, besides, enjoyed immunity from certain taxes and other onerous duties, and were independent in all their proceedings, as far as they did not interfere with the law of the state. Privileges of such a nature became the source of great abuse and extravagance. Italy, the mother of universities, first bestowed these liberal advantages on Bologna, the oldest literary establishment in Europe. Theodosius the younger, laid the founda-

tion of the *Instituto delle Scienze* in that city, of which the study of the law was the main object, as early as the year 425. The period, however, at which Bologna assumed the constitution of a university, is to be dated from 1140, when the legal faculty began to confer degrees on distinguished members of its community. At this time and during the three subsequent centuries, similar Italian colleges constituted themselves into bodies, and were endowed by the pope or by princes. Padua, Lucca, Pisa, Pavia, Parma, Florence, Cremona, Mantua, Milan, and Siena, once famous seats of learning, and rich colonies of scholars, have, ages since, passed through all the stages of existence, and have either declined, or are now lingering under a jealous or despotic government.

Europe is greatly indebted to Italy for the first experiments of this kind, which not rarely, however, disturbed her own tranquillity, and involved her states in considerable dangers, against which other countries could guard themselves, by limiting academic liberty, and by reducing the too great prerogatives of the students. The legal privileges and exemptions of the academic population have been nowhere greater than at Padua, surnamed *la Dotta*. Some thousands of students, divided into distinct *nations* (a general custom of the oldest universities on the continent of Europe), were not only exempted from paying duties, taxes, and tolls, but the public treasuries even granted them compensations for everything of which they happened to be robbed. The little restraint, under which an indulgent discipline placed them, and the independent spirit with which they managed their own affairs, often extorted bitter complaints from the inhabitants of the cities in which the universities were established. The students at Padua elected the representatives of their nations, the president and counsellors of the university, and, for some time, even their instructers, whom they likewise dismissed at pleasure. The consequences resulting from this wild extravagance, were severely felt by the rulers, who had proceeded with an inconsiderate liberality, in order to procure popularity to their institutions, principally among foreigners, who were allured by greater privileges than the home students. The early records of Bologna inform us, that the students from the north of Europe were placed on an equal footing with the senators of that city.

The numerous literary institutions of Spain, venerable for their antiquity, flourished when everything else was flourishing

in that beautiful country. The same causes that have imparted a torpor to her political frame, have benumbed her mental energies. Several of her universities have disappeared, as that of Toledo, in New Castile, since 1808, formerly celebrated for its medical faculty. Others have been stationary for centuries, or declining, as that of Salamanca in Leon, of Barcelona in Catalonia, and of Santiago in Gallicia. Ecclesiastical education is their principal object. The hierarchical government, watching over their constitution, suffers no liberal idea to spring up, or to enter within their walls. The same observation applies to Coimbra, the only university of Portugal, transferred to that city in 1308 from Lisbon, where it had been in operation since 1291. It contains, however, in spite of the wretched political state of the country, one thousand students, and all the requisites of a good university, except the spirit.

The most richly endowed universities of Europe are, as is well known, Oxford and Cambridge, the only establishments of the kind in England, before the recent organization of the London institution, the success of which is already such as to satisfy the most sanguine hopes. Oxford surpasses Cambridge in the amount of its funds and revenues, and in the extent of its privileges. Oxford has nineteen colleges and six halls; Cambridge, but twelve. Oxford has nearly three thousand students; Cambridge, one thousand five hundred. The library of Oxford is said to contain, besides thirty thousand manuscripts, five hundred thousand printed volumes; that of Cambridge, two hundred thousand volumes. Oxford sends, in union with the city, four delegates to Parliament; Cambridge, two. Both universities, however, have, from the time of their foundation (Cambridge adopted its present constitution in 1280) to this day, faithfully defended and preserved their independence in the administration of their affairs. Their jurisdiction, in fact, not only extends over their own academic population, but partly, also, over the cities in which they are established. This prerogative, together with the right of sending delegates to parliament, is peculiar to England, in which the other parts of Great Britain have no share.

The university of Dublin has never risen to great notice, although its graduates are admitted *ad eundem* at Oxford. It has but one building, with three hundred students living in it. The Irish gentry, from motives of pride and fashion, still continue to prefer the English colleges. Theological education

for the Roman catholic church, is conducted with success in the royal college of St Patrick, at Maynooth, in Ireland.

The course of instruction, on the British system, is most thorough at Edinburgh, the first of the universities of Scotland, which are both schools and colleges, as the English universities formerly were. The college was founded in that city in 1681, and has been particularly famous, at all times, for distinguished professors in the medical department. A large building, for the use of the university, was commenced in 1789, but is not yet finished. The library contains but fifty thousand volumes, and the number of students is about one thousand seven hundred. The classical High School, in the same city, teaches the preliminary branches of knowledge requisite for admission into colleges. Great exertions have been recently made for the improvement of the system of education at Glasgow; and the late professor Jardine describes its success, as chiefly owing to the beneficial influence, which public lectures derive from private tuition. But the general acquaintance possessed in this country of English institutions of every description, leads us to pass the more hastily over them all, and to proceed to the continent.

The universities of France and Germany are very different from those of Great Britain, in their general spirit and their modes of instruction. Paris may justly be called the prototype of the literary institutions of Germany; and these again have become models for the universities of Holland, the Netherlands, Denmark, Russia, and Poland. A brief sketch, therefore, of the rise and progress of the university of Paris, cannot but give pleasure to those who take an interest in the advancement of learning.

This institution owes its fame and prosperity to the liberal principles, on which its constitution rests; principles, that will be the main spring of success, wherever they are used for a good purpose, and put into vigorous operation. Paris exhibited an illustrious example of a free and independent community of instructers and students, who had constituted themselves into several bodies, without the aid or interference of the royal government, as early as the beginning of the twelfth century. A number of literary men, by the novelty of their lectures on subjects of divinity, philosophy, and rhetoric, and by the charms and usefulness of their instruction, attracted crowds of pupils not only from France, but from many other countries of Europe,

which their celebrity had reached. No princely influence exercised power over its origin; no charters were petitioned for; no grants and privileges requested. The professors, in the successive ages, established their rights, and confirmed their prerogatives, by their own zeal and fidelity, and framed their own constitution, which met with the tacit assent of the higher authorities; till king Philip Augustus acknowledged and sanctioned their jurisdiction, and proclaimed their independence of all royal courts. In the beginning of the thirteenth century (1206) the professors of the various departments of science and art, who had hitherto formed several bodies, and elected their several presidents, formally agreed to choose one president in common. From this time they formed one community. The students of the institution, then for the first time styled *universitas magistrorum et scholarium*, were divided into four *nations*, the French (including the Italians and the Spaniards), the Picardian, the Norman, and the English, to which last the Germans, and those from countries north of Germany, belonged, and which was afterwards styled the German. Each of these four *nations*, so called, had its own principal *(procurator)*, its own treasury, and its own statutes and laws, and was considered as a literary association or fraternity. The first instructers in Paris did not receive salaries from the state. Regular professorships and fixed salaries were unknown before the sixteenth century. The students paid certain fees for each lecture, and attended, at their own discretion, as many as the plan of their studies required. The pecuniary advantages derived from lecturing, depended exclusively on the knowledge, ability, and popularity of the teachers. A man of talents and high reputation commanded a large audience, which procured him an ample income. The early records of Paris mention, also, liberal presents occasionally offered to the most eminent instructers, by the magistrates of the city, who, in order to promote their own interests, endeavored to secure the permanent residence of distinguished literary characters, as the greatest ornaments of their metropolis. The rapidly increasing number of students and instructers, however, rendered, on the part of the government, several regulations necessary for the security of the city. An encroachment upon the academic rights, and a public offence, for which the due satisfaction, solicited by the principals, was refused by the royal court, exasperated the students, and occasioned a rebellion, the re-

sult of which was, that, in 1229, the greater part of the instructers and students quitted Paris. Several of the instructers, men of great talents and great fame, accepted the liberal offers of Henry the Third of England, and went over to Oxford. The French government, soon conscious of its obstinacy, felt deeply the loss it had sustained, and proposed a reconciliation, which was effected through the mediation of Pope Gregory the Ninth. The rights and privileges of the university were now established with greater firmness, and to a greater extent. From that time a new impulse was given to the energies of the university, and it shone forth with brighter lustre than ever, under the supervision of the government.

The origin of academic degrees, and of the faculties, is involved in obscurity. The first doctor of divinity is said to have been nominated in 1150. It is, however, an unquestionable fact, that examinations, disputations, and promotions to the highest honors, were common as early as in the beginning of the thirteenth century, and indispensable for a public teacher. In order to maintain the authority and dignity attached by the first professors to their stations, the state and the then existing faculty of the seven liberal pursuits *(facultas artium)*, namely, grammar, dialectics (logic), rhetoric, music, arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy, passed a law, which required evidence of the competency of any man, who offered himself as an instructer, either public or private. For this purpose, the aspirants were obliged to submit to several successive examinations; and when they were found to possess the requisite attainments and qualifications, an appropriate degree was conferred on them, under certain solemnities and ceremonies, congenial with the spirit of the age. A graduate of the lowest degree was called *baccalaureus*, and, by virtue of this rank, allowed, under the protection of the academical laws, to give private tuition to the students. He himself derived as great benefits from the performance of his duties, as the pupils did from receiving his instructions. For the continuation of his studies soon enabled the *baccalaureus* to aspire, by a second examination, to the degree of a *licentiatus*, which procured him a *license* to appear before the public, as an accomplished instructer, no longer under the control of the laws of the faculty; and after the payment of a certain amount of money for the insignia of his new station, he became the colleague of the professors, and partaker of all their rights and privileges, and

bore the name, at Paris, of *artium liberalium magister;* at Bologna, of *philosophiæ doctor*, and in Germany, of *philosophiæ doctor et artium liberalium magister.*

The philosophical faculty of the seven liberal pursuits maintained the preëminence of rank and honor, even after the incorporation of the faculties of theology, law, and medicine. But soon after this union, intellectual superiority yielded, in civil and political preponderance, to her younger, more practical sisters. The four nations remained in the possession of the *facultas artium*, and continued to elect four *procuratores*, who, together with the deans of the faculties, represented the university, under the executive power of the president. Thus early did Paris enter upon the splendid career, which has, in the course of centuries, operated so favorably on the character of man, and all the civil and political institutions of the civilized world. It has undergone many temporary changes and serious misfortunes, the greatest of which was its total abolition during the French revolution; but it, likewise, has enjoyed the constant veneration of the kings of France, who have distinguished it by a liberality almost incredible. The restoration to its former honors was effected during the reign of Napoleon. It has now five faculties, namely, of theology, law, medicine, philology, and of the natural sciences. The number of students is about four thousand. The public lectures are *gratis*. Paris contains, moreover, four colleges, each of which is larger than the largest college in America.

The national university of France had already assumed a regular and solid form, when the German emperors undertook the foundation of similar institutions. Accordingly, Charles the Fourth copied the constitution and organization of Prague and Vienna from that of Paris, rather than from the Italian and English universities. Even the ancient division into four nations (namely, into those of Bohemia, Poland, Bavaria, and Saxony), was retained in both cities. A contest for preëminence among these four nations, caused at Prague an emigration of several thousands, who established a university at Leipsic, and divided themselves into four nations, those of Meissen, Saxony, Bavaria, and Poland; which division is still preserved at Leipsic, and forms, as the only relic of those ages, a strange anomaly in the present order of things. None of the other numerous German universities, founded since the end of the fifteenth century, has admitted that division. The privileges

granted to the oldest institutions, were of a very comprehensive nature, including legislative power, which has since been taken from them. Nor has political precaution thought it consistent with prudence, to confer this power on any of the new ones. There is, in other respects, a great diversity in the rights of the various establishments; yet an independent jurisdiction and free choice of new modes of teaching are common to all. The popes confirmed, sanctioned, and protected these privileges for three complete centuries. After the destruction of the power of the popes in Germany, by the success of the Reformation, the emperor succeeded to their authority over the universities; and since the dissolution of the German empire by Napoleon, every petty prince possesses and exercises it within his own jurisdiction.

Two ever memorable events breathed a new life into the universities, and directed their spirit to higher ends; the invention of the art of printing, and the reformation of Luther. The vast multiplication of books, since the invention of the art of printing, has shortened the time formerly spent in a professional course of study, and has brought the scattered intellectual treasures of every science under one comprehensive view, so as to be easily surveyed by the student, who is thus led more directly to the sources of knowledge. Seven years, at least, were, before that period, necessary to attend upon and to write professional lectures. Soon afterwards the whole academical course was finished in six years, and then in five years; the same time, which is still devoted to ecclesiastical education in Ireland and other Roman catholic countries. At present, four years are sufficient at Glasgow for the same studies; and a course of law and medicine is completed in four years at Paris, Padua, Barcelona, and Coimbra. The regular time of professional study in protestant Germany is three years, part of which, and very often, a fourth additional year is spent in other liberal pursuits, and in the acquisition of general information. Difficult, indeed, would be the task of obtaining, in so short a space, the large amount of knowledge required by the governments, for admission to the various offices in civil life, unless the student entered the university rich in preliminary acquirements. Accordingly, the German schools, gymnasia, or academies, lay a solid foundation of thorough classical knowledge, mathematics, logic, history, geography, and, as there is in that country no such intermediate

establishment as a college, include all those studies that are pursued in the English institutions of that name. The universities are established in Germany for the purpose of professional education, accompanied by all the auxiliary branches of art and science, which are of equal importance, and have an equal claim on public patronage, with the professions.

Dr Johnson's positive remark, that the invention of the art of printing had completely destroyed the value of lectures, may be true in reference to the English colleges, and those organized on the same plan; but it is most erroneous in respect to the continent of Europe, especially Germany, where lectures are the very soul of instruction, and the spring of the rapid success and celebrity of her literary institutions. The art of speaking well before an audience on a scientific subject, is, on account of the honor attached to that art, and on account of the great competition in all the branches of science, wrought up to the same degree of perfection, as with us the art of speaking well at the bar. The interest which the instructer feels in his subject, and the animation which he shows in explaining it, operate most powerfully on the hearers. Lectures read, can, for want of this animation, have but an indifferent effect. The branches of theology and law, logic, philosophy, mathematics, history, general literature, natural history, belles-lettres, are and must be communicated to the auditors, by means of that academical art. Manuals, or text-books, are guides, for the purpose of facilitating the attendance on lectures, either by a previous perusal, or subsequent reperusal of the subject in question; but without the animating influence of oral communication, a scientific compendium will remain a dead letter, which the memory perhaps retains, but which does not enlighten the intellect. Let the faithful instructer have unlimited freedom in his department, and let him elevate it by constant application, fervent zeal, and external encouragement. The injuries done to the advancement of learning, by laws or habits confining the acquisition of a science to the study of a particular book, or some established method, are sufficiently known from the history of colleges and universities. Sir Isaac Newton's synthetical modes of teaching, in his time the best method in Europe, were secured to Cambridge by the institution of the mathematical tripos. The consequence of this has been, that this science has become stationary in England, while the continental nations, who are not restrained by any

laws or text-books in their modes of instruction, have applied the purely analytic method to the same science, and carried it to greater perfection. The honors, however, that are held out at Cambridge to students of a certain proficiency in mathematics, have powerfully operated on ambition, in that department, although they have repressed the other studies, for which no adequate encouragement existed. The classical tripos recently established in the same university, for the purpose of restoring the balance, does not seem as yet to have proved successful.

The neglect of the art of oral communication has frustrated all attempts at procuring popularity for philosophical pursuits at Oxford and Cambridge. Dr Whately complains bitterly of the fact, that the study of logic, which is one of the most popular pursuits in the German universities, could never gain ground at Oxford. The cause of this lies in the organization of the English colleges, where the professors are in the situation of petty, comfortable monarchs, who have no competitors to fear; and where the tedious labor of training and hearing recitations (a labor entirely unknown in German universities) devolves principally on the tutors. There in no circumstance from which an English professor, in reading his course of lectures, can derive excitement. It has frequently been remarked, that the prohibition of receiving a fee from the students, has reduced the lectureships at Oxford and Cambridge to sinecures. In the present state of affairs, observes an intelligent reviewer, the professor can neither hope for remuneration of a pecuniary nature, nor for fame, nor, above all, for the proud consciousness of usefulness. His powers, whatever they be, will remain a secret to himself; extraordinary exertion is out of the question, and his faculties must be stinted in their growth, for want of that genial and vivifying principle, which alone can expand them into full maturity.

The effect of the Reformation, to which we attributed another impulse given to the progress of the sciences, has manifested itself most satisfactorily in the Protestant universities of Germany, which, since the beginning of the eighteenth century, may be considered the first in Europe. Previously to this period, all the universities of the country were brought to the verge of ruin, by the general devastations of the thirty years' war. It is a well known fact, that Germany surpasses all other countries, both in the number and excellence of her universities; and no country is under greater obligations to such insti-

tutions, than she is to hers. Thirty years ago she could boast of more than forty universities in a prosperous condition.* Seriously affected by the wars of the French revolution, the flourishing state to which most of them have again arrived, since the restoration of peace in Europe, must be highly gratifying to every philosophic observer. German universities have, at all times, been objects of great curiosity and deep interest to travellers of different countries. Intelligent foreigners, who have had an opportunity of forming an intimate acquaintance with their scope and excellence, and who, for this reason, ought to be considered as competent judges, have expressed the highest admiration for them. Englishmen, who seldom learn to look, with an impartial eye, beyond the limits of their own territory, have not rarely given the preference in this particular to Germany, whither they repair for the purpose of finishing their education. It is true, they have sometimes attempted to stigmatize their unruly spirit, which, however, is made to appear in a very invidious light, from the dishonest and exaggerated reports of the public prints and books of travels. It is not to be wondered at, that occasional riots take place in cities, where, not rarely, two thousand students, between the ages of eighteen and twenty-four, are as-

* We annex here a list of the most distinguished of them; some of which are now annihilated, while others have since been added to the number. Prague (1348), Vienna (1356), Heidelberg (1386), Cologne (1388), Erfurt (1392, annihilated in 1816), Leipsic (1409), Rostock (1419), Greifswalde (1456), Freiburg (1457), Triers (1472), Ingolstadt (1472, since 1802 transferred to Landshut), Tubingen (1477), Mentz (1477, annihilated in 1798), Wittenberg (1502, united with Halle since 1815), Frankfort (1506, united with Breslaw since 1810), Marpurg (1527), Dillengen (1549), Jena (1558), Helmstaedt (1576, annihilated in 1809), Altdorf (1578, annihilated in 1807), Wurzburg (1582), Giessen (1607), Rinteln (1621, annihilated 1809), Strasburg (1621), Salzburg (1623, annihilated in 1810), Bamberg (1648, annihilated in 1804), Kiel (1665), Inspruck (1672, annihilated in 1810, and reëstablished in 1814), Halle (1694), Breslaw (1702), Goettingen (1734), Erlangen (1743), Berlin (1810), Bonn (1818), Munich (1825). The organization of the German universities was adopted by Alexander in establishing (1803) a new military university at Dorpat, for the benefit of the four provinces of Finland, Livonia, Esthland, and Courland. Also, Warsaw, the university of Poland, was organized in a similar manner (1816). The same spirit prevails in Copenhagen. Leyden (1575), and other institutions of Holland, formed themselves in imitation of Paris, which example was followed by Utrecht (1634), and other universities of the Netherlands.

sembled in the full bloom and vigor of youth. Unfavorable judgments have also been formed by superficial observers, from the appearance among the German students of many, for the most part foreigners, whose object is amusement and some general information, and who are free from the cares of a professional course of study. While this class of students is surrendering itself to all the indulgences of youthful excess, by far the greater part enjoy, in their closets, the purer delights of intellectual improvement. It is the former class of students, to which unprepared and heedless English travellers, generally, confine their acquaintance, either from an inability to perceive the interior organization and scope of German universities, or from the shortness of their residence at such places, or from the desire of amusing their countrymen with anecdote and gossip. It is not to be denied, that there is more or less extravagance committed in different German universities; but this is not to be considered as the measure of all the rest. The faults of one or two institutions cannot be charged on all the others, which may owe their peculiar reputation to their freedom from prevailing vices. Thus the students of Halle and Jena have the vulgar practice of drinking an immense quantity of beer or ale, a practice which the genuine student of Goettingen greatly abhors. An air of decency pervades that city, which is its fairest prerogative above other universities. Since Goettingen is neither distinguished for commerce nor manufactures, the professors and students form the first rank of society, the inhabitants of the city being, in a great measure, dependent on both. Where the students are compelled to play an inferior part in society, as in Leipsic, a city in which the mercantile spirit has the preponderance; or where they are lost in the crowd, and dazzled by the splendor of a rich capital, as in the imperial residence of Austria; or finally, where they are overbalanced by the luxurious habits of courtiers, and come into powerful collision with the officers of the royal army, as in Berlin; their character inevitably conforms to their situation.

Secret associations and clubs are rare in other institutions, and are at present unknown in Goettingen. Whenever they have, in a small degree, existed at this place, it has always been discovered, that they were brought to it by students who had previously been at other universities; they never originated in it. Conspiracies arise from imaginary or real oppression; and since the University of Goettingen is the favorite daughter of

a government which carefully avoids all offence, and most zealously promotes its welfare; its prosperity has very rarely been interrupted by any such serious disturbances, as have shaken other seats of learning. The only time, after the expulsion of Napoleon, at which Goettingen partook of the spirit of rebellion, then prevailing in many of the German universities, excited by political jealousy, was in 1817. The number of students was then for a short time reduced to seven hundred, but increased rapidly with each succeeding term, and in 1822 had again risen to more than fifteen hundred, and has continued to rise ever since.

The practice of duelling, the origin of which loses itself in the middle ages, is common to all the German universities. The laws enacted for the suppression of this evil, vary under the different governments, but are generally ineffectual. Reprehensible as the practice is, it is there attended with less mischief than might be supposed. These contests present a praiseworthy combination of discretion and valor. They are fought with a peculiar kind of swords, in the use of which the young men generally display great dexterity, because they practise this art as a branch of gymnastics, in the schools of skilful masters, authorized by the government. The duels are, accordingly, for the most part, harmless, or inflicting now and then a wound in the face, have proved fatal in very few instances; the vital parts of the body being carefully protected against all danger. The cause of these duels lies in a premature affectation of the delicate sense of honor, which revolts at the least offence. The transition of a youth from the strict discipline of a German gymnasium to an university, leaves him independent, and his own master. The point of honor, therefore, with him, often takes a wrong direction, under the influence of the prevailing idea, that the students of the several states of Germany, or of the several nations of Europe, are the representatives of their respective states or nations, for whose glory they must fight, whenever their personal feelings are injured. Any improper remark is accordingly considered a provocation, and followed by a challenge. It is matter of regret, that these feelings are too inveterate to be remedied at once. They do not, however, injure the state. The government punishes all offences of this sort according to the force of the law; but its measures are too weak in proportion to the greatness of the evil. The rigor with which the severest laws are

enforced in the military department, has made duels between officers of the army very rare. An equal severity has never been applied to universities. Its effect would be unquestionable.

But as the fact now is, great surprise has been expressed by foreigners, that this spirit of chivalry expires with the academical years. For at the entrance upon practical life, the young men devote themselves entirely to their vocation; and a duel in civil life is as great a rarity in Germany, as it is in New England. The low practice of boxing, so degrading to a gentleman, is detested in Germany, as much as it is approved in Great Britain. Men of a professional education are individually engaged in distinct pursuits which claim their whole energy, in order to arrive at reputation, which is no easy task among the crowded population of Germany. From the time they leave the University, their predominant desire for literary distinction is directed towards a certain object; and since there is a countless multitude of competitors in every profession, and department of knowledge, all the intellectual powers are stimulated to their highest action. Hence they have raised learning, in all its branches, to that degree of usefulness which combines the soundest systematic ideas with profound practical knowledge. This latter position is proved by a number of the best improvements, discoveries, and inventions, in the enjoyment of which the whole civilized world now rejoices. Universality of knowledge, the highest aim of German ambition, and general independence and tolerance of opinions, absorb all private animosity and national prejudice. Liberality in discussing the merits of domestic and foreign affairs, either in a civil, political, or literary point of view, has given great popularity to their impartial decisions. Excellence of any kind, of any age, of any country, is acknowledged and revered by them. In regard to literature, the Germans not only cultivate a taste for the classical productions of ancient and modern times, but they have, in fact, domesticated both, and imbibed their spirit. Their humanity has not a little contributed to soften down the national hatred, with which political neighbors formerly regarded each other. Their genius and philanthropy have, among the learned portion of the different nations, produced that intellectual alliance, which the Holy Alliance must respect, in order to preserve the power of the laws, and the security of the government. A serious attack upon these intellectual rights would surely be followed by fatal consequen-

ces. The rapid exchange of generous ideas given to the world as common property, through the medium of the public prints, and gaining vigor from the personal intercourse of men of different countries; the highly improved state of navigation, the great facilities of travelling, the universal interests of commerce,—all these causes have already been too powerful in their operation on civil society, and have produced a spirit too liberal, to be ever again subjected to the sway of absolute power. In this condition, the decrepid body politic of Europe may enjoy general prosperity under constitutional kings, while the western hemisphere rejoices in the blooming youth of her popular institutions, for the enjoyment of which Europe is probably too old.

The foregoing remarks on the general character of institutions for education, on their history in Europe, and on their peculiar spirit in the states of Protestant Germany, will prepare us for a more specific and detailed examination of some one of the German Universities as a specimen of the class. But this we are compelled by our limits to postpone to the next number of this Journal.

Art. V.—*La Découverte des Sources du Mississippi, et de la Rivière Sanglante. Description du Cours entier du Mississippi qui n'étoit connu que partiellement, et d'une grande partie de celui de la Rivière Sanglante, presqu'entièrement inconnue; ainsi que du Cours entier de l'Ohio. Aperçus historiques des Endroits les plus interessants qu'on y rencontre. Observations critico-philosophiques sur les Mœurs, la Religion, les Superstitions, les Costumes, les Armes, les Chasses, la Guerre, la Paix, le Dénombrement, l'Origine, &c. &c. &c. de plusieurs Nations Indiennes. Parallèle de ces Peuples avec ceux de l'Antiquité, du Moyen Age, et du Moderne. Coup d'Œil sur les Compagnies Nord-Ouest, et de la Baie d'Hudson, ainsi que sur la Colonie Selkirk. Preuves Evidentes que le Mississippi est la première Rivière du Monde.* Par J. C. Beltrami, Membre de plusieurs Académies. Nouvelle Orleans. 1824. 8vo. pp. 327.

This work, it appears, is the production of an Italian, who, we are informed, attached himself to the expedition under

colonel Long in the year 1823, and performed a part of the tour in the company of that officer. After giving the title-page of his work at length, we shall not add a single word on the subject of the book itself. What it *must* be, may be judged of sufficiently from that specimen.

To those, who have confined their attention to the practical exhibitions of that moral and physical power, which is hurrying us onward in the great career of nations, without paying much regard to the remote impelling causes of so rapid an advance; who have seen our population spread, within a comparatively short period, over sections of country more than a thousand miles westward from the original seats of its plantation upon the borders of the Atlantic, it may appear somewhat surprising, that there are yet extensive districts of the interior, which offer an attractive field for discovery to the geographical, as well as the scientific traveller. But it will readily be perceived that such an impression must be ill founded.

The two centuries which have elapsed since this continent was first submitted to the labors and scrutiny of an European population, have swept before them forests of almost interminable extent, where the deer, and the wolf, and the beaver had held divided empire with the red hunter for centuries. The same lapse of time had carried the pious and industrious descendants of the Pilgrims from the Rock of Plymouth westward, to the banks of the Mississippi and Missouri, and northward, to the Great Lakes. But it had left us uninformed of the geographical features of vast portions of country surrounding the heads of these great waters, and almost totally so, of those minuter facts from which an accurate knowledge of the climate and soil, the relative astronomical position, and the natural history of those regions, could be drawn.

Our forefathers found their faculties and resources sufficiently taxed, in clearing and improving the soil; in establishing those social institutions which formed the germ of our present political system; and in maintaining those relations with their Indian and Canadian neighbors, which pressed so long and so heavily upon them. The means and capacities of those early times were too nearly balanced with their wants, to leave much superfluous wealth or enterprise to be employed in public examinations, not immediately necessary to the practical concerns of life. Few travellers would be found to explore distant regions, when life was the forfeit of every intrusion into the

Indian territories, and when whole settlements were frequently crowded into temporary wooden forts, to protect themselves from the tomahawk and the scalping-knife.

It is doubtless attributable to these circumstances, superadded to the low state of printing, that so few travellers appear in the records of our colonial literature. The country had not outgrown this state of things, when the controversies which led to the American Revolution began, and it was not until after the successful termination of that struggle, and of the Indian wars which succeeded it, that our population began to extend itself fearlessly beyond the Alleganies, and towards the Lakes. But even then, the impulse of emigration was not directed through the agency of the press. The hardy explorer contented himself with verbal narrations, which were repeated from neighborhood to neighborhood. Personal observation supplied the place of books. Settlement kept an exact pace with discovery; and few purchased land, and still fewer removed, without previously examining and judging for themselves. There was a spirit of manly enterprise and personal devotedness in the transactions of that era, which indicated the speedy triumph of the plough and the sickle, over the western wilderness. The first descriptions of those inviting regions were gleaned from the accounts of hunters. Pamphlets and newspapers came in as auxiliaries. That intrepid race of pioneers were free from the mania which has been somewhat too prevalent in our day. They kept no journals, and wrote no books. The great business of this period was to act, and they have furnished an example of practical principles, pursued to practical results, of which the annals of the settlement and progress of nations do not at all furnish a parallel.

Still, in surveying the long interval between the first systematic efforts of the western Indians to check the advance of emigration on the frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania, and the war brought to a close by the successful operations of general Wayne in 1794, it is worthy of remark, that so few writers appear to diversify that active period of political and economical and religious discussion, under the popular name of *travellers*. Travellers there were indeed, in the infant days of our settlement, but their remarks were almost wholly confined to the portions of territory situated along the Atlantic border. Their works were published and intended for the information of readers in Europe, and appear to have had but little circulation here, and are now rarely to be met with. The

work of Smith alone, is sufficient to make us regret that our ancestors did not more frequently record the interesting events of those times.

Of those few who pushed their adventures or researches into the *terra incognita*, bounded, previously to the peace of Paris, by the Alleganies, we do not know of any name which has any pretensions to be placed on a level with that of Jefferson. His 'Notes on Virginia,' though not published as travels, are yet the result of the inquisitive spirit of travels, and afford a model for philosophical inquiry into the great moral and physical truths, affecting the progress of civilization and science, which we should be glad to see oftener imitated. The travels of Bartram may be referred to, as a monument to mark the recession of an age which did not appreciate his favorite topic. Pownall and Wynne do not properly fall within the scope of these remarks.

After the mention of the foregoing names, we do not now recollect any, who have more pretensions to notice than Carver, Long (an interpreter in Burgoyne's army), Adair, and Henry; and their works, destitute of all severity of research, and loose and unsatisfactory in matter and manner, are principally engrossed with the discussion of Indian affairs.

Up to the close of the American Revolution, our best and most copious information respecting the geography, history, Indian population, and the general characteristic features and productions of the entire portion of America northwest of the Allegany chain, was derived from the French missionary fathers; who, at an early day, traversed those immense regions under the strong, but delusive hope of converting to Christianity populous bands of hunters and warriors, roaming without restraint through a wilderness which spontaneously supplied them with all the necessaries and requisites of life. But D'Ablon and Sagard, Charlevoix and Lescarbot, like the bulk of those who preceded or followed them, must be read with discriminating attention. The burden of these works, is the conversion of the Indians. This was the first and the last object of the government which sanctioned their labors; of the religious orders who employed them; and of the missionaries themselves. To acknowledge a failure in their mission, was to prepare the way for their own disgrace; and here, we may conclude, is one cause of the exaggerated accounts, which were published of their success, in bringing within the pale of the

Catholic church whole villages, and even tribes. Charlevoix was the most respectable writer of this class, but even Charlevoix has his defects.

It is not our object to go into any critical examination of works, which are well known to our readers, and upon which the voice of contemporary writers has long since been pronounced. Nor shall we stop to inquire into the comparative merits of Chastellux, and Volney, and Chateaubriand, travellers of the same country with the missionary fathers, but of a different age and different stamp. For a similar reason, we shall pass over the volumes of Mackenzie, an author and discoverer, of whose personal observations time attests the truth; but whose route of discovery lay exclusively through the territories of the Canadas, Hudson's Bay, and the ill-starred colony of Ossinaboina.

It will be sufficient for our purpose if we show, that previously to our separation from the mother country, and even up to our own times, we have been indebted, almost exclusively, to foreign sources for our information of the transmontane regions; and that neither as colonies, nor as a separate nation, had we discharged our duty to ourselves, by furthering the great work of useful discovery.

The public mind either seemed satisfied with the reports of missionaries and traders, or was not roused to a proper sense of the importance of the subject, until the elevation of Mr Jefferson to the presidential chair in 1800. That acute observer of nature set on foot separate expeditions for exploring the sources of the Missouri and the Columbia, the Mississippi and the Arkansas. The result of these examinations was given to the public in the 'Expedition' of Lewis and Clarke, and in the exploratory travels of Pike. At the same time a partial impulse was given to private adventure, and we are indebted to this period for the 'Views of Louisiana' by Brackenridge, and the 'Historical Sketches' of Stoddard.

No further interest appears to have been excited in favor of the progress of exploration, until the termination of the war of 1812. Various causes tended to accelerate emigration towards the West. The demand for information from that quarter was urgent throughout the whole line of Atlantic states, and every thing in the shape of personal observations, was eagerly purchased and eagerly read. The supply was soon adequate to the demand. But the market for books, like the market for

corn, may be overstocked. A sickly growth of productions sprung up, out of which we scarce recollect one, with the exception of Drake's 'Picture of Cincinnati,' and perhaps 'Darby's Louisiana,' which deserves to be recalled from the oblivion into which they have sunk.

Such was the state of information up to about 1818. During this, and the following year, the strong desire of making discoveries in our western country, more particularly in reference to its botany and mineralogy, and their kindred topics, allured several individuals to travel in those regions upon private account. The result of this impulse is, perhaps, sufficiently comprehended in Nuttall's 'Travels in Arkansas,' Beck's 'Gazetteer of Illinois and Missouri,' and the 'View of Western Mines and Minerals.' But a more considerable effort under higher auspices was made. Mr Calhoun, acting on the policy which had been introduced and sanctioned by Mr Jefferson, ordered a detachment of troops to ascend the Missouri and take post on the Yellow Stone river; with a view, in part, to cover the observations of the topographical engineers and naturalists, who were despatched to examine and report upon the natural features and productions of that imperfectly known region. This design, although partially frustrated by the refusal of Congress to appropriate the necessary funds, and by the haste with which interesting regions were traversed, resulted in the 'Expedition to the Rocky Mountains, under the command of Major Stephen H. Long,' reviewed in a former number of this Journal. Little has occurred to change the views therein expressed. We deem the work a valuable accession to our stock of travels, which may be safely referred to, as to its principal topics, by all who take an interest in the subjects brought into discussion. Ampler means for making observations, and more time and scrutiny devoted to collateral inquiries, in order to determine points which are left in doubt, would have removed several objections which have been made to this work. But we are not disposed to find fault with observers, who have evinced so much zeal in their researches, and added so considerably to the dominions of natural science, merely because, under more favorable auspices, they might have accomplished more. The public are indebted to Dr James, for the judicious manner in which he has accomplished the task of a compiler, from the manuscript notes of the party, and still more so for his geological and botanical observations

upon the desert plains, and snowy eminences, which fell within his track.

The entire field of the observations recorded in Long's first 'Expedition' (with unimportant exceptions) lies south of the Missouri. To investigate the regions north of that stream, and extending northeastwardly to include the Upper Lakes and the sources of the Mississippi, Governor Cass, of Michigan, set on foot an expedition under the sanction of the government, in 1819. This expedition, of which an account has been published, accomplished its object, during the following year. But the immense field which it traversed, and the number of large rivers tributary to the lakes and the Mississippi, which the party could not explore, rendered further examinations desirable. To effect this object, the active and distinguished officer, who had at once planned and executed the outlines of this survey, addressed a memoir to the Secretary of War, recommending further examinations, in detail, of the northwestern regions. We will quote the object of the proposed examinations, as expressed in the memoir. 'Officers employed upon such services, should be directed to observe the natural appearances of the country; its soil, timber, and productions; its general face and character; the height, direction, and composition of its hills; the number, size, rapidity, &c. of its streams; its geological structure and mineralogical products; and any facts, which may enable the public to appreciate its importance in the scale of territorial acquisitions, or which may serve to enlarge the sphere of natural science.'* In estimating the streams, respecting which it was deemed desirable to procure more accurate information than could be obtained from 'the vague and contradictory accounts of Indians and Indian traders,'† the St Peter's and Red River of lake Winnipeek, as far as the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude, were deemed of paramount interest.

Such, agreeably to our means of information, were the secret springs of the 'Expedition to the Source of the St Peter's River,' &c. After some delay and hesitancy in its organization, colonel Long, who had conducted the previous journey to the Rocky Mountains, was assigned to this service. Two naturalists, a graduate of the military academy, acting as astronomer, and a landscape-painter, were associated. Dr James

* Detroit, September 20, 1820. † Ib.

declining to resume the situation he occupied in the former expedition, Mr Keating was selected to keep the minutes of the journey, under the somewhat too formal name of 'Historiographer.'

The party left Philadelphia on the thirtieth of April, 1823, and passing westward, by the route of Wheeling, Columbus, Wayne, and Chicago, struck the Mississippi at Prairie du Chien. From this point, a small escort of troops was added, under command of lieutenant Scott. The land party were eight days in travelling to Fort St Anthony, at the mouth of the St Peter's. The distance is stated at two hundred and eleven miles. Those who ascended by water, performed the journey in a little less time. The distance they traversed is estimated at two hundred and twenty miles.

At St Anthony, some changes were made in the escort, and lieutenant Denny joined it. To facilitate the ascent of the St Peter's the expedition was divided, part going by land, and part in canoes. The latter ascended no higher than the 'Crescent,' a name bestowed upon the bend of the river, one hundred and thirty miles (by water) above the fort, where they unfortunately upset their canoes, either damaged or lost their stores, and determined to complete the ascent of the valley by land. For this purpose horses were furnished by the party on shore, part of the guard of soldiers was sent back to the fort, and an over-land expedition was formed. The attempt to trace the channel of the river was given up. They still, however, kept near the river, and occasionally saw it, and visited it. They found primitive rocks in its bed in latitude 44° 41′ 45″, which they infer to be about the parellel in which governor Cass's party saw the last granite formations, in their descent of the Mississippi in 1820.

They continued the ascent to Big Stone lake, three hundred and twenty-five miles by land, and five hundred by water, as estimated, from the Mississippi. Above this lake, the St Peter's dwindles to a stream seven yards wide, but may still be ascended as far as the Coteau des Prairies, a ridge intervening between the waters of the Mississippi and Missouri; of which, it would have been extremely interesting to receive some account. No observations appear to have been made upon the atmospheric temperature, but from the nature and growth of the forest trees and plants, which the party witnessed upon the lower part of the river (*Narrative*, vol. I. p. 233)

it may be inferred that it possesses a temperate climate.* The rattlesnake, they were told, has been killed as far north as its source. The prairies, in some parts, present a rich, black soil, covered with luxuriant grasses; in others, they are sandy and sterile. The stream itself, they remark, is not calculated to become of much importance, considered as a channel of communication with the North. And if ever the commerce of that region shall justify any attempt to improve the natural channels of communication, which, by the way, we seriously doubt, it will be found that the route to Red river, through the river De Corbeau and Otter Tail lake, affords the greatest facilities.

The St Peter's, in its whole length, lies in the territories of the Dacota, or Sioux nation, estimated by Mr Keating at twenty-five thousand souls. This estimate is, we think, about fifteen thousand too high. From Big Stone lake, a journey of three miles brought the party to the head of lake Travers, which has its outlet northward, through Red river and lake Winnepeek, into Hudson's Bay. Along the line of this route, keeping for the most part near the water courses, the party proceeded to Pembina. Here they exchanged their horses for Chippewa canoes, pursued the current of Red river to lake Winnepeek, thence, by the usual route of the traders, to river Winnepeek, up that stream to the lake of the Woods, and thence through Rainy river and Rainy lake, and the connecting chain of waters, to fort William, on the north shore of lake Superior. At the last point, the party abandoned their canoes, and proceeded in an open boat around the Canadian shores of the lake, to its outlet, the river St Mary's, and thence down that stream to the Falls, or (as we perceive the term to be sanctioned by usage) Sault Sainte Marie (M. T.), where the 'Narrative' of the Expedition properly closes. The gentlemen of the party continued in their boat to Michilimackinac, and returning through the lakes, by the way of Detroit, Buffalo, and Niagara, reached Philadelphia on the twenty-sixth of October, having been absent a little short of six months, and travelled, by esti-

* From the comparative tables of Dr Lovel, Fort St Anthony appears to possess the mean annual temperature of Eastport (Maine), situated in the same parallel; with this difference, that the summers on the Mississippi are much hotter, and the winters much colder, than in the corresponding latitude on the Atlantic.

mation, upwards of four thousand five hundred miles, averaging over twenty-five miles per diem, all stops and delays included.

It is not our intention, at the present time, to enter into an examination of the work, which was published as the result of this Expedition. Shortly after its appearance, it was reviewed in this Journal; and although the writer of the present article might not feel himself able to unite in all the opinions expressed on that occasion of the merit of the work, it will be inexpedient, after so long a lapse of time, to engage in a renewed examination of it. Our object, at present, is to offer our readers some notices of an important member of the family of North American Indians, the description of which occupies a considerable space in the 'Narrative' of Colonel Long's Expedition;—we mean the Chippewas. This nation, from their remote and secluded position, on our extreme northwestern frontiers, have hitherto been less perfectly known to us, than the Shawanoes and Wyandots, and other more southerly tribes, whom it was our fate to encounter, at an earlier period, both in the council and in the field. Though speaking one of the great parent languages, which characterize the Indians of our continent, they had separated from the Algonquins, who retain the original tongue, and migrated westward, before the arrival of the French in the St Lawrence. They were first brought to our notice by the missionary writers, under the appellations of 'Ouchepouas' and 'Saulteurs.' The term 'Chippeways,' which occurs in Washington's report of his mission to Le Bœuf, addressed to governor Dinwiddie, very nearly preserves the sounds represented by the modern orthography of the word.

The main body of the tribe is now placed where it was found by the earliest discoverers, upon the shores of lake Superior, extending northward with the boundary line of the Union, westward to the Mississippi and Red river, and southerly to the source of Black river, and the northern curve of Green Bay. In a message communicated to the senate, by the president of the United States in 1825, the whole number of Chippewas and Ottowas, inhabiting the territory of Michigan, in its utmost extent, is stated at eighteen thousand four hundred and seventy-three. In an official report made the year before, the number of Chippewas inhabiting the southern shores of lake Superior, and the sources of the Mississippi, is stated at seven thousand three hundred and twenty-four. This is, of course, exclusive of the band living at Sagana, erroneously

stated by Mr Keating to be 'a tribe of Ottowas,'* and of those portions of the nation living in a dispersed state amongst the Ottowas, Pottowattomies, Kenistenos, and Monomonies, and exclusive also of the kindred tribes of the Muskegoes, and the Nöpeming Inineewuk, inhabiting the Canadian borders of lake Superior.

The country in which it has thus been their destiny to be arrested in a life of migrations and warfare, is, for the most part, sterile and forbidding. It affords few of the advantages, either for the savage or civilized state, which swell the catalogue of good things, that usually attach men to the land of their nativity. Game is pursued as the sole means of a livelihood, and they rely wholly upon the traders, who visit them annually, to make their exchanges. They are not, like the Ottowas and the Cherokees, either pseudo-agriculturists or pseudo-manufacturers. No corn is planted, and no vegetable food is raised by them. The canoe and the war-club, the drum and the pipe, the mat of rushes and the sack of bark, complete the round of their mechanical arts. The wild rice which grows spontaneously in many of their small lakes and streams, is gathered by those whose position is favorable. They live, in the main, now, as they lived before the discovery of the continent, without the use of salt! Every year is cutting short the race of furred animals, upon which they depend. Their resources are so nearly balanced with their wants, that slight casualties, such as a change in the run of animals, tempests, or sickness, subject them to privations and sufferings, at which the heart shudders. With means thus diminished, and diminishing; with a climate of almost polar severity, and a soil that cannot, to any great extent, be tilled; when the beaver and the muskrat fail, their prospect must be gloomy. Yet they are pleased with the land of their forefathers, and are happy when not under the immediate pressure of want.

It has been the misfortune of this tribe, as respects their intercourse with our government, to have left behind them in the track of their migrations, or to have sent out from the parent stock, many of their enterprising or discontented brethren, who, settling on the lands of their kindred tribes, the Ottowas and the Pottowattomies, have had the address to pass as the

* Narrative, vol. ii. p. 122.

representatives of the nation, in the several treaties and conventions which they have attended. But it is a fact, which we state broadly,—and it is the more remarkable, considering the large amount in cash paid out annually by our government to numerous tribes and half tribes—that, with the exception of one thousand dollars, pledged for the support of a school, the body of the Chippewa nation do not receive, and have never received, a dollar from the United States Treasury, in the shape of annuities. That their name is in several instances recited in our public treaties, previous to the year 1825, if we except the single instance of the treaty of Sagana, is attributable to the circumstance just mentioned.

Their political feelings, until within a short period, have not been of a character friendly to the American government. They were formerly passionately attached to the French, and subsequently as much so to the English. The withdrawing, however, of the fur trade within our limits, from the hands of foreigners, and the intercourse which has been established with the Chippewas, has done much to alleviate their jealousies, and place them on a friendly footing. If partial instances of hostility have, within a few years, occurred, it is sufficient to observe, that the causes of excitement were also partial.

Their government, so far as they exercise any, is placed in the hands of chiefs. They have village chiefs and war chiefs. The former are hereditary, the latter elective. Neither are invested with much power in advance. The occasion which calls for action, brings with it an expression of the general voice. The latter is implicitly obeyed; and it is the policy of the chiefs to keep a little in the rear of public sentiment. The power of both orders of chiefs, is only advisory; but that of the war chiefs predominates during a state of war. No formality is exercised in taking the sense of the village, or nation, as to public men or measures. Popular feeling is the supreme law. They exchange opinions casually, and these are final. Councils generally deliberate upon what has been, beforehand, pretty well settled.

Their religious affairs, mixed as they are with the knowledge of medicines and charms, are in the hands of Medicine-men, *Jossakeeds* and *Wabenos*. The society of the Medicine Dance has three orders of men, or rather three degrees of knowledge which are essential to proficiency, the Metay, the Sagemau, and the Ogemau. In its ceremonies, the Great Spirit is im-

plored. The society of the Wabeno, is little more than a midnight revel; and the Evil Spirit is solicited to give efficacy to the incantations with which it is celebrated. It is a mere worship of Baal. It is said, however, to be of comparatively recent origin. Jossakeeds, slight-of-hand men and jugglers, are not necessarily connected either with the Medicine or Wabeno Societies. These different orders of men exercise considerable political, as well as moral influence, and often undertake to give a direction to public feeling in regard to pending measures. Thus they constitute, in fact, a second power of the government. When a council of chiefs is assembled to deliberate on general concerns, the *Mudjee'kewis'*, or eldest born in the line of predominant chiefs, presides. Such was the ancient, and such is still, as we are informed, the prevailing custom.

In speaking of their former condition and ancient customs, they look back to a sort of golden age, when their government possessed more energy; when crimes were promptly punished, and good deeds highly applauded; when they spoke a purer language, kept their fasts more strictly, and were less relaxed in their morals and institutions. We are among those who think that their customs and manners, laws and observances, have not materially changed, at least since the days of Cabot and Hudson; and that the golden age of the Indian, like that of the white man, never had any other than an imaginary existence. Too much stress is laid upon the transforming effects of their intercourse with Europeans, as if, in all that relates to their moral condition and prospects, they had not been gainers! The introduction of ardent spirits, though its effects have been baneful, has added no new item to the catalogue of Indian crimes, nor has it subtracted one, from the list of their cardinal virtues. We do not appear, of course, as the apologists of the vice of intemperance, nor have we any wish to conceal the wretchedness it entails upon the miserable creatures who hang around the skirts of our military posts, and frontier towns. But we believe it has produced far less effect upon the institutions and customs of the Indians, as they now exist in the great plains and forests of the Mississippi and the Lakes, than is generally believed. They have turned from hunting, as an amusement, to pursue it as a business. This change, so far as it has had a tendency to wean them from warlike habits, and to teach them the value of industry, has been an advantage. The larger animals, upon whose skins they relied exclusively for their clothing, are no longer

necessary for that purpose. Nor is their diminution, upon the frontiers, so great a loss as is supposed. By the increased value given to small furs, they are enabled with equal, or less industry, to clothe themselves as well in woollens, as they did before the discovery, in skins. Robes of beaver, which were then worn, have given place to blankets. A beaver robe of nine skins, estimating them at an average weight and price, may be exchanged for goods sufficient to clothe an ordinary family, and will then leave the trader, who has been the medium of the exchange, a handsome profit. If the Indian has not derived an advantage from this altered state of things, we have read Smith and Malthus to little purpose. To facilitate the exchange of furs, certain conventional usages have been adopted. An *abimenikwi*, or beaver skin, is the standard of computation. Three martins, ten muskrats, three minks, two fishers, two foxes, four raw (or two dressed) deer skins, two raw (or one dressed) elk skin, are respectively equivalent to an *abimenikwi*. A fine otter, and a bear skin, are also each equal to a beaver.

The institution of the *Totem* exists in this tribe, in its full extent. There appear originally to have been ten families, having for their armorial badge, or totem, respectively, the eagle, the crane, the bear, the reindeer, the moose, the elk, the beaver, the martin, the wolf, and the snake. To these, times less remote are supposed to have added the *mish'wa*, a species of non-descript amphibious monster, the kingfisher, the catfish, the loon, and the *ahah'wa*, a species of duck. These emblems serve as points of identity for the family or clan. They form the rallying point, in questions of right or precedence; and are the undisputed evidences of consanguinity. The pride of the Indian is stimulated, or his revenge excited, by the applause, or contumely, which is bestowed upon his totem. He feels himself bound to fight or hunt, wrestle or play, if this touchstone of his feelings is brought into action. It is rare, however, that an Indian is named from his totem. It is a generic mark, or sign, a kind of sirname, to be exhibited only when necessary. Every Indian has his baptismal name, so to speak, given in youth. He has also his guardian spirit, or personal *manito*, the result of fasting and dreams in early life. In addition to these, most of them have one or two *sobriquets*. It is by the latter, that they are generally known; there being an unwillingness, on the part of the Indians, difficult to be accounted for, to disclose their proper name. Every one will see the advantages in a

government so loosely constituted as the Indian, of the existence of the totem, and the power of acting in condensed masses which it provides, when called forth by either religious, political, or superstitious feeling. We are decidedly of opinion, that it is the firmest bond of union amongst them, more permanent in its effects than the medicine dance or wabeno, and more powerful than the decisions of their councils of sages and ogemaus. The ruling power is at present exercised by the totem of the Crane.

Among those customs of this tribe, which have fallen, perhaps wholly, into disuse, the following is unique. It has reference to a condition of the tribe, in which they were were annually in the habit of raising fields of corn. Some time after the family had finished its planting, and when the grain began to shoot up vigorously, the wife or mistress of the family divested herself of her garments, and performed a circuit around the field, dragging her *machecota*, or petticoat, behind her. For this purpose, she chose the dusk of the evening, when the family had retired. When she had completed the nocturnal round, she clothed herself again with the same garments, and returned to the lodge. Just before daybreak, she repeated the ceremony. The time of this rite was carefully concealed from the family. The rite itself was supposed to ensure a fruitful crop, and to protect the grain from the ravages of vermin.

But we must hasten to the most important particular connected with the inquiry, the language; for whether we regard it as the means, whereby their origin and history can be traced, or as a guide in fixing the great family type, up to which, it is now pretty certain, all our Indian tribes can be traced, this is surely the most safe and durable monument. Change of country, climate, and fortune, may be supposed to effect great changes in the external habits and customs of barbarous nations, but it is long before the names for *father* and *mother*, *fire* and *water*, *God* and *man*, are radically altered.

A full examination of the subject would exceed the limits assigned to a review.* The space we can devote will, therefore, be occupied with general deductions; and we hope, on some future occasion, to furnish, both the limitations which

* The editor has omitted several learned and ingenious views of this part of the subject, in consequence of their having been partly anticipated in an able article in the last number of the North American Review; an article, which had not fallen under the eye of the writer of the present article.

are necessary to qualify broad rules, and the essential details upon which the rules themselves are founded.

Like all the American languages, of which we have any certain account, the Chippewa is of that generic cast, for which the term *transpositive* is provided by the older philologists. Though originally consisting of but few words, and those short in their utterance, and simple in their meaning, yet that amalgamating and transforming principle, by which personal pronouns are blended with the verb and substantive; by which the latter admits of prepositional prefixes, and of adjective and adverbal suffixes; by which all nouns are turned into verbs, and all verbs are turned into nouns; and finally, that succedaneum for gender, by which the whole number of words is separated into animate and inanimate classes, must have, at the beginning, given a concrete aspect to the language. The effect of time, and the invention of new words, has been to load the primitives with double, and triple, and quadruple inflexions, pompous to the ear, and formal to the eye. It appears originally to have been a language of verbs and substantives only, or to have consisted wholly of names for persons and things, and names for acts, the relation of one to the other having suggested the necessity for those pronominal, prepositional, or adjective additions, which have alike enlarged the space, the sense, and the sound.

That a language thus constitituted possesses many advantages, on the score of consolidation and precision, that it is susceptible of fine turns of expression, and of throwing before the mind glowing and just pictures of the great phenomena of nature, as displayed in the heavens, or existing in the landscape of hills, and forests, and waters, we shall not deny. And it is equally certain, that it contains defects and barbarisms,—such as the want of a proper declension of the pronouns, the imperfect conjugation of the verbs in their compound tenses, and the limited use of the substantive verb,—which render it incapable of being placed at all on a parallel, in these and other particulars, with the languages of modern Europe. What cultivation would accomplish, we cannot say. We are of opinion, however, that it is too cumbrous for general use, and that the principles which are to be borne in mind in speaking it, are of so multiform a nature, as to offer serious obstacles to its ever being extensively used by the lower orders of the community. We are strengthened in this opinion by observing, that it is not one

in twenty, nor one in fifty, of the Indians themselves, who are acknowledged by their countrymen to speak it well.* And we know, from personal observation, that the reputation of a good speaker confers as much distinction on an Indian chief or warrior, as eminence in courage, strength, or sagacity. Many chiefs are compelled to keep their speakers, and instances have occurred, in which they have been called, for this purpose, from distances which would be deemed remarkable, even in civilized communities. Of men thus distinguished for speaking talents, who enjoy little standing for anything else, we will mention the instance of Mongazid, or the Loon's Foot, of Fond du Lac. He is deemed one of the most fluent, if not decidedly the best speaker, now living in the Chippewa nation. We have often heard him. He excels in that rapid, continuous flow of utterance, in which it seems to be the object of the speaker to go on, without a pause, as long and as vehemently as possible. In listening to this kind of outpouring of words, it seems as if a thousand syllables and words were amalgamated into one, and as if to pause in the middle, or at any intermediate point, would be to break the harmony, or mar the sense. We should suppose the mere physical operation of speaking must be laborious. The Indian orator, when once his organs of utterance are set in motion, talks on, as if he intended to take his hearers by storm, to inflict blow upon blow, to leave no time for doubt or deliberation, but pressing his advantage, to produce immediate conviction, and triumph by the power of words. And such would seem to be the effect acknowledged in the sonorous response of the admiring warriors and chiefs, which marks every full pause.

In its structure, the Algic† or Chippewa presents the frame of a language, rich in grammatical forms, and requiring throughout a rigid concordance. Not only must its elements correspond in number and tense, mood and person, but it also requires a correspondence in gender, so to speak, for as such we must regard that accident of its nouns, and verbs, and other

* The same remark, our readers are aware, is made of the Chinese language. Generally speaking, it is a principle of some importance, in reference to the acquisition of language by intercourse with uneducated persons (and the whole mass of barbarous nations are to be so considered), that they communicate, by means of language, very imperfectly, even with each other.

† From Algonquin.

parts of speech, which broadly separates them into animate and inanimate classes. Plural verbs and substantives require plural nominatives. We cannot say, as in English, *a man walks*, or *men walk*. We must say, Pä′zhik inin′e pim′mossay′, *a man walks*, or Inin′ewug pim′mossay′wug′, *men walk*, or rather, to translate the spirit of the sentence, *men they walk;* the syllable *wug*, being in its nature pronominal, as well as plural.

Animate nouns require animate verbs. We cannot say, grammatically speaking, *I love this gun and this dog*, without repeating the verb *to love*, and altering its termination, because, *gun* being a noun inanimate, and *dog*, a noun animate, each requires a corresponding voice of the verb. But we can say, *I love this gun and this knife;* or, *I love this woman and this boy*, without altering the verb,—the former being both inanimates, and the latter both animates.

Nee	*I*	Nee	*I*
saugetoan	*love*	saugeau	*love*
ohou	*this*	wohow	*this*
paushkizzigun;	*gun;*	eekwa;	*woman;*
gya	*and*	gya	*and*
ohou	*this*	wohow	*this*
mokomaun.	*knife.*	kweeweezaas.	*boy.*

In these instances the syllable *toan*, marks the inanimate, and the syllable *au*, the animate form of the verb. It will also be perceived, that two different words are introduced to denote the pronoun 'this,' *ohou* being the corresponding inanimate, and *wohow* the animate pronoun.

Adjectives and prepositions, for the language possesses both adjectives and prepositions, are similarly circumstanced, and must constantly coïncide, in gender or class, with their nominatives. There are even some of the conjunctions thus limited in their application, as the terms *gya*, *appee*, and *osshe*, each being used as an equivalent for the word 'and,' under different modifications of the same principle.

Pronouns are inflected for tense, as well as verbs; and in fact, when thus inflected, they serve the purposes of our auxiliary verbs. Thus Neen, *I*, becomes Ningee, *I have*, Ningah, *I shall* or *will*, Ningahgee, *I shall* or *will have*. Keen, *thou*, becomes Keegee, *thou hast;* Keegah, *thou shalt* or *wilt;* Keegahgee, *thou shalt* or *wilt have*. O, the sign of the pronoun *he* or *she* (it is an epicene), becomes Ogee, *he* or *she has;* Ogah, *he* or *she will;* Ogahgee, *he* or *she will have*. By

the help of these declensions, verbs are conjugated. The verb itself, by its own inflections, provides for the person, the tense, and the number. Saug is the infinitive of the verb *to love.* Hence, Saugeau, *to love a person;* Saugetoan, *to love a thing.* Nee saugeau, *I love him;* Nee saugeaug, *I love them.* Ningee saugeaubun, *I have loved him;* Ningee saugeaubuneeg, *I have loved them,* &c. Ningee saugetoan, *I love it;* ningee saugetoanun, *I love them;* Ningee saugetoanaubun, *I have loved it;* Ningee saugetoanaubuneen, *I have loved them,* &c.

The substantive is scarcely less flexible than the verb. It admits of transpositions, not only to indicate the accidents of English nouns, but is further inflected to express the additional powers of adjectives and adverbs, to coälesce with prepositions, to indicate one or two additional cases, and finally to assume the powers of a verb. In all these changes of its powers and its forms, the distinction of nature into two great classes, characterized by the possession or absence of vitality, is constantly preserved. We quote from a manuscript memoir before us.

'This rule separating, as it does, all substantives into animates and inanimates, and conveying its distinctions into every other part of speech, is not, however, rigidly limited by the distinctions which nature herself has impressed upon the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms. Custom has endowed certain inert masses with animate properties, the reasons for which are not always obvious, but would probably be disclosed by an investigation of the peculiar opinions, or by the history and institutions of this nation. A particular respect paid to certain inanimate bodies, either from their real or fancied properties or attributes, the uses to which they are applied, or the ceremonies to which they are dedicated, is often manifestly the cause of these exceptions from the operation of a general rule. A stone, which is the altar upon which they leave the offerings of their manitos; a bow, formerly so necessary in the chase; a feather, the honored sign of martial prowess; a kettle, so valuable in the household; a pipe, by which friendships are sealed and treaties ratified; a drum, used in their sacred and festive dances; a medal, the mark of authority; vermilion, the appropriate paint for the warrior; wampum, by which formal messages are conveyed, and leagues and agreements remembered; these are among the objects, in themselves inanimate, which require the application of animate verbs, pronouns, and adjectives, and are thereby transferred to the animate class.

'Some nouns, on the contrary, which are in their nature animate, custom transfers to the opposite class. These are not, like the preceding exceptions, wholly conventional in their number and

character, but owe their change to a principle which limits and restricts the application of verbs animate to the objects to which they can be applied, so long as those objects are referred to as whole masses or species. Man, woman, boy, girl, are respectively and unchangeably animates; but foot, hand, arm, leg, are constantly referred to as inanimates. Buck is an animate noun, so long as his entire carcass is referred to, whether living or dead; but haunch, neck, heart, windpipe, take the inanimate form. In like manner, eagle, swan, dove, are distinguished as animates, while these names imply individuals of their species; but beak, wing, tail, are arranged with inanimates. So oak, pine, ash, are animates; branch, leaf, root, inanimates.'*

The number of words which possess *gender*, strictly speaking, is limited, and, of course, both masculine and feminine nouns fall under the animate class. Number itself is of a twofold character; and the manner of forming the plural furnishes an unerring indication of the *class* of the substantive,—animates ending in *wug*, *ug*, *oag*, *aag*, *eeg*, *ig*; and inanimates in *wun*, *un*, *oan*, *aan*, *een*, *in*,—the only real difference being in the change of the final consonant.

Cases are provided for; but, as will have been expected, they are strongly marked by the above principle of vitality, or want of vitality. Animates admit of seven declensions, to denote the possessive and objective, ending, respectively, in the first and second persons, in *aum*, *eem*, *oom*, *aam*, *im*, *iss*; and in the third, in *aumun*, *eemun*, *oomun*, *aamun*, *imun*, *issun*. As the eye is a powerful auxiliary to the understanding, in questions of this nature, we shall present a sketch of the declensions, sufficiently comprehensive for present purpose.

	Nominative.		Possessive.	
1. Declension.	O'gemau	*a chief.*	Neen Doag'em-aum'	MY
2. Declension.	Ossin'	*a stone.*	Nin Dos'sin-eem'	
3. Declension.	Moaz	*a moose.*	Nee Moaz'-oom'	
4. Declension.	Monedo'	*a spirit.*	Nee Mon'ed-oam'	
5. Declension.	Keeno'zha	*a pike.*	Nin Geenozh aam'	
6. Declension.	Aas	*a shell.*	Nin Daas im'	
7. Declension.	Ogwiss'emau	*a son.*	Nin Gwiss is'	

	Objective.	
1. Declension.	Odoag'em-aumun'	HIS
2. Declension.	Odos'sin-eemun'	
3. Declension.	Omoaz-oomun'	
4. Declension.	Omon'ed-oamun'	
5. Declension.	Ogeenozh' aamun'	
6. Declension.	Odaas' imun'	
7. Declension.	Ogwiss' issun'	

* 'Remarks on the Chippewa Substantive.'

The objective is, in fact, formed by the simple addition of *un* to the possessive. The substitution of consonants for vowels, observed in these examples, as *d* for *o* and *a*, and the exchange of one consonant for another, as *g* for *k*, are changes dictated solely by a regard to euphony. The accent, it will be observed, is thrown forward to the final syllable.

Inanimate substances have but one case, properly so called. It is formed most commonly in *ing*, *eeng*, or *oong*. Thus, wauky′egun, *a house;* mukuk′, *a box;* tshemaun′, *a canoe;* become, respectively, waukyegun*ing*, mukuk*oong*′, tshemaun*ing*′, signifying, *in the house*, *in the box*, *in the canoe*. Akkee′, *earth*, and see′bee, *river*, are transformed to Akkeeng′, *in the earth*, and seebeeng′, *in the river*, or *on the river*. But as the property here unfolded, has great analogy to those changes of the substantive, by which it expresses the additional powers of adjectives and adverbs, as before hinted, it may admit of doubt, whether this be truly a case of the noun, or whether the forms referred to are not as truly so. It is however the only inflection of the substantive, so far as we recollect, in which the office of a *preposition* is assumed. In the numerous other compound words, bearing the character of half noun, half preposition, the latter is uniformly a prefix. Thus ogyd′jye′-ee′ is the simple form of the preposition *on* or *upon;* akkee′ is *earth*, wudjoo′, *hill*. But should an Indian wish to say, *on the hill*, the term is ogydah′kee, a compound of the two first mentioned words, the specific term for *hill*, not being at all employed. It is the difficulty of seizing *the principle* upon which these compounds are formed, that opposes the most serious bar to the progress of adult learners.

In the following examples a literal translation is given, as nearly as the idiom of the language will permit. The retranslation will give the reader an opportunity of judging how far the spirit of the original has been attained. It is to be observed, however, that the language is better adapted to display the narrative and descriptive portions of the sacred volume, than those parts which are purely spiritual.

1. Wyaishkud Geezhamonedo ogee oazhetoan geezhig, gya akkee.

2. Gya kauween ningood akkee izzhenaugwuhseenöbun peezhishegwaubun, gya mukkudday waubumin-naugwudöbun ogydeebeeg: Geezhamonedo dush öjeetshaugwun ogydeebeeg keepimmee eezhauwun.

3. Appee' dush Geezhamonedo aakeedood, tah wassayau appee' dush wyaussayaug.

1. In the beginning, the merciful Spirit made heaven and earth.

2. And the earth was shapeless—it was empty; and it was dark to look upon the top of the waters. The shadow of the merciful Spirit then passed over the top of the waters.

3. And the merciful Spirit said, Let there be light, and light was.

It must be observed, that the language provides two appellatives for the supreme Being; that which we have employed, signifying *merciful Spirit*, and Gitsh'emonedo, *great Spirit*. The former is the most sacred in its use. Both are compounds formed by adjective prefixes to the word mon'edo, *spirit*. The term 'manito' employed by authors, may be regarded as the anglicized expression, and is very nearly identical with the word as uttered by the Ottowas.

But we hasten to close these remarks, already drawn out farther than we intended. Our principal object, in this hasty sketch, has been to place before our readers a few of the leading facts, connected with the situation and condition, geographical, moral, and political, of the Chippewa nation, as it existed at the time of colonel Long's passage over the northwestern skirts of their territories, and as it still exists at the present time. We are not aware that any striking changes have occurred within the few years that have elapsed since the close of that expedition. The intercourse, then recently established by placing an agent in their country, has been gradually increasing, and assuming a more decidedly friendly character towards the American government. Their national propensity to war has been restrained, and their sufferings, in some measure, alleviated, by the gratuitous distribution of food and clothing. Treaties of alliance and limits have been concluded, under the auspices of the government, between them and neighboring nations, which, it is confidently hoped and believed, will remove one great cause of predatory warfare. And there is not a doubt, but a continuance of the policy adopted, will produce results most auspicious to them and to us.

The gentlemen who composed the exploring party under colonel Long, entered the Chippewa country under circumstances unfavorable to correct observation. In the whole route from Red river to Fort William on the north shore of Lake

Superior, estimated by them at five hundred and twenty miles, and which they were twenty-seven days in travelling, they conversed with Indians at but *four* distinct points. Bruce, upon whom they relied in part for information, is a man, on whose statements little confidence can be placed when interested motives do not interfere, and still less when they do. He is a *Boisbrulé* by birth, and a post-runner by occupation. Ignorance of both the English and the Indian, is not the least of his disqualifications, as is represented by those who know him well. Hackneyed in the low arts of the *Courier du Bois*, with idle, intemperate habits, with most of the vices of the white man, and but few of the virtues of the Indian, any facts derived from him must be of questionable authority; and he is one of the last men in the Chippewa country, whom we should select to relate traditions, describe customs, give etymologies, and settle opinions. The party felt upon what slender grounds they were placing reliance; and these strictures will derive no small corroboration from their own acknowledgments on this point. 'We are induced to believe,' says Mr. Keating, 'that he never *wilfully* misrepresented a fact, but we did not find him to be as intelligent as he had been stated to be, and we have therefore omitted such parts of his narrative as savored of ignorance or credulity.' (Vol. II. p. 152.) It will not be surprising, that in information derived from such a source many errors should be detected. Thus, 'the term Chippewa,' it is observed, 'which is generally applied to this nation, is derived from that of *Ocheppewag*, which they restrict to the Indians who reside near Fond du Lac; it signifies plated shoes, from the fashion among those Indians of puckering their moccasins. The whole nation are by themselves styled Neenawesik,' &c. (Vol. II. p. 151.) *Ojib'wa* is the term which the Chippewas apply to themselves. *Ojibwaag'* is merely the plural, and the word is applied indiscriminately. It admits of various other inflections. Thus they say, Ojibwäns', *a small Chippewa;* Ojibwäkwa', *a Chippewa woman;* Ojibwäkwans', *a Chippewa girl;* Ojibwayweek, *he* or *she is a Chippewa;* Ojibwaywaudizzi, *half Chippewa;* Wayjibwaywaudizzid, *he who is a half Chippewa.*

The band living at Fond du Lac, sew up their moccasins without a tongue, and this is called by them a *Chippewa shoe.* That the national appellation was bestowed upon the shoe, and not *vice versâ*, is as certain as it is that the custom

of thus forming and denominating moccasins is local and partial, or that the nation itself was known under its present name long before any part of it had migrated to the banks of the St Louis, the Mississippi, or Rainy lake.

There is still less authority for the term 'neenawesik,' by which it is said the whole nation is known, and which is stated to signify 'natural language.' 'Neenawesik' is a garbled form of the expression *nee eenowaysik enuh*, which implies literally, *he does not speak correctly!* It is manifestly the reply to a misconceived question.

Kauween nin neeinowaysee, *I do not speak correctly.*
Kauween kee neeinowaysee, *You do not speak correctly*, &c.

Ojibwamoong′ is the term by which this nation denominate their own language, or as the term strictly implies, *tongue* or *voice*. Hence,

Neen Dojibwaam, *I speak Chippewa.*
Kee Dojibwaam, *You speak Chippewa.*
Ojibwaamoo, *He speaks Chippewa*, &c.

This mode of forming neuter verbs from substantive roots, is among the striking characteristic features of the language.

We had prepared a considerable list of other errors in that part of the *Narrative* which relates to the language of the Chippewas, but our limits oblige us to omit them. One or two observations only we deem it important not to pass over.

At page 389, vol. I, 'Boines' is stated to be the Chippewa term for the Sioux nation. Bwoin, not 'Boines,' is the singular number. It has its plural, not in *s*, but in *ug*. The term is derived from the Chippewa verb abwa′, *to roast*. Hence abwain, *roast thou;* abwoinok, *a stick upon which flesh is roasted;* and is in allusion to the practice of the Sioux, of impaling their prisoners before a fire. The more common term, however, for the Sioux, as stated in a previous article,* is *naudowaysee*, 'our enemies,' a phrase which, from long application to them, has become almost specific in its import.

Ossin, and not 'assin' (vol. II. p. 71), is the name for *a stone;* and the Stone Sioux are hence denominated Ossinabwoin, and not 'Assinaboines.' Lord Selkirk, who, in allusion to this tribe and the river they inhabit, bestowed the name of 'Ossinaboina' upon his Red river colony, had taken pains to ascertain the Indian mode of pronunciation, and was determined by popular and correct usage.

The etymology of 'Winnepeek,' as given at p. 81, vol. II,

* North American Review, No. L. Art. *Indians of North America.*

is fallacious in its data. There is no adjective 'we,' signifying *muddy*, in the language. The word is derived from weenud, *dirty*, and neebeg, *waters*, and the full name is, Weeneebeg' o saugy'egun, that is, *lake of dirty waters*. Winnabago, is a term derived from the same roots, implying that the tribe who bear this name, dwell on dirty waters, in allusion to the Mississippi.

The words 'oton,' 'onik,' 'okat,' 'osit,' 'okan,' (odoan, onik, okaud, ozid, okun,) do not mean respectively, *mouth, arm, leg, foot, bone*; but *his mouth, his arm, his leg, his foot, his bone*. An error has existed on this subject, from the days of Lahontan to the publication of the work before us. Although the Indians utter their pronouns as if they were inseparable from their nouns and verbs, yet they are not uniformly so, and the amalgamated aspect, which their language usually bears when put upon paper, is greatly attributable to the haste, or carelessness of travellers, particularly of our *earlier* travellers, most of whom have acquired but a slender reputation, either for rigorous research or profound erudition. Precedent is all-powerful, and it requires an effort to break through established customs, however ill-founded, trivial, or absurd. The following tabular view of substantives embraces their most common and least concrete forms. While it exhibits a principle which has hitherto been very obscurely defined, it affords a further illustration of a remark made in a preceding review,* respecting the original monosyllabic character of the language.

	A	*MY*	*THY*	*HIS*
Nindj	*hand*	Nee nindj	Kee nindj	O nindj
Nik	*arm*	Nee nik	Kee nik	O nik
Doan	*mouth*	Nee doan	Kee doan	O doan
Beed	*tooth*	Nee beed	Kee beed	We beed
Daah	*heart*	Nee daah	Kee daah	O daah
Koon	*liver*	Nee koon	Kee koon	O koon
Kun	*bone*	Nee kun	Kee kun	O kun
Kunzh	*nail*	Nees kunzh	Keesh kunzh	Os kunzh-een†
Kaud	*leg*	Nee kaud	Kee kaud	O kaud
Bwaum	*thigh*	Nee bwaum	Kee bwaum	O bwaum
Dis	*navel*	Nee dis	Kee dis	O dis
Pun	*lights*	Nee pun	Kee pun	O pun
Zid	*foot*	Nee zid	Kee zid	O zid
Os	*flesh*	Nee os	Kee os	Wee os
Ow	*body*	Nee ow	Kee ow	Wee ow
Oas	*father*	N 'oas	K 'oas	Oas-un †
Guh	*mother*	Nin guh	Kee guh	O geen †
Si	*brother*	Nee si ä	Kee si ä	O siä-un † (elder)
Sheem	*sister*	Nee sheem 'a	Kee sheem 'a	O sheema-un † (younger *s.* or *br.*)

* North American Review. No. L. Art. *Indians of North America.*

† These, being nouns animate, have the objective inflections, *een, un.*

Verbs, as well as substantives, are thus employed, and may, for the most part, be traced back to monosyllabic or disyllabic roots.

INFINITIVE.		INDICATIVE.		
		PRESENT TENSE.		
		1. *Per. s.*	2. *Per. s.*	3. *per. s.*
Saug	*to love*	Nee saug-e-au	Kee saug eau	O saug eaun
Waub	*to see*	Nee waub	Kee waub	Waub-ee
Paup	*to laugh*	Nee paup	Kee paup	Paup-ee
Mow	*to cry*	Nee mow	Kee mow	Mow-ee
Neem	*to dance*	Nee neem	Kee neem	Neem-ee
Neeb	*to die*	Nee neeb	Kee neeb	Neeb-o
Mig	*to bark*	Nee mig	Kee mig	Mig-ee
Wee'sin	*to eat* (a.)	Nee weesin	Kee weesin	Weesin-ee
Keeg'id	*to speak*	Nee geegid	Kee geegid	Keegido
Meej'in	*to eat* (i.)	Nee meejin	Kee meejin	Omeejin
Eezh'au	*to go*	Nin deezhau	Kee deezhau	Eezhau
Taib'wa	*to aver*	Nin taibwa	Kee taibwa	Taibwa
I'au	*to be*	Nin dyau	Kee dyau	Iau

But it is time to close these researches into the curious philology of our barbarous brethren. We are aware, that to a portion, perhaps the larger portion, of our readers, the theme is uninviting. There is, however, a class of inquirers in the country, respectable in numbers, and still more respectable for the characters of the men who compose it, to whom this subject has for some time been, and still continues to be, one of growing interest. Among the *savans* of continental Europe, there are few topics connected with America, which are considered more curious and important; and we have reason to believe, that no portion of our pages has been more acceptable to them, than those which we have devoted to the aboriginal languages of the country. When we consider how scanty are the means for tracing the history of tribes like those of this continent, which possess no literary memorials, we cannot but allow, that the most ought to be made of the few within our reach. Their languages, considered in their structure, diversity, and affinity, are unquestionably the most important of these means. To these we must look for our chief aid in ascertaining the consanguinity of the various tribes, while we have scarce any other clue to guide us to the solution of the still more important problem of the original peopling of America. We therefore trust, that while we give up the greater part of our pages to the general reader, he will not complain, that a due proportion of the North American Review is devoted to the languages of the North American Continent.

ART. VI.—*Essai sur l'Art d'Etre Heureux*, par JOSEPH DROZ, de l'Académie Française. 4me Edition. 12mo. pp. 335. Paris. 1225.

THE author of the little work before us has not attempted any regular definition of happiness; but assuming that we all know pretty well what it is, has employed himself principally on inquiring how we may attain it. We are not sure that a more thorough investigation of the nature of the end would not have modified in some degree the notions of Mr Droz, in regard to the means. However this may be, it appears that he has made, as he conceives, some important discoveries, or at least greatly simplified and improved upon received notions. He has methodized his principles into a series of rules, which he entitles *The Art of Being Happy;* and he believes that by a steady and judicious application of them, a man may realize the *summum bonum* with a good degree of certainty. The subject is of so much importance, that all theories respecting it are worth examining, should they even turn out to be somewhat less original and valuable than they are considered by their authors.

Mr Droz commences by expressing his surprise at the apparent indifference of most persons to their own good.

'Our object, in life,' he remarks, 'is happiness. One would think this a sufficiently familiar truth; but how often is it overlooked or despised! To see the restlessness and agitation of many persons, one would suppose that the great affair was not to be happy, but to be rich, or to obtain some office.'

And again;

'Make happiness the principal object of your life. When one of your neighbors says to you, "My speculations are successful; I shall certainly become immensely rich;" and another, "I shall doubtless carry my election, and am on the high road of political advancement;" reply with equal self-satisfaction, "As for me, I hope to enjoy many happy days."'

Although the mass of mankind, in aiming at various unsubstantial objects of pursuit, overlook, in the opinion of our author, the search after happiness, he admits that there are some illustrious exceptions; and reckons among them our countryman Dr Franklin, of whom he speaks in the following high terms.

'We see, from time to time, appearing among us, some of those rare individuals whom nature intended as models of moral beauty.

Such was Benjamin Franklin, the pride of the new world. I have often perused the pages in which he describes his plan for aiming at moral perfection, and which he concludes as follows. "Although I have not attained the perfection at which I aimed, and have even fallen very far short of it, my endeavors have nevertheless rendered me better and happier than I should have been if I had not made the attempt, as a person who tries to improve in penmanship by imitating a copperplate model, although he should not equal the correctness and elegance of the engraving, may yet acquire a more easy and legible hand than he had before. It may be interesting to my posterity to know that I owe, under Providence, to this little artifice, the happiness which I have constantly enjoyed up to my seventy-ninth year, in which I write these lines. Should the rest of my life be disturbed by misfortunes, the recollection of the preceding period will enable me to support them with resignation."'

While we perfectly agree with Mr Droz, in his estimate of the character of our illustrious townsman, and particularly in his approbation of the doctrine contained in the above extract from his Memoirs of his own life, we cannot but remark that it does not appear to confirm, so explicitly as our author supposes, his favorite notion of the great importance of making the direct pursuit of happiness the principal object. Dr Franklin assures us in this passage that by the use of certain means, which he describes, he had lived happily up to a very advanced age. But what were these means? Did they consist in making happiness the direct and principal object of pursuit? Quite the contrary, as appears from the showing of Mr Droz himself. 'I have often perused,' says our author as above quoted, 'the pages in which Franklin describes his plan for arriving at *moral perfection*.' Moral perfection, then, was the mark to which our philosopher directed his view. By aiming not immediately at happiness, but at moral perfection or virtue, he succeeded, it appears, in making himself, to a certain extent, both virtuous and happy. The conclusion is (as far as a single example can be depended on) that if a man would be happy he must endeavor to be virtuous, and that if he succeed tolerably well in this, happiness will come of itself. Mr Droz, on the contrary, advises that we should aim directly and immediately at happiness, leaving moral perfection (of which, indeed, he says but little) to come in by the way, as it may or can. Waving any inquiry into the respective merits of the two systems, we cannot but remark that the example and precepts of Franklin, instead of confirming, as

he appears to imagine, the theory of our author, are exactly opposed to it, and as far as they have weight, completely refute it in its foundation. Had Mr Droz examined more carefully, and followed out into its consequences the principle supposed in the single passage above quoted, he would probably, if he really feel the veneration which he professes, for 'the pride of the new world,' have spared himself the trouble of writing his book, at least in its present shape. In fact, his theory and that of Dr Franklin, instead of coïnciding, plainly exhibit the adverse colors of the two great rival schools of philosophy, into which the moral world has always been divided. Franklin wishes us to frequent

> 'The marble porch where wisdom wont to talk
> With Socrates and Tully;'

while Mr Droz would conduct us, in preference, to certain pleasure gardens of somewhat doubtful fame, which were laid out in olden time in the neighborhood of the said porch, but were never much patronized by the good society of Athens. We regret, by the bye, to learn that our fair friend, Miss Frances Wright, lately consented to pass a few days in these same suspicious gardens; but venture to hope, that she has only been upon a tour of observation, and will not think of making them her habitual residence.*

By aiming at moral perfection, it appears that Dr Franklin not only partially attained his object, but succeeded besides in realizing a good measure of happiness. Whether a man, who, in compliance with the advice of Mr Droz, should regard happiness as his direct and immediate object, would in that way be likely to make any corresponding approaches towards the attainment of moral perfection, is perhaps uncertain. But waving this point, which does not belong to our present subject, there is room to fear that the method recommended by our author may not be so effectual, even for the acquisition of happiness itself, as he appears to imagine. There are some things which are come at by an indirect process, more easily than by a direct

* See her work, entitled *A Few Days at Athens*, which contains a very ingenious exposition and defence of the Epicurean philosophy, in the antique form of dialogues. Although we disapprove the doctrine, which is also decidedly at variance with the principles recommended in the *Views of Society and Manners in America*, by the same lady, we cannot but regard the literary execution of it as highly creditable to the learning and talents of the fair writer.

one; and many competent judges believe that happiness is one of the number. We strongly incline to this opinion, and suspect that the pretended *art of being happy* is very much like the *art of making gold*, which at one time occupied the attention of so many of the learned, but which has long been admitted to be almost the only process by which gold cannot be made. Make shoes, make coats, make hats, make houses, make almost anything you please (except perhaps books), and you in fact make *gold*, because the product of your labor, whatever it may be, converts itself naturally in your hands into that valuable metal. But once attempt to make gold by a direct process, and you not only fail in your object, but sustain a total loss of the time, labor, and capital employed in the operation. The case, we imagine, is nearly the same with studying directly the *art of being happy*. Study politics, study law, study commerce, study agriculture, study any of the fine or mechanical arts, and you in fact study happiness, because independently, of the immediate fruit of skill, in this or that department of knowledge and practice, which you derive from your studies, there is no more certain way of being happy, than to pursue with activity and diligence almost any honest employment. But no sooner does a man set about studying directly how he shall be happy, than he is pretty sure to become completely miserable. D'Alembert maintained, in conversation, that happiness was an exclusive privilege of those whom the world calls wretched. *Qui est-ce qui est heureux?* said he, and then replied to his own question, *Quelque misérable;* that is to say, 'Your poor devil is your only happy man.' And there is a good deal of truth, as well as much consolation, in this. The common blessings which Providence distributes abundantly to the prudent and virtuous of even the humblest classes, are no doubt quite as conducive to happiness as the imaginary and illusive advantages of the favorites of fortune. But if, reversing the question of D'Alembert, we ask, '*Qui est-ce qui est misérable?* 'Who is the real poor devil?' we may perhaps reply with confidence, that it is the man who is always studying to be happy. The experience of the world in all ages and nations, from Seged, king of Ethiopia, down to the luckless schoolboy, groaning under the burden of a holiday, confirms this notion. And there appears to be a deep philosophical reason for the fact, at which we have already hinted. It is, that happiness was not intended by nature to be the direct result of an operation, performed with the immediate

purpose of attaining it; but on the contrary, the indirect result of an operation intended immediately and principally for the attainment of another object, which is (according to the theory of Franklin, no doubt the true one,) moral perfection or virtue.

The leading principle of Mr Droz, which makes happiness the direct and exclusive object of pursuit, is therefore, we think, erroneous, and his whole doctrine fails of course in its foundation, or, in the French phrase, *pèche par sa base.* Nevertheless, as our author professes to teach us the art of being happy, and as credit is generally allowed to every man in the art he professes, *omni perito in suâ arte credendum est*, it may be proper, before we condemn his theory, to survey it a little more in detail.

After establishing as a preliminary maxim, that the attainment of happiness is the proper object of life, our author proceeds to explain the means by which, in his opinion, it is to be effected. The first requisite is, that we should exempt ourselves entirely from the trammels of all the ordinary business of the world that is going on about us. It is only in this way, that we can be independent; and independence, according to Mr Droz, is essential to happiness.

'The only true independence is that which we enjoy when we dispose of all our time at discretion, without being embarrassed with professional or other bnsiness. This sort of liberty is oppressive to the unoccupied *(hommes inoccupés)*, but to others is a source of real happiness. How charming it is to say to one's self, upon awaking in the morning, "This day is wholly my own." *The Epicurean* passes a delightful hour, before he rises, in reflecting on the pleasures of independence.'

We may remark, *en passant*, that Mr Droz avows in this passage his adhesion to the school of philosophy with which we had identified him. *Habeo confitentem reum;* in the language of the great Roman orator. As respects the principle supposed, our author's Utopia bears a singular resemblance to that of Gonzalo in the Tempest. In order to be happy, we must have nothing to do, no professions, no trades, no business of any kind;

'no kind of traffic
Would I admit, no name of magistrate;
Letters should not be known; no use of service,
Of riches or of poverty; no contracts,
Successions; bound of land, tilth, vineyard none;
No use of metal, corn, or wine, or oil;
No occupation; all men idle, all;
And women too, but innocent and pure;
No sovereignty;'

and afterwards;

> 'All things in common nature should produce
> Without sweat or endeavor; treason, felony,
> Sword, pike, knife, gun, or need of any engine
> Would I not have; but nature should bring forth
> Of her own kind all foizon, all abundance,
> To feed my innocent people.'

The picture, no doubt, has a very seducing aspect. It may be observed, however, that in the case of our author, as in that of the honest old counsellor of Naples, the latter end of his commonwealth forgets the beginning. Gonzalo, after declaring that he would have no sovereignty in the island, concludes by affirming, that he

> 'would with such perfection govern, Sir,
> To excel the golden age.'

Mr Droz, in like manner, while setting forth the freedom from all occupation as the chief element of happiness, remarks in the same sentence, that 'to *unoccupied men* the want of occupation is oppressive, but that to *others* it is a source of real happiness.' Now we profess ourselves unable to conceive who are *the others* intended in this phrase. We agree with our author in thinking that persons who are unoccupied will be unhappy; but on our view of the subject, all persons who have no occupation are unoccupied. *The others* who, on the theory of Mr Droz, are to enjoy the delights of the *dolce far niente*, seem to us to belong to the same category with *the rest* of the three children, who ran away when their comrades fell into the water;

> 'Three children sliding on the ice,
> All on a summer's day,
> It so fell out they *all* fell in,
> The *rest* they ran away.'

Mr Droz may perhaps reply, that the *happy few* intended are those who, having really nothing to do, are able to create occupation for themselves. But this explanation, which can hardly be reconciled with the language, is also in itself replete with difficulties. Why present, as the principal element of happiness, what is misery to the greater number, and paradise only to one in a thousand? And again; How does it appear, that the occupation which a man creates for himself is so much more agreeable than that which devolves upon him by the effect of circumstances? Is occupation, in the opinion of our author, a sort of moral disease, which is fatal when forced upon a man in the natural way, but which, when he gives it to him-

self, not only becomes less malignant, like the smallpox when contracted by inoculation, but is actually converted into a principle of health and wellbeing? Does experience confirm this singular theory? We think not. Take the example of the Count de Caylus, a French nobleman, well known to the scientific world by the publication of a collection of engravings from antique vases, with a learned and elegant commentary. *Je grave*, said the Count to a brother nobleman, by way of apology for devoting himself to an employment which the other regarded as beneath their common dignity, *je grave pour ne pas me pendre*. 'I engrave, that I may not hang myself!' The Count was one of the select number who, having really nothing to do, are able to create occupation for themselves, and ought, on our author's system, to have been perfectly happy. Yet what was the extent of his felicity? Forsooth to escape hanging. A pretty definition of the *summum bonum!* Instead of confirming the theory of Mr Droz, the example of M. de Caylus rather tends to establish the reverse. Many excellent citizens, in all countries, have obtained reputation, wealth, and happiness, by pursuing, as a means of support, the same respectable occupation of engraving, which seems to have conferred upon the Count no other benefit, than that of saving his neck from the pocket handkerchief or the penknife. And we doubt not that the general current of examples would sustain the moral deducible from that of the learned Frenchman.

Independently therefore of the glaring inconsistency observable in this passage, we are quite clear in the persuasion, that the common sense of the world is against Mr Droz on the main point, and in favor of the pursuit of some honest employment, as one of the most efficacious means for attaining happiness. All the principal books are agreed in this. What says Voltaire, for example,—a high authority with our author? *Le travail éloigne de nous trois grands maux, le vice, le besoin, et l' ennui.* 'Labor secures us against three great evils, vice, want, and *ennui*.' What says Dr Franklin, 'the pride of the new world,'—the *magnus Apollo* of Mr Droz? If our author would know, let him read Poor Richard, *Le Bonhomme Richard*, as the French translate it, where he will find but slender encouragement to be idle. We cannot indeed but express our wonder, that a writer, whose chief purpose seems to be to inculcate the advantages of idleness, should have selected the author of the 'Way to Wealth,' as his guide, philosopher,

and friend. Finally, what says the Bible? For we take it for granted, that Mr Droz is a good Christian, and will acknowledge the authority of the precepts of the wise king of Israel. The Epicurean practice of lying in bed an hour or two in the morning, in order to ruminate upon the pleasure of having nothing to do through the day, is alluded to by Solomon in no very flattering terms. 'As the door turneth upon its hinges, so doth the slothful man in his bed.' Does Mr Droz conceive, that the happiness of a wise and good man consists in imitating the mechanical action of a door turning upon its hinges? 'So shall thy poverty come as one that travelleth, and thy want as an armed man.' Are poverty and want the chief elements of happiness? Even the weaker sex are exhorted to be up betimes and doing. The pattern wife 'riseth while it is yet night, and giveth meat to her household. She looketh well to the ways of her household, and eateth not the bread of idleness.' Her place, it seems, is no sinecure; but what reward has she for her trouble? 'Her children rise up and call her blessed; her husband also, and he praiseth her.' Approved by her husband, honored by her children, the pride and love of all around her, our busy, little housewife is, after all, not so badly off. Can Mr Droz promise his fair disciples anything better than this, as a reward for being idle? We apprehend not.

According to our belief, the common sense of the world is therefore, as we have already remarked, against Mr Droz on this point, and in favor of the diligent pursuit of some regular occupation, as a principal element of happiness. It is true that we hear at times, from the Italians, of the *dolce far niente*, or the delight of having nothing to do; but even in the same quarter, there are not wanting respectable authorities in favor of a different system. The Marquis of Spinola, an Italian general, celebrated for his military exploits in the war of the independence of the Netherlands, passed the latter part of his life in retirement, upon a handsome pension, and of course in the full fruition of the *dolce far niente;* but being one of those persons without occupation, who are also unoccupied, he found himself (as usually happens, even according to our author, with gentlemen of this description) rather ill at ease. While in this situation, he was informed of the death of one of his ancient comrades of inferior rank in the army, a captain perhaps, or possibly a colonel; and upon inquiring into the nature of his disease, was answered, that he died of having

nothing to do. *Morì della malattia di non tenere niente a fare. Basta*, replied the unhappy Marquis, with a strong feeling of sympathy in the fate of his departed brother of the war, *basta per un generale.* 'T is enough to have killed him, had he been a general.'

Such, even on Italian authority, are the pleasures of the *dolce far niente.* They appear to be enjoyed in the same way in other ranks and walks of life. Read, for example, in Lafontaine, the story of the cheerful cobler, rendered miserable by a present of a hundred crowns, and finally returning in despair to lay them at the feet of his would-be benefactor, and recover his good humor and his last. Behold the luckless schoolboy (to recur again to one of the examples, at which we have already hinted), torn from his natural occupation on some Thursday or Saturday afternoon, and perishing under the burden of a holiday. See him hanging at his mother's side, and begging her, with tears in his eyes, to give him something to do; while she, poor woman, aware that the evil is irremediable, can only console him, by holding out the prospect of a return to school the next day. Observe the tradesman who has made his fortune (as the phrase is), and retired from business, or the opulent proprietor enjoying his dignified leisure. How he toils at the task of doing nothing; as a ship without ballast at sea, when it falls calm after a heavy blow, labors more without stirring an inch, than in going ten knots an hour with a good breeze. How he 'groans and sweats,' as Shakspeare has it, under a happy life! How he cons over at night, for the third time, the newspaper which he read through twice, from beginning to end, immediately after breakfast! A wealthy capitalist, reduced by good fortune to this forlorn condition, has assured us, that he often begs the domestics, who are putting his room in order, to prolong the operation as much as possible, that he may enjoy again, for a little while, the lost delight of superintending and witnessing the performance of useful labor.

But this is not the worst. No sooner does he find himself in the state of unoccupied blessedness, than a host of unwished for visitants (doubtless the same with those who took possession of the swept and garnished lodgings of him in Scripture) enter on his premises, and declare his body good prize. *Dyspepsia* (a new name of horror) plucks from his lips the untasted morsel and the brimming bowl, bedims his eyes with un-

natural blindness, and powders his locks with premature old age. *Hypochondria* (the accursed *blues* of the fathers) ploughs his cheeks with furrows, and heaps a perpetual cloud upon his brow. *Hepatitis* (like the vulture of Prometheus) gnaws at his liver. *Rheumatism* racks his joints; *Gout* grapples him by the great toe; so that what with 'black spirits and white, blue spirits and gray,' the poor man suffers martyrdom in every nerve and fibre, until *Palsy* or *Apoplexy*, after all the kindest of the tribe, gives him the *coup de grace*, and releases him from his misery. His elysium is much like that of the departed Grecian heroes in the Odyssey, who frankly avowed to Ulysses, that they would rather be the meanest day-laborers above ground, than reign supreme over all the shades below.

In the above course of remarks, we have given Mr Droz every advantage in the argument, because we have supposed, that it is entirely optional with every man, whether he shall work or be idle, and that in making up his mind upon the subject, he has only to consult his own convenience or caprice. But our author seems himself to have been aware, that this is not precisely the case, and has anticipated the objections, that some old-fashioned persons might consider it as a duty to make themselves useful, by turning their talents to account in one way or another, while a still larger class are compelled to labor by the imperious call of necessity. These difficulties, we say, our author anticipates and endeavors to remove; but in what manner? The reader shall judge.

The first objection appears to give him but little embarrassment. 'Moralists tell us,' he observes, 'that we must make ourselves useful, that we must pay our debt to society. But in order to be useful to the world, I see not why a man must necessarily exercise a profession or hold an office. Tell me not that my morals are dangerous, and that my system would deprive the community of the services of the individuals who compose it. Be not alarmed! You will never be in want of governors to rule you, bankers and lawyers to fleece you, or physicians to extricate you from their hands.'

Refraining, at the special request of Mr Droz, from telling him that his morals are dangerous, we must be permitted to remark, that his logic appeared to us to be defective. The question, as we understand it, is not, whether individuals will or will not work; whether there will or will not always be such professions and employments, as those of bankers, law-

yers, public functionaries and physicians, (concerning which very respectable occupations the author expresses himself, in our opinion, in much too unceremonious terms;) but whether it be better for the world that individuals should or should not work, and that these and other similar professions should or should not exist. Mr Droz contends, that it is in general the preferable course, for people to be idle rather than to work; and when pressed with the objection, that if the habit of idleness were to prevail generally, the community would be without laborers, he turns round upon us with the naked assertion, that individuals will at all events work. This may be and probably is true; but whether it be or not, is a thing, in our judgment, entirely foreign to the argument. If individuals will at all events work, it follows of course that they will not be idle; and in that case the community will certainly not suffer for want of their labor. But in the case before us, the supposition is that they do not work, and on that supposition the conclusion follows with equal rigor, that the community will suffer for want of their labor. If Mr Droz do not feel the necessity of it, we must in conscience (at the risk of appearing uncivil) advise him to sell his Montaigne, and buy with the proceeds a copy of Watts's Logic. 'In order to be useful to the world, I see not,' says our author, 'why a man should exercise a profession or hold an office. It is enough that he lay in bed two or three hours every morning, to ruminate upon the pleasure of having nothing to do through the day.' A mighty profitable thing, no doubt, to the community! But why? Forsooth, because men will work! Or, bringing the case home to the individual supposed, because it is certain that he will at all events work. In plain language, and reducing the argument to its simplest terms, it is unnecessary for a man to work in order to make himself useful, because it is certain that he will at all events work! Shade of Peter Ramus! what dialectics!

The mode in which our author meets the objection drawn from the necessity of labor to the subsistence of the individual, is in our opinion still more unsatisfactory. It is here indeed that the difficulty really presses. In all the systems with which we are acquainted, including that of Mr Droz, it appears to be regarded as one of the principal elements of happiness, that a man should have his regular three meals a day. Even the *dolce far niente*, were it ten times as sweet as Mr Droz thinks it, would turn sour on an empty stomach. It is also well known,

that there is a sort of mysterious sympathy between the work-shop and the kitchen (similar to that which was discovered by the late premier of Great Britain between the breeches pocket and the animal spirits), by the effect of which, the operations that usually go on in the latter, are greatly affected by the state of those which appertain to the former, and proceed vigorously, or come to a stand, along with them. When the spinning wheel ceases to revolve, and the shuttle to vibrate; when the hammer no longer descends upon the anvil, and the goose reposes coldly on the shopboard,—the spit in like manner stops in its course, the fire goes out in the oven, and the water in the pudding-pot recovers its natural level. Such are the acknowledged principles of the economy of domestic life. In one word, a man who will not work cannot eat. While this is the case, and while eating is necessary to happiness, it is in vain to tell him, that in order to be happy he must be idle, for the plain reason, that a hungry man never listens to advice. *Ventre affamé n'a pas d'oreilles.* Our author, to do him justice, feels the force of this objection, and admits it to a certain extent. But with what sort of grace? Does he yield with the good humor of a philosopher and a Frenchman, who knows how to take his *parti*, and after a passing shrug of the shoulders resigns himself with equal *nonchalance* to either fortune? Quite the contrary. His tone and language are rather those of a pettish schoolboy, who, being compelled against his will to study his lesson, purposely neglects it, recites it of course imperfectly, and is punished at night for his want of attention. If our author must work, he will do as little, and that little as carelessly, as possible.

'If compelled,' says he, 'to renounce the pleasures of independence and the charms of Epicurean indulgence, I should attach no importance to the choice of a profession. Not being able to do what I wished (that is, nothing), it would be indifferent to me what I did. I should, however, carefully avoid all lucrative and brilliant employments involving responsibility and care. After sacrificing every day the number of hours absolutely necessary to furnish me with the means of subsistence, I should devote the rest to enjoyment, my main object being, not to become rich, but to be happy.'

We shall not quarrel with our author, on the score of his indifference to the choice of his profession, or of his avowed preference for an obscure occupation over a brilliant one. The

feeling may doubtless be carried to excess. Few persons of good sense would take as much satisfaction in flourishing a chimney-sweeper's brush on the housetop, as in leading the debates in the councils of a nation. But leaving out of view extremes on either side, it may be safely enough admitted, that individuals, exercising such employments as naturally place them in the middle walks of life, enjoy, on the whole, as large a share of happiness as any others. If their delights be less exquisite, their sufferings, under the common lot of humanity, are also proportionally less acute, and their condition possesses in stability what it wants in brilliancy. The choice between the kind of tranquil wellbeing, which a man enjoys in such a situation, and the glorious but often agonizing struggles, the alternations of triumph and despair, that attend on those who pursue their way along the stormy summits of social life, is a matter of taste and character, rather than of principle. One man, as Horace says, delights in raising a cloud of Olympic dust around his conquering car, while another is satisfied with a quiet pinch of snuff in his little back parlor.

> 'The eagle and the stork
> On cliffs and cedar tops their eyries build;

while the swan,

> 'with arched neck
> Beneath her white wings mantling proudly,'

bathes her downy breast in the smooth waters of a silver lake, or sails in graceful majesty along its green velvet margin, without envying the superior elevation of others. There is room in the world for all God's creatures, and the difference in their tastes is rather a fortunate thing, as it serves to prevent competition and promote the general harmony.

But while we allow to Mr Droz all the latitude upon this point which he can reasonably wish, we must decidedly enter our protest against the other part of the doctrine set forth in the above extract. Has our author fully considered what he is saying, when he recommends to his disciples to take no interest in their employment, whatever it may be; to work at it carelessly and negligently, just long enough to obtain a bare living, and then hurry home to bed, or to the tavern to keep *Saint Monday?* Meeting him on his own ground, and taking our examples from the middling and lower walks of life, does Mr Droz really mean to tell us, that a tailor, for instance, will best consult his happiness by working as little as possible at his trade,

receiving as few orders as he can, executing those which he receives in a careless manner, disappointing his customers in the time of sending home their clothes, and instead of wielding incessantly the shears and needle, passing most of his precious hours in spinning street-yarn? Is that barber in a fair way to realize the *summum bonum*, who intentionally hacks the chins of the public with dull and wretched razors, or burns their ears with his curling tongs, on purpose to deter as many of them as he can from coming into his shop? Admitting for argument's sake (what no honorable man would allow for a moment), that the only object of exercising a profession is to obtain a bare subsistence; is it not perfectly clear, that an artist, who should follow the system of our author, would completely fail, even in this miserable purpose? If a tailor send home a coat awkwardly and unfashionably cut, or negligently made up, the indignant customer forthwith returns it on his hands, and transfers his order to a more industrious and attentive workman. From making a few coats, and those badly, the recreant knight of the shears would very soon come to have none at all to make, and would inevitably starve by the side of his cold goose, upon a vacant shopboard. A barber, in like manner, who should adopt the ingenious practices alluded to above, for clearing his shop of the surplus number of long beards, would not probably find the ebbing tide stop exactly at the point, necessary for supplying him with bread and bedclothes. He would soon find himself, like Ossian's aged heroes, lonely in his hall. From keeping his own shop, he would be compelled to enter as journeyman in that of another, and by continuing to pursue the same process, would sink in succession through the several gradations of house-servant, street-porter, and vagabond, into the hospital, the port where all who sail by our author's chart and compass will naturally bring up. The only way, in fact, by which a man can expect to turn his labor to account, in any occupation, is by doing the best he can, and by putting his heart into his business, whatever it may be. He then takes the rank, among his brothers of the trade, to which his talents entitle him; and if he cannot rise to the head of his art, he will at least be respectable, and will realize an honorable living. It is not every barber that can aspire to the fame of a Smallpeace, a Higgins, or a Williams; but any one who is diligent and assiduous in his shop, and who takes a just pride in seeing his customers leave it with glossy chins, well dressed hair, and neatly shaped *favorites*,

should his natural aptitude be even something less than first-rate, will yet never want the comforts of life for himself and his family through the week, his five dollar bill to deposit in the savings bank on Saturday evening, and his extra joint to entertain a brother Strap on Sunday. And while he thus realizes an ample revenue, the zealous and attentive artist reaps, as he goes along through life, the best reward of his labor in the pleasure afforded him by the gratification of his honest pride, and the approbation of his fellow citizens. A high-minded tailor feels as much satisfaction in seeing a well made coat go out of his shop, as the dandy to whom it is sent, in putting it on, for the first time, to appear at an assembly. And when (as may often happen in our blessed country) the artist meets his customer in the fashionable circle, and finds his work commended by acknowledged connoisseurs; when he listens to the praises bestowed upon the knowing cut of the collar, the nice adjustment of the body, and the graceful fall of the skirts, his heart dilates with a secret rapture, which is worth ten times as much to him as the profit he makes upon the article. It differs specifically only, but not in kind, from that which, as the poet tells us, was felt by the goddess Latona, when she saw her daughter Diana,

'The silver-shafted queen for ever chaste,'

leading up the dances of the mountain nymphs upon the banks of the river Eurotas, or the top of Mount Cynthus, and excelling them all in grace and beauty;

'Qualis in Eurotæ ripis aut per juga Cynthi
Exercet Diana choros; quam mille secutæ
Hinc atque hinc glomerantur Oreades; illa pharetram
Fert humero, gradiensque deas supereminet omnes:
Latonæ tacitum pertentant gaudia pectus.'

These gratifications Mr Droz loses for the sake of his *dolce far niente;* and, like Shakspeare with his quibble, is content to lose them. Next to idleness, he seems to consider disregard for public opinion as the principal means for obtaining happiness.

'T is a great folly,' he remarks, 'to expect to be happy, and at the same time to obtain the general approbation. Hypocrites may protest against this doctrine, and certain feeble souls may inquire, if it be not dangerous to preach up contempt for public opinion. I answer, No! provided we are sufficiently resolute and firm in our purpose. 'T is a truth, which we should never cease to present, in a thousand forms, to the minds of youth, that happiness requires courage. There might, perhaps, be some risk for those who follow

only a part of my prescriptions; but those who obey the whole, are safe.'

The desire to excel, and obtain the favorable opinion of others, is of course inadmissible on this system, and is denounced in unequivocal terms.

'An indispensable condition for obtaining happiness, is to shut the soul against ambition. If I yield to ambition, I must quit my retirement, renounce the pleasures which I derive from the society of my family and friends, and from my *liberal occupations.* No more delicious morning reveries! I must no more live for myself; in quitting my obscurity, I resign repose and independence.'

We may remark here that Mr Droz, notwithstanding his previous warm eulogies on the pleasures of idleness, is unable to make out a picture of a happy life for himself, without including his *liberal occupations;* and thus renounces inadvertently his own declared doctrine, and comes back to the one recommended by the common sense of the world, at the very moment when he is urging us to despise public opinion. But in giving this last somewhat hazardous counsel, has Mr Droz duly weighed all the consequences of the line of conduct which he advised us to pursue? Has he fully considered the well-known remark of one of his own distinguished fellow countrymen upon this subject? *Il y a quelqu'un,* said the Prince de Talleyrand, *qui est plus fort que Napoléon, et qui a plus d'esprit que Voltaire,—c'est tout le monde.* 'There is somebody' (the language is so idiomatical as hardly to bare translation), 'there is somebody who has more power than Napoleon, and more wit than Voltaire,—that is, every body.' The Prince is clearly of opinion, that this terrible *somebody* is not to be trifled with; and M. de Talleyrand is a person of so much talent and experience that he ought to be heard with great attention. The result has, in fact, established the truth of this remark, as far as Napoleon is concerned; since by defying public opinion, he reduced himself from the loftiest height of fortune that any mortal ever attained, to perish miserably on a burning rock in the middle of the ocean. Is Mr Droz quite sure that his disciples, by following even the whole of his prescriptions, will come off with flying colors from a conflict that proved fatal to this political Colossus?

'There is no danger,' replies our author, 'provided we are sufficiently firm and resolute. We have only to take courage, and all will be well.' These are bold words, but are they pro-

portionally just? Did courage restore to Napoleon the empire he had lost? Would it rescue an overdone tailor from the hospital, replace him in his shop, and gather round him anew his train of offended customers? Will courage feed and clothe a poor man and his family? Will it pay his rent, and serve him to settle his weekly bill at the baker's and the butcher's? Can he deposit courage in the savings bank? We all know that courage, though an excellent thing in its place, will answer none of these purposes. The error of Mr Droz, in this part of his system, seems to be, in taking it for granted that the only unpleasant effect of despising others, is to be despised by them in turn; a moral evil, against which the moral remedy, courage, might be expected to afford some relief. *Populus me sibilat, at mihi plaudo.* But the real objection to the theory is (as we have already shown), that contempt for public opinion brings upon a man material and physical ruin in all its worst shapes; and this is a case in which the moral specific, recommended by our author, loses all its virtue;

> 'Who can hold a fire in his hand,
> By *thinking* on the frosty Caucasus?
> Or wallow naked in December's snows,
> By *dreaming* on fantastic summer's heat?'

But as we wish to give our author every advantage in the argument, that he can possibly desire, let us meet him on his own ground; and in order to try with precision the correctness of his doctrine, as he understands it, let us suppose an example, in which the immediate consequences of contempt for public opinion, are in fact no more than to encounter in turn the contempt of the public. Let us take the case of a schoolboy, or a student at college, who happens to meet with *The Art of Being Happy*, and finds himself exhorted to cultivate a habit of idleness, as the best method of attaining this desirable object; and to despise the opinion of the world, or, in other words, to disregard the advice and reproof of his parents and instructers, which might probably be opposed to our author's system.

'Why,' says Mr Droz, 'waste your precious hours, and wear out your young eyes, in fagging over old books? Why immure yourself this fine weather in a close and crowded school? It is surely far pleasanter to pursue your sports with your merry mates in the open air upon the green. Your instructers and parents may, perhaps, reprove you for absence, or for keeping at the foot of the class, and some of your fellow students may possibly ridicule your stupidity. But why should you regard the prosing of a musty old peda-

gogue, or the gibes of a group of thoughtless boys? Of what consequence is it to you, whether you take your place at one end or the other of the file, in which they are drawn up to recite? Be of good heart, and if they laugh at you, laugh at them in turn. Take your own course; be idle and be happy.'

This doctrine would sound pretty well in the ears of our supposed pupil, who would also find no difficulty in reducing it to practice. Nor would he suffer immediately in this case, in consequence of his contempt for public opinion, any considerable diminution of his material comforts. The sunshine of paternal affection, like that of Providence, illuminates (for a while, at least,) with equal favor the evil and the good; and our young idler would probably be fed, clothed, and lodged, as well as his busier brothers and sisters. For a few days, the experiment might appear to have perfectly succeeded. But when examination comes, at the week's end; when our infant Epicurean sees the prizes for good behavior and superior attainments, distributed to others, and nothing awarded to himself but notes of infamy; when the honored father looks coldly on him, and the kind mother has no smile of consolation, while the merry and mischievous urchins about him are all in high glee, at his expense;—Mr Droz may say what he pleases about *courage*, but we are after all not stocks and stones; nature, we apprehend, would have her way, and

> 'in spite of scorn,
> Tears, such as *schoolboys* weep, burst forth.'

But grant the contrary; grant that our little philosopher brazens it out manfully, and gives no external signs of palling in resolution. Grant that he shows all the courage that Mr Droz could desire; that he proves himself a hero, a martyr in the cause; grant this, and what follows? Is martyrdom happiness? The precise object of our author, as we understand it, is to avoid painful efforts of all kinds, and lead an easy, *sans souci* life; but we are now called upon to exercise courage, fortitude, and longsuffering, in order to be able to endure his Epicurean paradise. Does not our author feel, that the call for courage supposes of itself, that we are in presence of pain and difficulty, instead of ease and pleasure? Does it require so much fortitude to support prosperity? so much longsuffering, to bear up under a course of uninterrupted happiness? Does a man brace his nerves, and steel his heart, to encounter a comfortable fire, a good dinner, and a circle of smiling friends? Our author in-

vites us to recline upon a bed of roses, and when we accept his proffer, and put ourselves into his hands, he stretches us out upon St Lawrence's gridiron. This result agrees sufficiently with the moral of the ancient apologues of the strait and the broad ways, the rocky and the flowery paths, that conduct respectively to life and death; but we hardly expected to hear the same doctrine from Mr Droz. In this, as in the other instance, the latter end of our author's commonwealth forgets the beginning.

It appears, therefore, by the admission of Mr Droz, that the contempt of public opinion, which he so strongly recommends, leads to nothing better than the crown of martyrdom; a situation to which, however enviable it may be, in some respects and in some causes, few would aspire as the *ne plus ultra* of ease and comfort. On the other hand, the feeling of respect for the judgment of the world, which leads us to endeavor to excel in such arts and qualities as may render us agreeable and useful to others, does not seem to be productive of any equally serious inconveniences. The apprehensions of our author in regard to this point are, we think, exaggerated. 'In quitting my obscurity,' says he, 'I resign, at the same time, repose and independence. No more delicious morning reveries; I must no longer live for myself.' If, by repose and independence, as the words are here used, our author mean complete idleness; if he have no other notion of happiness, than that of turning every morning for two or three hours in his bed, as a door turneth on its hinges, there is, of course, nothing more to be said. Happiness, thus refined, is doubtless incompatible with honorable distinction, in any line of life; but even on this view of the subject, it might be pertinently asked, whether the sacrifice of ease, required by respect for public opinion, be worse than the martyrdom which it seems we must suffer by despising it. If, however, our author means, by repose and independence, what men of sense generally intend by these words, that is, rest after labor, and the occupying of a favorable and commanding position in society, we conceive that these advantages, instead of being incompatible with the attainment of honorable distinction, are its natural consequences and rewards. Persons of eminence in the various walks of life, are doubtless much employed because the value of their services is known; but this, to a man of right feeling, to one whose heart is in his business, is not dependence and drudgery, as Mr Droz seems to think it; 'tis itself a pleasure, *labor ipse voluptas.* The

healthy excitement of arguing an important case and thereby securing the rights of an injured fellow citizen, of pleading the cause of truth and justice before the assembled councils of a nation, affords a pleasure, if our author did but know it, which would be well worth the sacrifice of one of his brightest morning dreams.

As to independence, does our author mean to be understood, that a person who has attained a high distinction in any honorable pursuit, is less favorably situated in the usual relations of social life, than those about him? On our view of the subject, such a person is *par excellence* the truly independent man. He can do for each individual, what no individual can do for him. His convenience, therefore, must be consulted by all. If he choose to labor, he selects the time, the place, and the manner, at his discretion. The favored mortal for whom he works, is too happy in obtaining his aid, to pretend to have an opinion about the manner in which it is to be given. He performs himself the interesting and important parts of the task, and assigns the rest to subalterns. When he has finished, he sets his price upon what he has done, and whatever it may be, it is paid with a sentiment of gratitude, and not of superiority. What citizen of the United States did not feel himself deeply obliged, when Canova and Chantrey sent us out their admirable images of the majestic form of the father of our country? Who ever dreamed, that the service was in any way requited by the payments which these illustrious men may have consented to receive in return? It is easy to judge of this by the tone and language employed on these occasions. 'Here, my worthy fellow,' (such, in substance is the manner in which we apply to an ordinary hand) 'here is a piece of work, which I am willing to put into your hands, if you will perform it at a reasonable rate; if not, I shall give it to some one else, for there are enough others who can do it as well.' When we address an artist or professional person of eminence, the style is different. 'My noble friend, I am in the greatest possible embarrassment, and you are the only person who can extricate me from it. Your assistance is indispensable to me. Let me beg you to undertake the business, and make your own terms.' Who, then, in such a case, is the dependent, and who the independent man? Mr Droz certainly takes a false view of this matter. Independence is peculiarly the attribute of those, who enjoy a merited distinction in any department of agreeable or useful labor. As they pass through the world, they are constantly distributing

favors on every side, and the people look up to them as public benefactors, and delight to do them honor. As the Muses in Virgil's eclogue stood up in presence of the poet Gallus,

Utque viro Phœbi chorus assurrexerit omnis,

so the Roman people, by a charming application of his own verses, rose with one accord to salute the Mantuan himself, when he appeared at the theatre. And as to repose, when they wish to indulge in it (which is not so often or for so long periods, as our author would probably think necessary), the business of the world (for no one else can do it) must wait their leisure. Cicero, at the height of the practising season, at a time when, as he says in his letters, hardly a day passed in which he did not argue some cause, could retire for two or three weeks together from the Forum and recreate himself in his quiet Cuman villa, by enjoying the fresh breezes from the Tuscan ocean, that rolled below his windows, and composing his celebrated six books upon Government. The leisure of these great men of antiquity seems to have been more productive, than the working hours of the worthies of this degenerate age. Even the caprices of distinguished men must be indulged, because their aid must in many cases be secured at all hazards. When Achilles in a fit of ill humor quits the Grecian army, and holds himself aloof in his tent, the king of men, after attempting in vain to go on without him, is compelled to yield the point in question (however delicate), and court him back with more messages, than the other chiefs are willing to carry. The deep diplomacy of Ulysses, the uncompromising frankness of Ajax, the fatherly affection of Phœnix, and the garrulous wisdom of aged Nestor, are all put in requisition, in fruitless endeavors to persuade the haughty youth to make peace on his own terms. Something similar to this would probably happen in most other cases of the same description.

There is therefore, we think, but little foundation for the fears of Mr Droz, that in quitting obscurity, he shall renounce at the same time repose and independence. Instead of agreeing with him in considering a contempt for public opinion as one of the principal elements of happiness, we should rather say (like the generous old Roman when he first heard the same Epicurean doctrine expounded by a Greek philosopher), 'May the gods give such principles to our enemies.' To our friends we should rather recommend (in conformity to the wisdom of ages) to seek the good opinion of others, and to aim at a just

and honorable distinction. Such was the parting counsel of his aged father to Achilles, when he sent him forth, under the care of Nestor and Ulysses, to accompany the Greeks to the siege of Troy;

Πηλεὺς μὲν ὦ παιδὶ γέρων ἐπέτελλ' Ἀχιλλῆϊ,
Αἰὲν ἀριστεύειν, καὶ ὑπείροχον ἔμμεναι ἄλλων.

Such is the import of the sublime exhortation of the Catholic Missal, *Sursum corda*, which is quoted with such distinct approbation by Burke, as pure and lofty a spirit as ever wore the vestments of mortality. There is doubtless a base passion, sometimes called ambition, which, instead of seeking to rise itself, endeavors to obtain a comparative elevation above others by depressing them, by fraud or force, below its own sordid level, and which justly excites the indignation and contempt of the wise. But the wish to arrive at excellence in noble pursuits by noble means, can hardly be carried to an excess. 'T is the foe of idleness and frivolous employments; it tempers the thirst for sensual indulgence, nourishes high contemplations and generous feelings, and as far as it attains its objects, works out nothing but direct and positive good to the individual and the world.

In reply to the objections which we have taken the liberty to make to his theory, Mr Droz may allege his own experience as a proof of its correctness. From his account he is one of the few physicians who follow their own prescriptions, and find themselves the better for it.

'Some persons will perhaps ask, if he who pretends to teach the art of being happy, has been always happy himself. I reply, that having been blessed with a share of philosophy and favored in some degree by circumstances, I have thus far found in life more pleasure than pain. But who can hope for unmingled happiness? I must own that I have at times been through a good deal of trouble. I have sometimes neglected to act upon my own principles, and in professing to instruct others, I am perhaps like a pilot, who should undertake to give lessons in navigation, after having repeatedly run his ship on shore.'

We have some misgivings from this account of the matter, that Mr Droz has not been a vast deal happier than the rest of us, who have generally experienced like him alternate showers and sunshine. Be that as it may, our author, we think, labors under an illusion, in attributing the happiness he has enjoyed to an entire want of occupation and a contempt for public

opinion. Although he may not have exercised any r egular profession, he has given satisfactory evidence of a laudable degree of activity, in the singular employment of recommending idleness to others. The work before us, if it be not thought to demonstrate his good sense, is at least a proof of his industry. His *Essay on Moral Philosophy, or the Different Theories of the Art of Living*, is another; his *Studies on the Beautiful in Art*, a third; his *Eulogy on Montaigne*, a fourth; and so of his various other writings. Mr Droz is, in short, a person who cultivates letters with zeal and assiduity in his own way. This pursuit is after all an occupation *tout comme un autre*, and in some cases one of the most honorable and useful, in which a man can engage. We put it to our author's conscience, whether the delicious morning reveries, of which he makes so much account, are always devoted literally to reflections on the pleasure of having nothing to do through the day; whether they are not sometimes taken up in meditations on the forth-coming work. Mr Droz talks at his ease of the *dolce far niente*, with his books around him, and his manuscript open on his writing-table. But let his study be locked up; let him be debarred from the use of pen, ink, and paper; let him be excluded from reading-rooms and public libraries,—let all this continue for a few weeks, and he will hold, we suspect, a different language. We should probably find him laboring under the same disease, which carried off the comrade of the Marquis of Spinola. Nor do we believe, that he can allege his own experience in support of his recommendation of contempt for public opinion, with greater justice. It is remarked by Cicero, that the very philosphers who advise us to despise the opinion of the world, put their names to the books containing this counsel. Our author, we are sorry to say, is an example of this inconsistency. Upon turning to the head of this article (where the titlepage of the work before us is copied), the reader will see at full length the name of *Joseph Droz*, inserted as that of the author. After the mention of his christian and family names, follows the honorary addition of *Member of the French Academy*. He is willing we should know that his *art* has enabled him to scale the celestial towers occupied by the *Forty Immortals*, who preside over the world of French literature, and take his place among the number. Even this is not all. After the qualification *de l'Académie Française*, we next find the significant memorandum, *Quatrième Edition*, 'Fourth Edition.' Is this then the end, or

rather the beginning, of our author's superb indifference? Why should Mr Droz, who holds the judgment of the many so very cheap, be at the pains of informing us that they have taken off three editions of his book?* Is it consistent in one who scorns the suffrage of his fellows, to proclaim upon the house-top, that he has been received into the French Academy? Did it become this contemner of public opinion to indulge in the petty vanity of being known as a writer? The truth seems to be, that our author, while recommending to his disciples the 'primrose path of dalliance,' has had the good sense to pursue himself with some degree of firmness 'the steep and thorny road;' and while advising others to despise public opinion, has made no scruple of doing everything in his power to conciliate it in his own favor. This management appears at first view singular, and upon a second may be thought suspicious. *Timeo Danaos.* Is Mr Droz endeavoring to put us to sleep that he may have the field entirely to himself? At all events, we like his example better than his precepts.

It is time, however, to close our colloquy with this writer, which we have already continued somewhat longer than we at first intended. Beside the chapters to which we have particularly adverted, there are several more upon a considerable variety of subjects; such as Pleasure, Pain, Love, Hatred, Melancholy, Marriage, Life, Death, and others of equal moment. They are all treated with nearly the same success, but we have not room to comment upon them in detail. In combating the arguments of our author, in favor of idleness and contempt of public opinion, we have had occasion to intimate that, on our view of the subject, his theory is directly the reverse of the truth, and that a diligent pursuit of almost any honest occupation, and a decent regard for the judgment of those around us, are among the most effective means, that we can employ, for the attainment of happiness. We may add here, that the real *art of being happy* is nowhere stated in a more satisfactory form than in the *Ten Commandments* of the Old Testament, and the *Two* into which they are abridged in the New. The person who shall diligently and faithfully practise upon these digests, will have but little need of the assistance of Mr Droz. A good

* One of our author's books (if we are not mistaken, the work now before us) obtained the prize which had been offered by the French Academy, for the most valuable publication in a *moral* point of view, that should appear during the year. *Credite, posteri.*

familiar and practical exposition of the spirit of these approved codes is to be found in the common saying, *The art of being happy, is to endeavor to make other people so;* to which the most judicious philosophers have subjoined as a supplementary principle, *that a man is never happy without a good wife.*

ART. VII.—*The Red Rover.* By THE AUTHOR OF THE PILOT, SPY, &c. 2 vols. 12mo. Philadelphia. Carey, Lea, & Carey. 1827.

WE venture but little, we apprehend, in saying that the public is exceedingly obliged to Mr Cooper for these volumes. For ourselves, we shall not be backward in declaring, that he has, in this instance, done more and better things for his name, than upon any former occasion. We the rather rejoice at this, as we have sometimes had fears of his falling off as he advanced, by a sort of *échelon*, that is melancholy in any writer, and eminently so in the novelist. Happy the popular writer, who is thus able to stand the test of frequent appearance at the public bar; and who, if he sometimes falter, is yet able to renew his strength, and resuscitate his slumbering energies at those secret fountains of power, that are ever flowing clear and strong in the deep and, to common minds, inaccessible places of genius. He thus comes with something like surprise upon a world that is getting even weary over his books, and at one wave of his 'enchanter's wand' dissipates every shadow of distrust as to his efficiency, or of conspiracy against his good fame and empire; as an energetic king may be supposed to put an end to all treasonous murmuring against his authority and name, by his sudden appearance among the malecontents, in his panoply, and with all the ensigns of his royalty about him.

It may be observed, moreover, though not an unfailing concomitant of superior powers, that this alternation of excellence and mediocrity in their productions has been common to eminent writers. Sir Walter Scott has evinced this peculiarity to a degree quite uncommon, which, in one less gifted, would have been absolutely dangerous. Some of his works anterior to the 'Crusaders,' had been singularly tame and nerveless, considering their lineage and pretensions. But, in the mean time,

Maturin, with his 'Albigenses,' had appeared in astonishing power; and forthwith we find Sir Walter before us again, in his strength and stateliness, and in the transcendent grace and vigor of the 'Talisman,' not only outdoing himself, but defying the possibility of being outdone, and, by one masterly effort, vindicating his great name.

This alternation may very naturally be the effect of a tendency to relaxation, consequent on strenuous exertion; and in the instance of Sir Walter Scott, to recur to the standard illustration, we think we can easily discern the author of 'Napoleon' taking some hours of gaiety and ease to himself, when he determines to dedicate a little work to Mr Hugh Littlejohn, and to write essays on agriculture. As to his 'Sermons,' he needs frame none better, or more effectual, than he has aforetime put into the mouths of his own Covenanters.

Upon the same principle therefore, that we have ever hailed the return of an author to the style of composition in which he seems peculiarly adapted to excel, we are pleased also to meet Mr Cooper once more on his favorite element.

It strikes us, that there is something a little peculiar in the history of novel-writing in this country. Starting with a principle, correct in itself, but like other correct principles requiring judicious application, that works of imagination should represent the character and manners of the country where they are written, our novel-writers, at least those of the second class, have made their works too purely of the soil. As though treason lay in too near an approach to the waters, or as though there were a fear that something transatlantic would there creep into their fancies, they have even avoided the lakes themselves, and make a dry-land story of it, among woods, and ravines, and wigwams, and tomahawks. The Indian chieftain is the first character upon the canvass or the carpet; in active scene or still one, he is the nucleus of the whole affair; and in almost every case is singularly blessed in some dark-eyed child, whose convenient complexion is made sufficiently light for the whitest hero. This bronze noble of nature, is then made to talk like Ossian for whole pages, and measure out hexameters, as though he had been practising for a poetic prize.

Now, though we may applaud the spirit which has led some of our novelists to place the scene of their stories invariably and pertinaciously somewhere between the Rocky Mountains and the Atlantic,—and the deeper in the forest the better,—still we

must wonder at the taste that peoples them with such a mass of wild and copper men; and moreover question the necessity, on the whole, of going back, as a matter of course, to the precise time when the struggle was the fiercest between the colonists and these barbarians. We are aware that we are disputing the first principle which these writers set out upon; but it appears certain to us, that there is a barrenness of the novelist's peculiar circumstance in the life of a savage, which cannot be easily got over, when we set about a story of him in his hut and in his wanderings; and it must necessarily be a troublesome tax upon the ingenuity to throw a moderate share of interest round a narrative, founded upon events connected with these simple, silent creatures. This tax has rarely been paid to our satisfaction.

In fact, the species of writing, we believe, began in mistake; heretical as it may seem, it strikes us that there is not enough in the character and life of these poor natives to furnish the staple of a novel. The character of the Indian is a simple one, his destiny is a simple one, all around him is simple. We use the expression here in its most unpoetical sense. But mere simplicity is not all that is needed. There must be some event in the life of a hero, to keep us from growing weary of him. He must not lie upon our hands; the author must keep him in business, and he must have more business than is comprehended in the employment of the scalping-knife or the paddle, to become the subject of our refined sympathies, or to gratify a cultivated taste. He must be mentally engaged. The savage says but little; and after we have painted him in the vivid and prominent colors which seem necessary to represent him amidst his pines and waterfalls,—after we have set him before our readers with his gorgeous crown of feathers, his wampum, and his hunting-bow, it would seem that we have done as well as we could for him. Beyond this bare description, which indeed may be one of the most beautiful in the world, it is not easy to advance. Nature leaves us, as soon as we leave nature, in this case, and put our calm, taciturn son of the desert into the attitudes of civilized life. The Indians, as *a people*, offer little or nothing that can be reasonably expected to excite the novelist, formed as his taste must be on a foreign standard. View them in New Zealand or Otaheite, go through all Australasia, and then come to the wilderness of America, and the native will still be found nearly the same be-

ing on the continent as on the island. The cannibal or the rude hunter will alternately present himself; but neither, we apprehend, with much distinctness or individuality of character. Occasionally an individual will start forth from the herd, whom skill or strength may have raised to eminence among his brethren, and whose mind gives token of what it might have been and might have done under the hand of civilization. But the Indians exhibit little of that mixture of character in the same person, which arises from an acquaintance with the arts and artifices of life and the world, and which is the source of that adventure and interest, that must belong to a good novel.

Such seems to be the insuperable obstacle in the way of those, who venture into our early wilderness for a plot. They leave the abodes of civilization, the places where incident grows out of the nature of circumstances, and where it is probable we may realize many of those pictures and variations of life that give interest and grace to the works of fancy,—all these they leave for the reeking hut of the Indian, to hurry a hero through the ordeal of Indian cruelties and Indian mummery, through a series of scenes that have been a thousand times presented to us, and which admit of no change.

Apart from the impossibility of remaining true to his subject, and still making the native a being of true interest in the bustling and social parts of his book, the Indian novelist has to contend with the spirit of the age, which demands, for the most part, descriptions of real life, and the display of characters who talk and act like ourselves or our acquaintance, and who have not cast off allegiance to common sense. Many by no means grey-haired among us, can remember reading the works of Mrs Radcliffe, and of Lewis, with all due reverence for their secret passages, their murtherous castles, their spectres, trap-doors, and dungeons. We can ourselves recollect, with what supreme horror we read the 'Mysteries of Udolpho' in broad daylight. But how does our terrible respect for Ambrosio diminish before the dignity of Father Eustace, and Udolpho lose its glory beside the Tolbooth of Auld Reekie. The reign of terror is over. Eidolon has but waved his wand, and the castles of romance, those formidable piles of mystery and mischief, have vanished before its flourish, as monks and monasteries vanished before the heretical hands of the 'defender of the faith.' But the public taste has undergone a change. Manners, as peculiar to some chosen period, and associated

with certain events of importance that have become matter of history, must now fill up the descriptive department of works that aspire even to the title of romances. Dialogue has superseded narration; and in the true spirit of the drama, into which many of the best tales of the day may be resolved, characters are made to act their parts. This change of taste subjects the Indian novelist to an arduous task. He will feel the necessity of going wide of nature, in any attempt to make a varied and imposing story out of such materials as the situation of the colonies, considered in their isolated state, or in their relation to the Indians, would probably afford. Hardly, indeed, from our young annals could a tale be woven, that should meet the prevailing feeling of propriety and interest in relation to this subject.

Moreover the elements of society, considered *implicitly* as the society among the early settlements of this country, offer little in the shape of sects or classes, that is calculated to meet and satisfy the popular taste. Our retrospection affords us no privileged and important tribes of *togati*, full of lore and prophecy; no bands of merry archers whose very thievery is full of romantic adventure; and no minstrels overflowing with chivalry and song. We have no Robin Hoods, or Blue Gowns, no Vidals nor Cadwallons, and no gypsies to lend just mystery enough to our stories, and preside over the destinies of our heroes and ladies. We have none of these dim and ancient things to season our fiction withal. But it will be said, if we have anything like legendary lore, we must seek for it among the children of the forest, for the good reason that it is nowhere else to be found. But there is a fallacy in this. We belong as a people to the English school of civilization. It is not necessary that the scene of an American work of imagination should be laid in America. It is enough that it represent our character and manners either at home or abroad. Whatever of romance, or tradition, or historical fact England may boast, as material for her novelists and poets, rightfully belongs as well to us as to herself. Neither would we be understood to say, that a stirring novel may not be drawn out from Indian life and character. It can be, and it has been done. But we hold, that once done, it is, comparatively, done for ever; and our complaint is, that we are overdoing the matter, or have been overdoing it. It is a mistaken idea also, that to constitute an American novel, either the scene must be laid in the early wilderness of this country, or that events of so recent date as those connected with our

revolution, must occupy a prominent portion of its pages. It is the author, not his theatre or his matter, that nationalizes his work. Our accomplished countryman Geoffrey Crayon in his beautiful Sketches of Old England, has given us a book as essentially American as it is possible for any book to be, which is written in good taste, by a person belonging to the English school of civilization. An American work of taste *cannot* differ from an English, as a tragedy of Racine differs from one of Shakspeare.

We have been thus diffuse in our observations upon this species of fiction, which we cannot better distinguish than by the denomination of *Indian novels*, because a class of our best writers have been drawn to it, by a mistake, as it seems to us, of principle, that ought to be corrected, and because our author himself has contributed his share to this class of productions. On him, indeed, the severity of our remarks will not fall; yet he certainly must be considered as coming within the scope of them. He had portrayed to us enough of the Indian before the appearance of the 'Prairie,' and we mistake if the public had not begun to give signs of impatience. With full sensibility to the merit of Mr Cooper's occasionally admirable and extraordinary descriptions, we believe that Indian life and character have never been touched off to better effect than by Brown, and we doubt whether any one can improve upon his portraits. The great difficulty now is, that to fit the savage for our modern novel, the author cannot rid himself of the idea, that he must strip him of half the solitary but still homely and revolting royalty of his nature; and when he does that, he is apt to render him ridiculous. The case is still worse with the native heroines of the forest, in the attempt to bring them upon the stage, arrayed for eyes polite; and thus, instead of a faithful example of Indian character, we have before us a piece of mere fancy-work, and are gazing on a poetic savage, instead of the true aboriginal in the naked and strong relief which he naturally presents.

While we acquit Mr Cooper, therefore, of gross violations of probability and truth, in these delineations, and charge them upon others, who may be called his imitators, still we cannot release him from all responsibility on this score. We are consequently disposed to greet him the more heartily on his own element. We are always well inclined to take a sea-breeze, after toiling for long days in tangled wildernesses and heated towns. To no one, moreover, are we better inclined to submit

ourselves on ship-board, surely with no one are we more ready to pass away the time, either above or below, in calm or tempest, than with our author. The quarter-deck is his home. Upon an element that has been heretofore occupied by a spirit of poetry rather than real life; where fancy has found little else to revel in, save the solitary and the mighty; and where it has been considered as desperate a matter to carry through a substantial plot, as it would have been to establish houses and highways,—even here has our novelist contrived to keep us through nearly two sizeable volumes, not only contented, but absolutely delighted; and not only with enough to see and wonder at, but with as much to interest the active mind, as can be found in the complicated intrigues of the thronged world. Throughout this tale, the interest excited is intense and untiring. There is in the very movement of a war-ship through the waters, something stirring and beautiful. The dangers she may encounter, and the glory she flings over the deep in her prosperous career, come upon us with their peculiar associations of anxiety and wonder. But when, in addition to this, the characters of the drama are all clustered on the narrow deck, and our regards are thus concentrated, it is difficult to conceive of a *locus in quo* of deeper or more absorbing interest. The management of the vessel, the descriptions of her in sunshine and storm, with her straight, mysterious, low, black hull, her gliding approach to her prey, and her various graceful evolutions upon the bosom of the ocean,—all these things are sketched by the hand of a master.

The opening scene of the Red Rover is laid in the ancient town of Newport, on a day of mingled rejoicing and sorrow, at the capture of Quebec, and the fall of Wolfe. A mysterious looking vessel, reputed to be a *slaver*, is anchored in the outer harbor, and becomes an object of speculation to three individuals who are early introduced. One, and the 'most imposing' of the trio, is a youth 'of some seven and twenty seasons,' with a fine bearing, and an 'intellectual expression'; the second, a decided sailor of the full swing, and the other a black, very properly called Scipio Africanus. These two last, are the attached followers of Mr Wilder, so called, the person first named. While speculating on the character of the strange ship, the party is joined by a fourth person, a stranger in green, who, as he is one of the important personages of the book, we shall allow the author to introduce.

He 'was a man between thirty and forty, and of a mien and attire not a little adapted to quicken the already active curiosity of the good-man Homespun. His person was slight, but afforded the promise of exceeding agility, and even of vigor, especially when contrasted with his stature, which was scarcely equal to the medium height of man. His skin had been dazzling as that of women, though a deep red which had taken possession of the lower lineaments of his face, and which was particularly conspicuous in the outline of a fine aquiline nose, served to destroy all appearance of effeminacy. His hair was like his complexion, fair, and fell about his temples in rich, glossy, and exuberant curls. His mouth and chin were beautiful in their formation, but the former was a little scornful, and the two together bore a decided character of voluptuousness. The eye was blue, full without being prominent, and though in common placid and even soft, there were moments when it seemed a little unsettled and wild. He wore a high conical hat, placed a little on one side, so as to give a slightly rakish expression to his physiognomy, a riding frock of light green, breeches of buckskin, high boots and spurs. In one of his hands he carried a small whip, with which when first seen he was cutting the air, with an appearance of the utmost indifference to the surprise occasioned by his sudden interruption.'

Our new acquaintance, who according to his own story, is 'no more than an unworthy barrister in the service of his majesty,' after some biting intercourse with Wilder upon maritime matters, suggested by the appearance of the slaver, is left to the prying mercies of a certain honest and warrior tailor of the neighborhood ; and it is finally agreed between them, that the ship is the ship of the Rover himself, and that by their concerted measures on the morrow, certain desperate and proper measures shall be taken to secure her.

We are next accompanying our barrister to the Newport ruin, a 'circular tower' that overlooks the town and harbor. Here, having again fallen in with Wilder, who we now find is a young mariner in search of employment, they overhear the conversation of certain females near them, from which it appears that the youngest of the party, a daughter of General Grayson, of Carolina, with her governess, is about to leave the protection of her aunt, the widow De Lacey, for the residence of her father. They are interchanging remarks upon the ship in which the voyage is to be made. The author has contrived here to be quite sarcastic upon female pretensions in nautical matters ; and the affectionate propensity of the relict of the Rear Admiral, is excellently developed. The dowager de-

clares her enthusiastic admiration of a ' vessel cutting the waves with her taffrail, and chasing her wake on the trackless waters,' a doctrine that seems to operate very decidedly upon the listeners above, which, as the party retires, is manifested ' in a fit of clamorous merriment, that caused the old ruin to ring as in its best days of windy power.' The barrister here suddenly takes leave of his companion, descends, displaces the ladder, leaves Wilder in the attic of the mill, and hurries toward the town. The prisoner is soon released however by his followers, Fid and the black. We have here something of the profession. Wilder inquires if they had observed the direction the stranger had taken.

' " Do you mean the chap in boots, who was for shoving his oar into another man's rullock, a bit ago, on the small matter of a wharf, here away, in a range, over yonder house, bringing the north-east chimney to bear in a line with the mizen-top-gallant-mast-head of the ship they are warping into the stream ? "

' " The very same."

' " He made a slant on the wind until he had weathered yonder bit of a barn, and then he tacked and stretched away off here to the east-and-by-south, going large, and with studding sails alow and aloft, as I think, for he made a devil of a head-way." '

That night Wilder discloses his intentions. He seeks the pretended slaver, accompanied by his faithful adherents. Here we have a sea-picture, and a sample of that fine descriptive power in which our author has never been excelled. Wilder is then shown to the cabin, and finds himself in the presence of our old acquaintance the barrister. After some preliminaries, it is settled that Wilder shall fill the place of lieutenant on board the Rover, and under promise of secrecy, and a return in the morning, he lands again in Newport. Here he seeks the residence of the dowager, and endeavors to dissuade the females from embarking in the ship before mentioned, for reasons that the reader will readily apprehend. His objections to the ship are met and answered by an old seaman (the Rover in disguise), who happens to be present, and who very indignantly maintains ' that it is just as wicked, and as little likely to be forgiven, to speak scandal of a wholesome and sound ship, as it is to talk amiss of mortal christian.' The party eventually embarks in the Bristol trader, and Wilder receives a mysterious hint from the Rover to enter himself on board the same vessel, which he does, much to his satisfaction apparently, as well as the wonder of the passengers.

Then follows a series of nautical evolutions, in the endeavor of the Royal Caroline to pass to the windward of the slaver. This affords an abundance of stirring, startling, and highly poetical description. At length Wilder gets to sea, leaving the Rover at anchor, in the same beautiful but treacherous quiet; in which she is first presented to us. Here we have another instance of that description, that nothing but reality can surpass.

'The night was rather misty than dark. A full and bright moon had arisen; but it pursued its path through the heavens behind a body of dusky clouds, that were much too dense for any borrowed rays to penetrate. Here and there a straggling gleam appeared to find its way through a covering of vapor less dense than the rest, and fell upon the water like the dim illumination of a distant taper. As the wind was fresh and easterly, the sea seemed to throw upward, from its agitated surface, more light than it received; long lines of white glittering foam following each other, and lending, at moments, a distinctness to the surface of the waters, that the heavens themselves wanted. The ship was bowed low on its side; and as it entered each rolling swell of the ocean, a wide crescent of foam was driven ahead, as if the element gambolled along its path.'

That night there is hot pursuit, and Wilder drives his ship under a cloud of sail.

'The Royal Caroline, seemed, like her crew, sensible of the necessity of increasing her speed. As she felt the pressure of the broad sheets of canvas that had just been distended, the ship bowed lower, and appeared to recline on the bed of water, which rose under her lee nearly to the scuppers. On the other side, the dark plank and polished copper lay bare for many feet, though often washed by the waves, that came sweeping along her length, green and angrily, still capped, as usual, with crests of lucid foam. The shocks, as the vessel tilted against the billows, were becoming every moment more severe; and from each encounter, a bright cloud of spray arose, which either fell glittering on the deck, or drove, in brilliant mist, across the rolling water, far to leeward.'

The approach of a tornado is depicted with surpassing power in the following passages.

'Wilder made a swift turn or two on the quarter-deck, never ceasing to bend his quick glances' 'from his silent and profoundly expectant crew to the dim lines of spars that were waving above his head, like so many pencils tracing their curvilinear and wanton images over the murky volumes of the superincumbent clouds.' 'In a moment twenty dark forms were seen leaping up the rig-

ging, and in another minute, the vast and powerful sheets of canvass were effectually rendered harmless, by securing them in tight rolls to their respective spars. The men descended as swiftly as they had mounted to the yards, and then succeeded another short and breathing pause. At that moment a candle would have sent its flame perpendicularly towards the heavens. The ship, missing the steadying power of the wind, rolled heavily in the troughs of the seas, which, however, began to be more diminutive, at each instant; as though the startled element was recalling, into the security of its own vast bosom, that portion of its particles which had, just before, been permitted to gambol so madly over its surface. The water washed sullenly along the side of the ship, or as she laboring rose from one of her frequent falls into the hollows of the waves, it shot back into the ocean from her decks in numberless little glittering cascades. Every hue of the heavens, every sound of the element, and each dusky and anxious countenance that was visible, helped to proclaim the intense interest of the moment.'

Our limits will not allow us to extract as freely as we wish; we hazard the following, however, which we think is not surpassed by any passage in the volume. The topsail is cut away from the extremity of the yard.

'The canvass broke from its fastenings with a loud explosion and for an instant was seen sailing in the air, ahead of the ship, as though sustained on the wings of an eagle.'

The Caroline is wrecked and deserted by the crew, in a state little short of mutiny. Wilder and his female companions are saved by committing themselves to the launch. The scene here is fearful and thrilling to the last degree, and furnishes one of the best efforts of the author. The ship is about to go down.

'His companions saw the change, but not for the empire of the world, could either of them have uttered a syllable. Another low, threatening, rumbling sound was heard, and then the pent air beneath blew up the forward part of the deck, with an explosion like that of a gun.

'Now grasp the ropes I have given you,' cried Wilder, breathless with his eagerness to speak. His words were smothered by the rushing and gurgling of waters. The vessel made a plunge like a dying whale, and raising its stern high into the air, glided into the depths of the sea, like the leviathan seeking his secret places. The motionless boat was lifted with the ship, until it stood in an attitude fearfully approaching to the perpendicular. As the wreck descended, the bows of the launch met the element,

burying themselves nearly to filling; but buoyant and light, it rose again and struck powerfully on the stern by the settling mass; the little ark shot ahead, as though it had been driven by the hand of man. Still, as the water rushed into the vortex, every thing within its influence yielded to the suction; and at the next instant the launch was seen darting down the declivity, as if eager to follow the vast machine, of which it had so long formed a dependant, through the same gaping whirlpool, to the bottom. Then it rose, rocking to the surface; and, for a moment, was tossed and whirled like a bubble circling in the eddies of a pool. After which, the ocean moaned, and slept again; the moonbeams playing across its treacherous bosom, sweetly and calm, as the rays are seen to quiver on a lake, that is embedded in sheltering mountains.'

The next day, they discover the pinnace, in which the mutineers had deserted, a wreck upon the waves; and there soon follows an appalling spectacle. This passage, though a fine one, is weak at its close; and shows the mischief of *surplusage* in describing a palpable and terrible scene.

'A grim human form was seen, erect, and half exposed, advancing in the midst of the broken crest, which was still covering the dark declivity to windward with foam. For a moment it stood, with the brine dripping from the drenched locks, like some being that had issued from the deep, to turn its frightful features on the spectators; and then the lifeless body of a drowned man drove past the launch, which, at the next minute, rose to the summit of the wave, to sink into another vale, *where no such terrifying object floated.*'

The survivors are discovered, and taken on board the Rover. Then follows a sea scene of some mummery, and with something too that is legitimate, in which Fid and the black have occasion to exhibit themselves in a light that engages the attention of the pirate. He orders them before him.

'Then came Fid, followed by the negro, rolling along the deck and thumbing his hat with one hand, while the other sought an awkward retreat in a part of his vestments.

'"You have done well, my lad; you and your messmate."

'"No messmate, your honor, seeing that he is a nigger," interrupted Fid.—"The chap messes with the other blacks, but we take a pull at the can now and then, in company."

'"Your friend, then, if you prefer that term."

'"Ay, ay, sir; we are friendly enough at odd times, though a breeze often springs up between us. Guinea has a d—d awkward fashion of luffing up in his talk; and your honor knows it is n't always comfortable to a white man to be driven to leeward by a

black. I tell him it is inconvenient. He is a good enough fellow in the main, howsomever, sir; and as he is just an African bred and born, I hope you 'll be good enough to overlook his little failings."

'"Were I otherwise disposed," returned the Rover, "his steadiness and activity to-day would plead in his favor."

'"Yes, yes, sir, he is somewhat steady, which is more than I can always say in my own behalf. Then, as for seamanship, there are few men who are his betters; I wish your honor would take the trouble to walk forward, and look at the heart he turned in the main stay, no later than the last calm; it takes the strain as easy as a small sin sits on a rich man's conscience."

'"I am satisfied with your description. You call him Guinea?"

'"Call him by anything along the coast; for he is no way particular, seeing he was never christened, and knows nothing at all of the bearings and distances of religion." '

At this stage, the Rover sees fit to let Wilder a little into his history; but it is too vague, to allow us to gather from it sufficient reason for his abandoning himself to the desperate course of life in which we find him. The conversation between the freebooter and his female passengers is sometimes well sustained; but there is something unnatural in his tone, as long as we are not aware, that he is conscious *who* is before him; and it seems quite out of place as well as character, for Gertrude to rebuke him, in his own lawless cabin, in the language of the Book of Job. During this portion of the time, also, Master Fid discloses something of the history of Wilder, that seems to excite the peculiar attention of the governess.

A sail is discovered. Among the opinions gathered upon this interesting topic, that of the black is hit off with admirable humor.

'"I ask you, if the stranger may not be a dozen tons larger or smaller than what you have named?" continued the Rover.

'"H'em just as massa wish 'em," returned Scipio.

'"I wish him a thousand, since he will then prove a richer prize."

'"I s'pose he'm quite a t'ousand, sir."

'"Or a snug ship of three hundred, if lined with gold, might do."

'"He look berry like a t'ree hundred."

'"To me, it seems a brig."

'"I t'ink him brig too, massa."

'"Or, possibly, after all the stranger may prove a schooner, with many lofty and light sails."

'"A schooner often carry a royal," continued the black.

'"And you think it questionable, whether it be a sail at all?"

'"H'em sartain nothing but a fly-away."

Fid soon interposes.

'"What the devil do you take it for, Guinea? a church?"

'"I t'ink him church," responded the acquiescent black.

'"Lord help the dark-skinned fool! Your honor knows that conscience is damnably overlooked in Africa,"' &c.

The Rover's critique upon his crew is well managed; though somewhat out of season. Among others, the author has attempted a portrait of the Yankee, we *guess*, and one quite excellent in its way. The display of flags to the stranger sail, is in the best style of nautical coquetry. After showing other signals, the Rover's orders are to

'"Let him see the taunting drapeau blanc." Wilder obeyed in silence. The field of Portugal was hauled to the deck, and the white flag of France was given to the air. The ensign had hardly fluttered in its elevated position, before a broad, glossy blazonry rose, like some enormous bird taking wing, from the deck of the stranger, and opened its folds in graceful waves at his gaft. The same instant a column of smoke issued from his bows, and had sailed backward through his rigging, ere the report of the gun of defiance found its way, against the fresh breezes of the trade, to the ears of the Dolphin's crew.'

There appear to be other indications of hostility on board the ship of the crown.

'"Hark! 't is a drum. The stranger is going to his guns."

'The Rover listened a moment, and was able to catch the well known beat which calls the people of a vessel of war to quarters.'—

'"We will imitate his example, Mr Wilder; let the order be given."'

Battle, however, for the present is avoided. The Rover hoists the flag of England, and under it, goes on board the 'Dart,' where he plays on the old commander, discovers that Wilder is an officer attached to the vessel, and returns in safety and unsuspected to his own ship. There occurs here a good opportunity for a display of some moral sense, which is very properly made use of; and though discovered, the Rover offers Wilder and his female charge free passage to the King's ship, where the ancient captain is sufficiently edified, in learning that he had had the honor of receiving the Red pirate in his very cabin.

Wilder, under the white flag, becomes the bearer of terms of capitulation, which are refused, and a sea-fight ensues.

What the Rover's guns did not effect, is finished by a hurricane, and the 'Dart' falls a prize to the freebooter. The death of Scipio Africanus unravels the plot, and affords a few passages of homely, but natural and inimitable pathos. The chaplain proposes prayer for the dying negro.

'"I don't know—I don't know!" answered Fid, gulping his words, and uttering a hem that was still deep and powerful, as in the brightest and happiest of his days. "When there is so little time given to a poor fellow to speak his mind in, it may be well to let him have a chance to do most of the talking. Something may come uppermost which he would like to send to his friends in Africa; in which case, we may as well be looking out for a proper messenger. Hah! what is it, boy? You see he is already trying to rouse something up out of his ideas."

'"Misser Fid—h'em take a collar," said the black, struggling for utterance.

'"Ay, ay, Guinea; put your mind at ease on that point, and for that matter, on all others. You shall have a grave as deep as the sea, and christian burial, boy, if this here parson will stand by his work. Any small message you may have for your friends shall be logg'd, and put in the way of coming to their ears. You have had much foul weather in your time, Guinea, and some squalls have whistled about your head, that might have been spared, mayhap, had your color been a shade or two lighter. For that matter, it may be that I have rode you down a little too close myself, boy, when overheated with the conceit of skin; for all which may the Lord forgive me, as freely as I hope you will do the same thing!"

'The negro made a fruitless effort to rise, endeavoring to grasp the hand of the other, saying as he did so—

'"Misser Fid beg a pardon of a black man! Masser aloft forget h'em all, misser Richard; he t'ink 'em no more."

'"It will be what I call a d—d generous thing if he does," returned Richard, whose sorrow, and whose conscience, had stirred up his uncouth feelings to an extraordinary degree. "There 's the affair of slipping off the wreck of the smuggler has never been properly settled atween us neither; and many other small services of like nature, for which, d' ye see, I 'll just thank you, while there is opportunity; for no one can say whether we shall ever be borne again on the same ship's books."'

Wilder proves to be the child of the governess, who in her turn proves to be the widow of De Lacey, a son of the admiral of the same name; and, as a proper conclusion of matters on deck, the prisoners are released, and the Rover retires. The next day he suddenly alters his course of life, disperses his

crew, sets fire to and blows up the 'Dolphin,' while himself, and another intimately connected with him, escape in some mysterious manner. Twenty years after this time, he lands as mysteriously in Newport, is discovered to be a brother of Mrs De Lacey, and dies under her roof, and with his kindred about him.

Indistinctness is a fault into which Mr Cooper is apt to fall in the closing scenes of his story. This is an unfortunate failing at a moment when we naturally require a bold relief of every circumstance, and when our regards are concentrating on the converging personages of the drama. All this may arise from a very poetical state of feeling, that throws a kind of glare over every object; and it no doubt very naturally accompanies the peculiar excitement of the *finale*. But it is to be avoided, as there is a chance that the mass of readers are looking forward to a clear catastrophe, and are not always able, perhaps, to participate fully in the emotions of the writer.

In the delineation of the Rover, again, it occurs to us that there is something objectionable. There is too much poetry about him. It is not, in all respects, the natural character of a man who has so long led a life of peril and depravity, and spent the better part of his days in the reckless swing of desperation. There is, perhaps, too much of the genteel villain, and too little of the Ishmaelite, in his composition.

Upon the whole, we apprehend the American public has more than cause to be satisfied, with this last present from Mr Cooper; and will look with an interest proportionably increased to what he shall next send us, from his elegant retreat. What may we not expect from the native genius of the West, kindled into new warmth at the altars of Vaucluse?

ART. VIII.—*The Remains of* NATHANIEL APPLETON HAVEN. *With a Memoir of his Life*, by GEORGE TICKNOR. 1827. 8vo. pp. 351.

We think the wiser part of the world is growing weary of great men; or is at least growing more correct in its estimate of greatness. For thousands of years it has paid its willing reverence to that class of men, whose whole employment is to

injure and oppress the rest; now, it is beginning to require a more intellectual superiority. Orators and authors are the heroes of the day; and the same hearty and enthusiastic applause follows exploits of the mind, which was once reserved for military success. The conflicts that really decide the destiny of nations, are fought in congresses and parliaments; and the interest of the strife is transferred to the fields where their fate is actually decided; as is abundantly proved by the profound sensation of the whole civilized world, at the death of the late Mr Canning; who, with a public character not so well fitted to inspire enthusiasm as others that have been before him, excited an interest immeasurably deeper, and fell more brilliantly in the moment of his bloodless victory, than Dundee at Killicrankie, or Nelson at Trafalgar.

We venture to hope that the time will come, when usefulness, if it is not the measure of greatness, will at least be sure of the applause of men. The world has been singularly inattentive to its rights and welfare; it has invariably misapplied that applause, which must be the inspiration and guide of common ambition. When it is once known that usefulness will secure its favor, it will be like the discovery of a new compass, for guiding a thousand adventurers to an innocent and enviable fame. Men of higher principle, too, will be animated by the conviction that the world is on their side. We think, that whether we consider the difficulties encountered and sacrifices made, or the spirit and energy required to meet them, nothing is more noble and reviving than examples of men, who, with prospects of wealth that lead to indolence and talents fitted for display, are yet able, through all the misleading opinions of the world and the flatteries of self-love, to discern that man's best interest and glory is to be serviceable to his fellow-men; who can devote themselves to the great cause of human improvement, not with momentary vigor but persevering resolution; not in its mere attractive parts, its pillars and capitals, but in the humbler places where the deep foundation is laid; conscious that they may never see the result of their labor, and doubting sometimes whether it is not wholly vain. Such living sacrifices, we think, are even more illustrious than the dying self-devotion of martyrs; for it requires more strength to sustain the heart in the weary trial of life, than in the short agony of death. Milton complained with reason that men were so earnest to celebrate their destroyers, that they had left 'the better fortitude of patience and heroic martyrdom

unsung;' but he was too far before his age for even his mighty voice to reach it;—we trust that the stern old prophet has found many a heart in our times, to reply to those indignant appeals, which found no answering chord in his own.

We say so much of usefulness, because it was the prevailing trait in Mr Haven's character. There was no transient excitement, but a calm and natural elevation in his desire to do good. Its freedom from all selfishness was shown in the fact that he was willing to make precisely the kind of efforts that were anywhere required, whether great or trifling, high or low. We apprehend that there are many who are ambitious to be useful on grand and extensive plans; who leave it a matter of doubt, whether they are most interested in the welfare of others, or the success of their favorite systems. There are many who will consent to make great sacrifices, while they will not descend to lower exertions; who, perhaps, would find that they were influenced by a secret ambition, an unacknowledged pride. But no one can doubt the disinterestedness of him who is ready to do everything,—who does not consider the most trifling means of happiness beneath him. We are anxious to publish such examples, because they show, that private life offers no such limited fields of usefulness as most men suppose; that to look out from their windows, as men often do, saying they can do nothing, is a confession not of weakness, but unfaithfulness; that there is everywhere evil to be prevented and good to be done; that there is power, influence, and responsibility resting in the humblest hand. Besides, they offer a proof delightful in itself and honorable to men, that usefulness will be repaid with gratitude; and who that takes counsel of his heart, would not rather his name were written in the book of affectionate remembrance than in the broadest page of glory?

The volume, which the just partiality of Mr Haven's friends has collected, exhibits an uncommon union of talent and piety with perfect taste. We have some fears lest it shall be undervalued on this account, and like some specimens of classical architecture in our country, be too simple to be generally admired; for there is neither audacity nor pretension in his style; and we have been sometimes inclined to think that the public taste favored the cavalier and ambitious manner of writing. But it is full of good sense, and just and liberal views of human character and duty; the opinions are evidently his own; there is no where to be traced a single scar left by the chains of any

party. It is chiefly on account of the fine and generous morality which runs through the work, that we wish to present it to our readers. To make them acquainted with this, we shall set before them the 'living letter,' the character of its lamented writer.

We naturally desire to know what causes have conspired to form an estimable character; but we cannot often trace them. The mind chooses its destiny for itself; and those who educate others, should care not so much to place them in favorable circumstances, as to give them those principles which allow but little power to external influences. Mr Haven was very fortunate in his early instruction, both at home and when he was placed under the care of Dr Abbot of Exeter, a gentleman who enjoys the respect and gratitude of numbers, who have been so fortunate as to be the objects of his paternal regard. But it is better that we should feel that every one's character depends upon himself, and that no one is ever placed in circumstances so unfortunate, that he has not power within himself to control or resist them. Mr Haven passed his life with the companions of his childhood, and it is a strong testimony in his favor, that they respected as much as they loved him;—there were no youthful follies and vices to be remembered with sorrow and shame. It is possible that his weakness of sight, which sometimes occasioned extreme suffering, may have had an influence upon his character; there is no doubt that such a misfortune has often been singularly happy in its effect. When the sight fails, the mind seems lighted up from within; driven back upon its own resources, it finds powers in itself which it never was conscious of possessing. We think we have known men of ardent imagination, whose minds were disciplined into strength and logical precision, while they were shut out from commuion with the visible world;—gaining the habit of profound and patient thought, without losing their gracefulness and beauty. We have no doubt that his privation was of service to Mr Haven's mind; we can say more confidently, that by this and all his other suffering, his heart was made better and purer.

We are interested to make his character known, because he is an example, more needed in this country than many others, of a young man, who came forward into life prepared in every respect to sustain a manly part. Either our habits or institutions are apt to bring young men forward before their characters are formed. Whether their education might not be hastened,

we are not prepared to say; but certain it is, that sometimes the mechanical preparation is complete, and the moral fitness entirely wanting. The sense of responsibility is not enlarged by just views of the duties of life; the conscience is not quick and active in proportion to the increasing temptations; and the passions, always in advance of the reason, are apt to take the mastery of the mind, because if there is leisure to detect the moral deficiency, there is not firmness enough to repair it. The young recruits of our professions too often seem like the youthful soldier, disgusted with the service, or sinking under it. The subject of this Memoir was remarkable for this moral preparation for active life. Long before he entered it, he surveyed the ground on which he was to stand and the duties he should be called to do. In consequence he was able to meet his obligations well, and at the same time to draw from life the best enjoyment it ever affords. He found time to attend to every claim, and held such a place in the general affection, as talents or amiable dispositions alone could never have entitled him to fill.

Though not an enthusiast in anything, Mr Haven was very ardent in the pursuit of his profession,—the law. But in his character every part kept its just proportion. His delicate taste was not suffered to disgust him with the practical details of his profession. He knew that there was no real inconsistency between professional eminence and literary taste; the former was not an object which he permitted to swallow up every other; nor was it necessary for him, as for the Ephesian sorcerers, to burn his books of enchantment;—for, though strictly faithful to the interests confided to his care, he kept up his acquaintance with classical studies and general literature, without what the merest slave of the profession could have called a waste of time. He found opportunity to suggest and mature various plans of public improvement;—the moment his mind was at liberty, it seemed to turn of itself to the general welfare. His biographer speaks of Lord Mansfield as the model for a lawyer; we think Mr Haven would have been more ambitious to resemble Sir Matthew Hale, the Angel of the English law. For religion, deep, sincere, and fervent, entered into all his pursuits and feelings. It was not worn as a garment, but was a part of himself; it appeared, because it could not help appearing in his words, deeds, and even his manner. But there was nothing mechanical in his piety; he never would put on the livery of

any party whatever. This undoubtedly was the cause of the universal confidence reposed in him, a confidence which never for a moment faltered; which was never so firm and trusting, as at the moment of his death. No one can read without emotion the accounts of the feeling produced by that event. Many can remember the gloom which hung over our city when it was known that Buckminster was no more; and when Gallison died, a friend of Haven, who like him had earned the public affection by his devoted regard for its welfare. Such was the sensation which the loss of Mr Haven occasioned in his native place. We expect to see the glittering wheels of labor standing still, and the sounds of busy life suspended for a time, when the mighty are fallen; but to see the same ready and willing tribute given to excellence alone, is a proof of correct feeling which we are happy to set down. It is not less honorable to those who offer it, than to those to whom it is paid.

We should not call Mr Haven a man of genius, if we are sure that we know the meaning of that much injured name. His mind was naturally powerful, and disciplined with great judgment and care. It was rather correct and elegant, than rapid and brilliant; his confidence in its decisions was founded, not on his consciousness of native talent, but on his patient and fair attention. His perceptions seemed always just; but this may be attributed in part to his perfect moral feeling. The boundaries of right and wrong were as distinctly marked in his mind, as the limits of the ocean and the shore; he could not have passed for a moment from one into the other, without feeling that he was in an element not his own. In this respect there was nothing shifting or unsettled in his mind; his feelings of moral obligation were like decrees of fate to him; he never thought of hesitating to obey them; and they gave such a harmony to his powers, such 'a daily beauty' to his life, such a sabbath stillness to his constant exertion, that every one knew he was to be found at any hour in the silent walks of duty. He brought the distant results of duty near, and acted upon them as if they were matters of the day. This was the secret of his cheerfulness; he viewed life so justly, that he looked for his best happiness in an unwearied fidelity to his obligations,—a trait of character which implies intellectual power as well as moral principle, strength of mind as well as of heart.

Perhaps this was the reason that he appeared to so much

advantage in conversation. He was always elegant and interesting, though never ambitious of display. But the prevailing charm was his fine moral feeling, which, without anything rigid about it, was firm and unyielding. It was always active, and sprang at once to his lips. Nothing could prevent him from bearing witness against acts of meanness, inhumanity, or oppression. He was not, like too many good men, to be disheartened by a smile, but would declare his moral and religious sentiments, without the least regard to the ridicule or censure of others. His opinions were always his own, and expressed with manly strength; still he always paid a sacred regard to the feelings of others; not with that affected charity which so many endeavor to put on, and which evidently costs them much effort and self-restraint; but with the candor inspired by the remembrance, that the rights and claims of others were precisely the same with his own. His kindness of manner and simplicity of language made him very interesting to children; their faces always brightened as he came nigh. In truth their happiness was one of his chief concerns, and he did much to spread those better views of education, which do not require that children shall be flattered and tortured,—which would not make them wiser and better sorely against their will, but prefer to begin by awakening their interest in the pursuits opened before them. In familiar conversation with his friends he had a playful humor, which we believe always attends men of superior talent; if they do not always use it, they have it within their power.

As a writer, Mr Haven seemed to have little ambition beyond that of being useful. His object was to express just thoughts in plain and pleasing language. He never endeavored to be original or striking, but he was well known as a writer of the highest order. His literary example was beyond all praise; though he had power to gain admiration, he consented himself with those humbler efforts whose only reward is the good they do. But he could not help exercising a wide and happy influence, and he did much in conjunction with others to correct certain vicious propensities of the public taste. In newspaper writing particularly, a dash of vulgarity will sometimes pass for graceful ease, and wretched humor be accepted in place of good sense. It was fortunate that for several years, he was able in the capacity of editor of the well known 'Portsmouth Journal,' to contend with these and other heresies,

into which our political writers are apt to fall. It was plain, from the interest with which this paper was read, from the reputation it added to his native state, and from the respect paid to his opinions, that he might have labored in a more attractive department of letters and secured a wider fame. We are glad that he repressed his ambition, if he had any; for we hardly know how a man can render a greater service to society at present, than by giving the example of a well conducted public print. The influence of the press is so wide and sure, that it ought to be dignified and commanding. When it is the readiest, perhaps most powerful way of reaching the public mind, and when the respect paid to an editor of a newspaper is elevated in proportion to his character, we are glad to find that our most able men are not obliged to leave this field to the savage and desperate slaves of party; we are glad to find this mighty engine sometimes in hands which use it with a feeling of responsibility and high-minded principle. The 'Portsmouth Journal' was not exclusively devoted to politics, but partly filled with literary intelligence and opinions. Some of the essays published in this paper, it is well known, carried high authority with them, and deserve to be treasured in a more lasting form. They were not acceptable to all, but all acknowledge their ability. Mr Haven had his own political sentiments, and expressed them without the least reserve; but he was almost destitute of party feeling; he was earnest for what he thought was right, but he never submitted his opinions to the guidance of any party. He probably saw that almost all parties are founded on an unworthy principle,—that they are bound together by their common hatred to some other,—that no strong party is ever formed, without something opposed to it to hate and condemn. This is an union in which he could have no share. Much goodly nonsense is held forth concerning the necessity of parties in a free state; and though parties permit no one to form an opinion except it agrees with theirs, and no one to express his dissent from theirs, even on the most conscientious conviction; though they brand with apostasy the man who, deliberately judging, dares to question any one of their decisions; though they cherish that low-minded jealousy which is ever calumniating the wise and good, and oppose obstacles to every improvement, which it sometimes requires centuries to overcome,—they are recommended as tending to keep up a manly watchfulness, when they only nourish the disease of

perpetual suspicion. It is perhaps for the same enlightened reason, that we find them in every parish, town, and city, and it may hereafter be discovered, that no family can prosper without them. It is well to make the best of them as an evil that divides men's hearts and weakens their hands, but not to parade them as a fortunate result of free institutions. The only argument we remember to have heard in their favor is, that they prevent any party from gaining a dangerous ascendency; this we take to be an acknowledgment that party itself is, after all, the real danger; and we wish that the time might come, when the nation shall be no longer agitated without a cause, like the sea when the winds are sleeping, but the simple question of right and wrong shall be the only one in every manly breast.

The zeal with which Mr Haven supported an *Athenæum* in his native place, deserves to be publicly known. It was a proof of judgment as well as public spirit; for libraries and reading-rooms in cities are by no means to be regarded as luxuries; they are absolutely necessary to balance the influence of our commercial prosperity, which, like the taste of blood to beasts of prey, might otherwise make our communities unfeeling, ravenous, and grasping. In some of our cities, Athenæums and libraries are supported with praiseworthy liberality; others have reason to blush when the stranger inquires for these institutions. It is no answer, to say that they could not unite in their support; the mere fact that the institutions are wanting, and that the public are content without them, decides their claim to the character of a cultivated people. Mr Haven was fortunate in finding associates in this plan, and also in another, of more questionable usefulness, unless it is judiciously controlled, and the standard of successful exertion set very high; we refer to a debating society, in which he took a deep interest, and which he could not have supported, had he not believed that it spread a desire of real improvement as well as of display. The mere talent of speaking grows wild in this country, and it is by no means necessary to multiply the facilities for indulging it; it is already so general and contagious, as to threaten to put a total stop to public business in our national and state legislatures. We have been told by a statesman of times past, that when Hamilton first made speeches in Congress half an hour long, the members left their seats, indignant at so enormous a perversion of the purpose of a deliberative assembly. Such was the taste of that day; and we have often wondered

what could have made that such an object of ambition to statesmen, which is counted an infirmity in matrons in the last decline of age. Mr Haven, in the legislature of his own state, never recommended this practice by his example.

Beside these things, he interested himself in the public schools, not content to leave them in ignorant hands, nor to leave them at the mercy of projectors; he felt a direct personal responsibility when any act of usefulness was within his power; and these claims, though many and pressing, never interfered with his professional success. The amount of his business was increasing every year; and if there is any surer test of merit than this, those whose good opinion was an honor, esteemed him sure of a foremost place at the bar. In the foremost rank of the community he certainly stood; and the magnitude and importance of the place which he filled, was sadly shown by the vacancy left at his death.

It is certain, that one really interested in the welfare of society, will give especial heed to children. He will see something to reform in education as in everything else, and, what is of some importance, there is less danger of losing his labor. These exertions cannot well be lost; the young mind receives the readiest as well as deepest impressions; and when the form is fairly given to it, it grows firmer by exposure. There are many instances, in which words carelessly spoken have sunk deep into a child's breast. He in after years has taught the same diligently to his children; and thus the good impulse, almost unconsciously given, has gone down into the hearts of thousands, like forests springing from the seed of some chance-sown tree. But nothing requires more judgment or more affectionate interest in the pursuit; for it is not the sole object to govern and subdue; neither is weariness of the flesh necessarily of service to the mind. If the children in our schools must be as Virgil describes them in another existence, *infantúmque animæ flentes in limine primo*, the teacher may boast that he has 'done his duty by their parents,' but the object of education is unanswered.

This is still more true of sunday schools. Many parents in our cities give their children no religious instruction. They send them from the shore, and expect them to drift to the destined harbor. Others are so solicitous to have their children taught, that they often give them a distaste for religion that lasts throughout their lives. Mr Haven saw that in his native

place, there were many parents of both descriptions, and on this account he was induced to form a sunday school in his own religious society; not so much to teach religion, as to prepare the children to receive religious impressions, to awaken their curiosity and attention, to help them in their inquiries, and to teach them what they were unable to learn of themselves. We are happy to observe the manner in which his accomplished biographer speaks of these humble labors, and we fully believe that the result was such as he describes, that Mr Haven exerted an influence, great as it was beneficial, on the community in which he lived, and that many, who still rejoice in the light which he afforded them, treasure his memory with a feeling which no time can wear away. He deserved to be thus remembered; for it is no common thing for men to forget their literary eminence and give up their social pleasure, even for their own children. There are few to whom the sacrifice would have been so great as it was to him; for the Sabbath was not a lost day in his calendar; it was a time of which he valued every hour.

It may not be out of place, to say that it was religion which kept his mind in this active and useful exertion; religion, of the most pure and generous kind; religion, little interested in forms or parties, and appearing only in his never-failing devotion to men and his sacrifice of himself to God. It made him an example of disinterested fidelity in that high profession, which protects the poor in his earnings as well as the rich in his wealth. It gave elevation to his intellectual ardor, and made his moral as delicate as his literary taste; it led him to the lanes of poverty and affliction when even the Samaritan had passed by; and now, we doubt not, it has given him another and nobler existence. But he has another existence yet, in the hearts of men; he is useful by his example, now that he has perished from the living; for he has finely illustrated his own admirable maxim, 'Oh! there is nothing in life worth pursuit but personal improvement; there is nothing in life can give happiness but personal virtue.'

This book opens with a 'Memoir,' written, we believe, by a personal friend of Mr Haven. It is such as might be expected from the well known character of the writer; possibly it is rather more guarded than was necessary in respect of praise. It is rather fashionable to condemn eulogy; but such memorials are meant to praise, and it is idle to find fault with them for

doing what they are designed for. If it be said that they may give too partial an impression, we think there is little danger that men will receive too partial impressions in general either of the living or the dead. We know of no faults in Mr Haven's character that deserve to be remembered; and great injustice would have been done if any were published with affected candor, to impair the brightness of his example. We do not say this in reference to the 'Memoir' before us; it is such a portrait as his friends delight to recognise, such as all wish to resemble, and yet such as his worst enemy could not help allowing to be just.

The volume contains two orations, one delivered at the Centennial celebration in New Hampshire, the other before the Phi Beta Kappa Society of Dartmouth College. We well remember the pleasure given by the former to a large and intellectual audience; and this suggests to us that almost every part of this book will be read at the greatest disadvantage, because almost all the essays were occasional and the interest of the times has passed away. The situation and the opinions of the world are so changed in ten years, that now a child knows what it then required a powerful mind to discover through the confusion of that day. Keeping this in view, we shall know how to value his estimate of Napoleon's character, and the sketch of Cromwell, another remarkable man, whose historical character perhaps cannot yet be painted by an impartial hand. The extracts from the 'Portsmouth Journal' on the 'Balance of Trade,' and similar subjects, are well known to many of our readers; we will therefore give a specimen of his Christian philosophical reflection.

'There is in the history of Jesus Christ something peculiarly captivating to the minds of children. He is presented to them in a form which they can apprehend. He is not, like the Supreme Being, something vast and incomprehensible, filling all space and supporting all existence, without being seen or heard or understood. When they are instructed in the being and attributes of God, they can bring to their imagination no visible point in which they can centre the rays of his glory. The mind is overwhelmed and lost, when it attempts to grasp what is infinite and eternal. But Jesus Christ appeared on earth as one of our own race. He partook of our nature, and when we think of him, we can bring to our minds his person, his deportment, his words, and all the circumstances of his life. This is peculiarly valuable in the instruction of children. Jesus Christ, while on earth, passed through all

the stages of human existence from infancy to manhood. He can therefore, command our sympathies in every period of our own lives. There is scarcely a social or relative duty, scarcely an act or suffering in the countless variety of human scenes, in which we cannot derive instruction and support from his example. The history of Jesus Christ should therefore be engraven on the minds of children; they should be made acquainted with its minutest details. No opportunity should be lost of associating it with something that they already know or feel. The chords of religious emotion should be so multiplied, that, strike where you will in after life, some string shall be touched that shall vibrate to him.' pp. 202–203.

The specimens of Mr Haven's poetry deserve notice, not so much on account of its originality, as the beautiful tone of its feeling. The world, just come to a sense of its own importance, is too busy to attend to poetry, and there are certainly things more important; but the sweet and thoughtful views of nature, the lonely musings of a poetical imagination, are required to relieve this perpetual and often needless bustle; and a cultivated mind will neither despise, nor be wholly without them. The lines on Autumn, are the most poetical.

'I love the dews of night,
I love the howling wind,
I love to hear the tempest sweep
O'er the billows of the deep!
For nature's saddest scenes delight
The melancholy mind.

Autumn! I love thy bower
With faded garlands drest;
How sweet, alone to linger there
When tempests ride the midnight air,
To snatch from mirth a fleeting hour,
The sabbath of the breast.

Autumn! I love thee well;
Though bleak thy breezes blow.
I love to see the vapors rise,
And clouds roll wildly round the skies,
Where from the plain the mountains swell
And foaming torrents flow.

Autumn! thy fading flowers
Droop but to bloom again;
So man, though doomed to grief awhile,
To hang on fortune's fickle smile,
Shall glow in heaven with nobler powers,
Nor sigh for peace in vain.' p. 257.

ART. IX.—*Reports of Cases Argued and Determined in the Circuit Court of the United States, for the Second Circuit, comprising the Districts of New-York, Connecticut, and Vermont.* By ELIJAH PAINE, Jun., Counsellor at Law. Vol. I. 8vo. pp. 718. New York, 1827.

IN the course of the following article we intend to speak at some length on the importance of promptly reporting adjudicated cases, particularly those settled in the United States courts; of the nature and necessity of the common law, and the only sure means of improving it; of the impossibility of codifying it completely in any of our free legislative assemblies, and the utter inutility of such a measure, even were it easily practicable. At the close of the piece we shall make a few remarks on the volume before us, and on the character of the eminent judges, whose adjudications compose it. We have chosen to lay out our ground thus distinctly before our readers, in order that they may know perfectly well what to depend upon, before they begin. To many of them, no doubt far the greater portion of our theme will be uninteresting, although we ourselves think it of the highest importance. Hitherto we have thought it so much so, that in order to give free play to an inquiry into the merits of the common law, we have admitted into our journal articles upon the subject from the opposite parties in the controversy, and therefore, as it would at first sight appear, wholly irreconcilable with each other. It is of great consequence, we say, that the leading questions in this dispute should by this time be definitively settled. If the common law be of the vicious character, of which some have represented it to be, it should as soon as possible be removed, closely interwoven as it is, with all our political institutions. If, on the contrary, it be an excellent system in itself and admirably suited to our growing wants and changing circumstances, we ought to feel assured of it, that we may live contented under its administration, and do all in our power to give it security and improvement. This is the state of the case, as it appears to us at present. Measures are proposed for the removal of an evil, which does not exist; if it do exist, it is unavoidable; if it be not unavoidable, still the measures proposed never will remove it; and even if they could remove it, when promptly and efficiently carried into execution, in this country at least we venture to say they are wholly impracticable.

Since we last published an article upon this subject, we have the opinion of one of those venerable sages of the profession, who, uniting the noblest talents and the most extensive learning, with the greatest experience, both at the bar and upon the bench of one of the highest courts of judicature in our country, cannot be regarded with too much respect. We should be almost willing to cite such an one, as conclusive authority upon a question, which he is so perfectly competent to settle. Our readers understand us, of course, as alluding to the profound and eloquent Commentator on American Law. We will lay his opinion before them.

'In its improved condition in England, and especially in its improved and varied condition in this country, under the benign influence of an expanded commerce, of enlightened justice, of republican principles, and of sound philosophy, the common law has become a code of matured ethics, and enlarged civil wisdom, admirably adapted to promote and secure the freedom and happiness of social life. It has proved to be a system replete with vigorous and healthy principles, eminently conducive to the growth of civil liberty.'—*Kent's Commentaries*, vol. I. pp. 321, 322.

'A great proportion of the rules and maxims which constitute the immense code of the common law, grew into use by gradual adoption, and received, from time to time, the sanction of the courts of justice, without any legislative act or interference. It was the application of the dictates of natural justice, and of cultivated reason, to particular cases. In the just language of Sir Matthew Hale, the common law of England is "not the product of the wisdom of some one man, or society of men, in any one age; but of the wisdom, counsel, experience, and observation, of many ages of wise and observing men." *And his further remarks on this subject would be well worthy the consideration of those bold projectors, who can think of striking off a perfect code of law at a single essay.*'—*Ibid.* pp. 439, 440.

In all ages and nations there must be common law, or *leges non scriptæ*. And in exact proportion, too, as those are advanced in civilization and refinement, do these become numerous, extensive, and intricate. It was so among the Greeks. It was so also among the Romans.* We know how it is in Eng-

* 'Constat autem jus nostrum, quo utimur, aut scripto, aut sine scripto; ut apud Græcos, τῶν νόμων οἱ μὲν ἔγγραφοι, οἱ δὲ ἄγραφοι.' *Inst. lib.* 1, *tit.* 2, § 3. 'Sine scripto jus venit, quod usus approbavit; nam diuturni mores, consensu utentium comprobati, legem imitantur.' *Ibid.* § 9. 'Et non ineleganter in duas species jus civile distributum esse videtur.' *Ibid.* § 10. Aristotle also makes precisely the same distinction. *Rhet. lib.* 1, *cap.* 10. *Rhet. ad Alex. cap.* 1.

land. It is more or less so in fact, all over the civilized world. It is the case even in France, and is rapidly becoming more so, as we understand, and as every rational man might have fairly expected, under the admirably digested code of Napoleon.* It is so, in short, from the uncompromising nature of things. It lies not in human foresight to anticipate even the various classes of cases that may arise. What legislature, for example, could have previously provided for the great questions that have presented themselves under policies of insurance, or bills of exchange, or promissory notes, or the admissibility of evidence, or the taking of testimony, or in short under any branch or department of law? for to attempt to enumerate them is to limit ourselves, and to confess that they may be enumerated, when they are in fact innumerable. New and unimagined cases will for ever come up, for which no legislative provision could have been made. What then is to be done? There cannot be a great and grievous wrong, without a violation of law. The questions therefore cannot be laid aside; and by what laws must they be settled? By the *leges non scriptæ*, by analogies drawn from previously adjudicated cases, by well established usages and customs, existing among intelligent and experienced people, and arising from, and therefore adapted to their wants, and to circumstances in which they have been placed, and finally ratified by the sanction of the courts of judicature. It is this in fact which forms the first and perhaps the only true foundation of the common law. And without the liberty of judicially resorting to it, we should be in a state infinitely worse than despotism; a state where there are innumerable and continually multiplying violations of right, for which, however, there can be neither redress nor remedy.

We may hold it therefore for an incontrovertible truth, that there must be a common or unwritten law in every civilized state. If it be an evil, it is a necessary evil. No human ingenuity can prevent it. The only question then remaining is, how we can ensure to it correct principles, and give it all the accuracy of which it is susceptible. And we shall give our reasons, in the course of this article, for believing that this can

* Still this code, with all its excellencies, has many defects. It provides no legal remedies. It says nothing of the various forms of action; of pleas or pleadings; of the law of evidence, or of the testimony of witnesses, &c. And it is from some of these sources, that the greatest embarrassments have arisen in settling our common law.

only be done by publishing promptly and faithfully able reports of important decisions, and by applying to the legislature for aid when the evil is of a nature to require correction.

There seems to be something contradictory in the arguments, as they are usually urged, against the character of the common law. By one, the judge is called a legislator, moulding his decisions to suit his own notions of equity and right. By another, he is thought to be so absolutely bound down to precedent and authority, that he dares not depart from them, however unreasonable they may appear to him to be. To our apprehension neither of these statements is in any degree correct. In fact, they neutralize each other.

The legislator is free. No decree from a higher authority, except it be the letter and the spirit of the Constitution, has any restrictive force over his measures. Far different from this, however, with the judge upon the bench. In the capacity of legislator, he has authority to act only so far as is necessary in order to carry some law into execution, and then he is within the narrowest limits, and strictly and ably watched. In clearly settled cases, he is indeed bound to acquiesce ; not because they were arbitrarily or peremptorily decreed, but because, as has been often observed, the points of the question in controversy were thoroughly examined by the keenest minds in competition with each other ; and then deliberately pronounced to be law by cool and impartial judges ; and because the principles of justice, which regulate the rights of one man, ought not to be refused to another. When the original cases were evidently not well examined in the outset, they may be reëxamined, and overruled, and set aside ; and this is the condition, which is always annexed to them in practice. But when they were so examined, there is every reason for giving them the obligatory force of law. We should feel the greatest insecurity of property and of rights, were it otherwise ; to say nothing of the time and labor uselessly spent in searching for what had already been well ascertained.

It would be with us no ground of fear, were our judiciaries actually invested with legislative powers, far more extensive than any that they have been accused of arrogating to themselves. Judges, sharply and unremittingly watched from every side of the question in controversy, by the shrewdest and most intelligent men in the community, whom education and the warmest feelings of pride, ambition, self-interest, and rivalry

of excelling in the discharge of their professional duties, combine to make acute in the detection of errors, and bold and active in publicly exposing them, will not venture, intentionally, to go very far astray from the plain principles of rectitude. They are as strongly protected, too, from unintentional wrongs. It is from the same well guarded and unexceptionable sources, that they are compelled to receive all possible light and instruction. In such a body of men, and thus situated, we should not be afraid to repose absolute legislative power, so far, at least, as is necessary to regulate the common transactions between man and man. And when we see the time and money which are now miserably wasted by many of our legislatures in making bad laws, to say nothing of the faction and the views of self-interest which reign in them, and the poor principles of qualification on which some of their members are elected, we almost wish that it were so. It is perhaps the *ultima Thule* in the career of political improvement.

In general, however, we believe that the writers against the common law have now given up what was formerly the most important point in the controversy. They concede that it contains some of the most admirable principles in any system or code; and the object seems to be merely to select these, and purify them from the dross, with which they say they are mingled, and then give them the sanction of some direct act from the legislature. These arguments appear to be directed against a few of its slight errors, and, in the formal part of it, against some prevailing absurdities, which its warmest admirers are now willing to allow to be such. They are errors; they are absurdities. They have brought the whole system into disrepute among the truest, and in some instances the most enlightened friends of equity and right; and although not materially, in the end, affecting the prompt and efficient administration of justice, they may be, and no doubt in some cases ought to be corrected. It is not the business of the judiciary, however, to undertake this. With all their legislative powers, which are so much complained of, and how much soever themselves may desire the reformation, they will not, they dare not attempt it. The legislatures of every state in the union come together once or twice in a year, with this as one of the principal objects of their convening; and when the evil is so great as to cry aloud for a remedy, there is no doubt that an adequate one may be applied. Let us have a care, however, lest we undermine and make the whole venerable

fabric tremble, merely for the purpose of removing some of the unimportant outworks, which time and a change of circumstances may have rendered awkward and uncouth.

The only question, indeed, now actually at issue between the writers upon this subject, we believe to be this. Is it expedient for us to undertake to analyze the whole of the common law, select the most valuable of its principles, digest them, arrange them, embody them into a code, give them the sanction of some direct legislative act, and by the same act declare all the residue to be void or of no legal validity? We say we understand this to embrace the only important points of inquiry still unsettled among the parties in this controversy; and for ourselves, we confess we have no confidence in the practicability of the proposed measure, even were it ever so desirable. The business of fully codifying all the existing laws, we believe, never could be accomplished by one of our free legislatures. We feel almost assured of this, in fact, by actual observation. How slowly and how unwillingly do they alter any of the material principles of judicial proceeding, even when this is strongly recommended to them, and by the most enlightened men. At every period of their coming together, propositions for this end are continually brought before them, which they as continually reject. The old Norman barons used to say, when in parliament assembled, *Nolumus leges Angliæ mutare.* And it is still the practical maxim of our free legislative bodies. Suppose, then, they were called upon to go over the whole ground, investigate the complicated details of this most intricate and extensive and rapidly growing of all the sciences, take up title after title, rule after rule, principle after principle, examine them and the reasons on which they are founded, and the various modes by which they are to be carried into execution, and their influence on the general administration of justice in the community,—we know not when they would find the end of it. And all this they must sooner or later perform; for although the business of analyzing and codifying may at first be entrusted to a few enlightened men, the task of revising and correcting, as well as enacting into law, must be done by the legislatures themselves; or they delegate the highest trust committed to them to subordinate agents, without themselves seeing to its faithful execution. At least, under this impression they uniformly act. They think it their duty to place implicit confidence in no one. We can imagine the innumerable alterations, amend-

ments, and substitutions, which almost every member thinks himself capable of introducing, and bound, perhaps, to insist upon; and it needs but little experience to convince us of the wearing delays and disaffections that must arise from this mode of proceeding. We venture to say, in short, that the undertaking never could be satisfactorily accomplished by our free legislative assemblies We know that it was never so attempted.

It is not in lands of liberty and equal rights that the business of codifying flourishes. It is commonly the work of despots. A single imperial voice, commanding unqualified instant submission throughout the community, has hitherto ordered, directed, and enforced it in practice. In this manner only can it be promptly, harmoniously, and efficiently done; and although the laws which were thus framed are of a very admirable character, and still call forth the highest commendations of the wise, it is not because the people were free for whom they were designed, but because they were not free, and had neither the power nor the presumption to attempt to alter those, that were imposed upon them by the sovereign authority; which, however, fortunately for them, had the wisdom to select and employ the most enlightened counsel in the work. If our political institutions had prevailed among them, they would not have had, they would not have needed, the statutory codes. The evils which called forth these important remedies, are of a kind of which we, in this country, can form no adequate conception; and yet they ought to be taken into the estimate, when we speak of the necessity or the utility of their so much lauded legal system.

Justinian was the sole legislator of the whole Roman empire. The first principle of his code was, *Quod principi placuit, legis habet vigorem.* For four centuries before him, in fact, such had been the constant and undisputed right of those clothed with the imperial power. The will of a single man, of a child, perhaps, as has been justly said, was allowed to prevail over the wisdom of ages, and the inclinations of millions; and few institutions, either human or divine, were permitted to stand on their old foundations. Yet during this very period, were enacted by those various single-handed legislators, the perpetual edict of Hadrian, the Gregorian, the Hermogenian, and the Theodosian Codes; the Code, the Pandects, and the Institutes of Justinian; immense and admirably digested systems of laws, of which those

now remaining have nothing like a rival among the similar juridical efforts of modern times, aided as these have been by lights borrowed from those. The evils existing then, as we have said, were of a nature to make such a remedy indispensably necessary. The constitutions of the emperors were often irreconcilable, and sometimes contradictory. The ordinances, edicts, responses, rescripts, novels, and we know not what other classifications of laws, were inconsistent with each other, and no ingenuity could harmonize them. Many parts had never any force in practice; many had become obsolete; and the whole body of those actually in operation was full of obscurity and wholly destitute of order. 'In the space of ten centuries,' says Gibbon, 'the infinite variety of laws and legal opinions had filled many thousand volumes, which no fortune could purchase, and no capacity could digest. Books could not easily be found, and the judges, poor in the midst of riches, were reduced to the exercise of their illiterate discretion.'

These are the evils which the statutory digests of Justinian were originally designed to remove. A few of a similar character, and others of a totally different one, existed in France; and nearly the same imperial legislative power, though remotely and indirectly applied, was necessary to carry the code of Napoleon into execution. That beautiful country had been long divided into very many provinces or departments, in which various opposite regulations of law prevailed. In one, for example, the inheritance of personal property *(succession mobilière)* went on principles of descent different from those in another. In one, it would go to the father; in another, to the uncle; in a third, to the husband or wife, in preference to the other two. This was a very fruitful source of artifice and strife. The parent, or curator, or tutor, sometimes removed, with the ward under his protection, to a distant part of the realm, merely for the purpose of giving his own family a better chance in the inheritance. It was in order to remedy difficulties similar to these, and make the law consistent and uniform all over France, that the code of which we are speaking was chiefly designed; and we believe that this is the only great practical benefit which has hitherto been derived from it. For the reasonings in support of its principles contain little that is new, and the principles themselves are almost all borrowed from the civil law, which was in the main the common law of France before the revolution, and, if we are not mistaken, it continues to be so now.

But in our own country we have no such evils to remedy, and no such legislative power therefore is necessary for their removal. We have said, that we do not believe in the practicability of codifying here, even were it ever so expedient; and we now say that we do not believe in the expediency or necessity of it, even were it ever so easily practicable. The good principles of the common law will have their full force and ascendency in our courts of judicature, without their being especially directed to it by the authority of the legislatures, in consequence of a code which they have seen fit to sanction. And we have a plain way of removing the bad ones, when they are proved to be such, and the evil calls distinctly for a remedy.

The sole avowed object of codifying is to give certainty and simplicity and consistency to the law. But we know that it can never in this way be accomplished, even with the greatest power, genius, and facilities, for carrying it into effect. The various and growing wants and occasions of the law, no human prescience can anticipate. We can approach the nearest to that highly desirable end, which codifiers so earnestly seek for in vain, by publishing promptly and regularly faithful reports of fully investigated cases. Submit them fairly to public examination, and the false principles will soon be laid aside, and the truly valuable ones have the full force of law without the sanction of a code. It is impossible for us to over-estimate (we cannot repeat it too often) the importance of doing this. A remarkable proof of the absolute necessity of it, occurred to us on reading the volume now on our table. It was under a case, too, arising on the promulgation of laws. We do not know that we can do better than bring it before our readers, partly for the purpose of supporting what we have stated, and partly as a slight sample of the interesting character of the Reports, here presented to us by Mr Paine. For we think we can see in this, and the other written opinions of Judge Livingston, the pen of a fine scholar and man of taste, and the marks of a bold and elevated, though sometimes erring mind. The facts in the case alluded to are briefly these.

The act laying an embargo on the ports of the United States, was passed on December 22, 1807. On the ninth of the following January, the supplemental act received the signature of the president. A vessel sailed from the port of St Mary's, in Georgia, on the fifteenth of the same month, and was afterwards seized by a collector for a violation of the law. The official

intelligence of these acts did not reach St Mary's until the evening of the fifteenth, and was not publicly announced until the next day, although various rumors about them had been in circulation for some time before. The only question was, whether there was such a promulgation of the laws as to give them the force of a statute, and thus work the condemnation of the vessel. Judge Livingston decided that there was not. The vessel was accordingly restored. The following are some of his remarks.

'But whether a law thus worded be in force throughout the United States on the day of its passage, or not until after a reasonable time for promulgation of it in the different parts of the union, is a question purely of judicial cognizance, and may be decided without interfering with any other department of government; and this again resolves itself into the simple question, whether in a case like this any promulgation is necessary.

'A more abject state of slavery cannot easily be conceived, than that the legislature should have the power of passing laws inflicting the highest penalties, without taking any measure to make them known to those whose property or lives may be affected by them. It is not only necessary, therefore, in a country governed by laws, that they be passed by the supreme or legislative power, but that they be notified to the people who are expected to obey them. The manner in which this is done may vary; but whatever mode is adopted, it should be such as to afford a reasonable opportunity to every person who is to be affected by them, of being as early as possible acquainted with them. "Whatever way is made use of, it is incumbent on the promulgators," says the learned commentor on the laws of England, "to do it in the most public and perspicuous manner." The court will not stop to inquire in what manner the laws of congress, relating to different subjects, should be promulgated, or whether a mere deposite of them in the proper office, after a reasonable lapse of time, would not amount to a sufficient notification. But as it regards laws of trade, which is the case before it, rendering penal acts, although sanctioned by former laws, and done in concurrence and with the consent of its own officers, the court thinks it cannot greatly err in saying, that such laws should begin to operate in the different districts only from the times they are respectively received, from the proper department, by the collector of the customs, unless notice of them be brought home in some other way to the person charged with their violation. A proposition so reasonable, and so consonant to those principles of justice and humanity which are unchangeable, requires only to be stated to receive our universal assent. That a law which passes at Washington should subject to forfeiture every vessel which sailed from the United States on the very day of its passage, or the day after,

however remote the port of departure, and after a regular clearance by the authorized agent of government, is a doctrine leading to such unjust and tyrannical consequences, that nothing but a course of decisions, whose meaning admitted of no doubt, could induce this court to sanction it. There may be a difference in name, but there is none in reality, between an *ex post facto* law, which Congress cannot pass, and one whose operation is to be so universal and instantaneous. The position that the law intends every person to have notice of what is done in parliament, as soon as it is concluded, because the whole realm is there represented, is too quaint to require refutation. Indeed, the same learned writer, who would very gravely persuade us that a merchant in Boston, at the distance of five hundred miles, must know every law of Congress the moment it is passed, merely because he may have had a voice in the choice of a few representatives, who may all have voted against it, as if not satisfied with his own reasoning, and feeling, no doubt, the propriety of affording to the subject some other and better means of information, tells us, that he had found upon examination, that not long after the art of printing had found its way into England, which was between three and four hundred years ago, the practice had been to publish acts of parliament in the counties, to the end "that the subjects might have express notice thereof, and not be overtaken by an intendment in law."' pp. 26—28.

Yet on the same statutes, under exactly the same material facts, and with some circumstances even more favorable to the ship-owners, Judge Story has decided the other way.

'Since the adoption of the constitution of the United States, which prohibits the passing of *ex post facto* laws, it seems to be considered, that statutes take effect immediately from the time of their date or passage, and not before; in the same manner as they now do in England. But we shall hardly find a case, in which the promulgation of them has been held necessary, to give them operation. So early as the 39 *Edw. III.*, this precise objection was taken; and *Sir Robert Thorpe*, then Chief Justice, answered, "although proclamation be not made in the county, every one is bound to take notice of that which is done in parliament; for as soon as the parliament hath concluded anything, the law intends that every person hath notice thereof, for the parliament represents the body of the whole realm, and therefore it is not requisite that any proclamation be made, *seeing the statute took effect before.* The same point is recognised as law in *Com. Dig. Parliament*, (C. 23,) and *Hale on Parliament*, 36, and in Bacon's *Abr. Stat. A.* It seems, therefore, a settled doctrine, that a statute takes effect from the time of its passage, and needs no promulgation to give it operation.

'Against principles thus solemnly adjudged, I cannot find a single opposing authority.' 1 *Gallison's Reports*, p. 66. *The Brig Ann.*

The opponents of the common law would undoubtedly cite these as admirable cases in support of their arguments against it. But the difficulty is, we repeat it, such variances cannot be prevented. New and unimagined questions are for ever arising. While we are codifying one body of principles, which are settled to be law by our courts of judicature, and have passed into the books of digested law, and which therefore did not need codifying, others, unprovided for, are brought before the court at every hour of its session. The remedy comes too late. It is here where the celebrated framers of codes are under the most egregious mistake. They think they have made everything clear and simple, and provided for all possible contingencies, which can arise in the various applications of the law. Justinian believed this of his system. It was not to be imagined, he thought, that anything could be wanting in his immense body of laws, when he first enacted and promulgated them to the Roman people. All the embarrassments and mischiefs, necessarily arising from the various and doubtful significations of words, were ascribed by him to the chicanery of lawyers; and he denounced the punishment for forgery against those 'rash civilians,' who should dare to *interpret* his will. Yet Justinian very soon saw fit to change his mind. The historian Procopius tells us, according to Gibbon, that on each and every day during his long reign, he introduced and promulgated some legal innovation. Napoleon was in a similar error, and as speedily renounced it. 'I at first fancied,' said he to Las Casas, 'that it would be possible to reduce all laws to clear, simple, geometrical propositions, so that every man who could read and connect two ideas together, would be able to decide for himself; but I became convinced, almost immediately after, *that this idea was absurd.*' The truth is, we cannot foresee the growing want of legal remedies; and some common or unwritten law is therefore in every state unavoidable. We once had occasion to illustrate this by the numerous litigated questions which have arisen under the statute of Frauds, a statute penned by the ablest judges and civilians that England ever produced.

In the foregoing remarks, when we have spoken in praise of the common law, we have referred not to the pure, unmingled

common law, where there is no statutory provision to guide or control it. There are comparatively few decisions of this character in our modern books of reports. The common law indeed naturally grows, and becomes more extensive as we advance. It accompanies us at every step of our progress in the reading of statutes, decrees, and decisions, which lie nominally beyond its reach. For the principles of interpretation and practice are borrowed from it in every branch and department of jurisprudence; and scarcely a question of litigated right can arise in any of our courts of justice, without in some way calling for its aid, or receiving from it light. So that the more other laws multiply, the more the common law also advances. As the sole means of improving it, we insist on able reports of well investigated cases; and we mean to make our remark particularly applicable to those of the Circuit Courts of the United States, because those are now very much neglected.

And yet there is much complaint of the great number and of the rapid multiplication of law reports. The gentleman of the bar is now under the necessity of enlarging his library and extending his researches far and wide, for the purpose of seeing all that has been decided or said by eminent jurists on the various questions submitted to him in the course of his practice. But can this be to any one a fair ground of complaint? Is it not, on the contrary, to be regarded with feelings of unmingled satisfaction? Does it not indicate clearly the increasing demand, and the more general diffusion of intelligence, on a subject, of all others the most important to the peace and good order of society? The publication of such reports is the promulgation of the laws. They are promulgated, too, with the principles on which they are founded. In no other way is it possible to make them generally known; and as they arise out of the actual demands for justice, they are likely to be peculiarly well suited to the existing wants and condition of society.

We consider the prompt and full publication of law reports, to be, for a variety of other reasons than those we have mentioned, highly beneficial. Of the importance of it to our personal rights we cannot form too great an estimate. It secures the judiciary, by every possible motive, to the faithful administration of justice. What wrongs from this source may we not look for, in a community where the decrees of the courts of judicature are suppressed and kept from public view? Judges, who act under the impression that such is to be the

fate of their decisions, although they feel the sense of duty in all its purity, yet want the consciousness of being narrowly and extensively observed, which is a powerful incentive to great and generous efforts, even among the most elevated minds. But when they know, that their opinions may be severely scrutinized by the ablest men of their own, and perhaps of coming ages; when they reflect that those opinions will be either made the basis of farther adjudications, or rejected as inconclusive and false; above all, when from fear of error they are led, as in this country they almost universally are, to write their opinions at length, and themselves prepare them for the press, they have every inducement, interested and disinterested, which can possibly be crowded upon the mind, to be laborious, accurate, and impartial. Let then our legal decisions be brought, as extensively as may be, before the public; for nothing can tend more unerringly to the faithful administration of justice. If we mistake not, this is not yet estimated as it ought to be.

True it is, the great and increasing number of the volumes of which we are speaking, makes it expensive to purchase, and laborious to read them through. But this is a difficulty attending the advancement of all the sciences. New treatises are published. The results of new investigations must be laid before the public. New discoveries and inventions, or new improvements or adaptations of the old ones, are continually soliciting our examination. Yet the man of real science does not very often complain of the multiplication of books upon his favorite theme; nor the man of letters, of the numerous works of literature and taste. The comparison furnishes us with a good illustration of the true character of the common law. It is a science, and, like all other sciences, progressive. It perpetually enlarges, and suits itself more and more closely to our wants and circumstances. And one may as well think of composing a system of natural philosophy, which shall be perfect, and without the possibility of further improvement, as a code of laws, to which advancing society is to be chained. It is not necessary to read all the law reports which are published, any more than it is to read all the essays on experimental subjects in natural philosophy, which are published. There are accurate digests of the one, as there are accurate digests of the other. Competition, too, does its mighty work of improvement here, as everywhere else. The valuable volumes of

which we are speaking, soon rise to their proper elevation; the poor ones as soon sink into insignificance. The instances of this, in the history of these publications, are so many and obvious, that it is not necessary to name them particularly.

It is thus, by the publication of these volumes of reports, that the Common Law, like all the other sciences, is destined perpetually to improve. The system is becoming better, as well as more generally known. On the hearing of a question in controversy, the object is looked upon from every possible point of view. All the various and seemingly conflicting decisions upon the subject, are brought before the court and canvassed. The postulates and arguments on which they rest, are severely scrutinized; the valuable truths selected, and the material errors discarded, from each. And there is every reason for believing, that by this mode of proceeding, the really sound principles of law will inevitably be reached at last. This is precisely the way by which all the sciences improve; and it is the only way which our courts of judicature can take on the settlement of a litigated question.

We wish also to see some books of reports put earlier into the hands of youth for their legal education, than they have been hitherto. It appears to us, that they should soon be taught to read them in the order in which they are published. If we are not greatly mistaken, they would, with proper facilities for their explanation, find them far more interesting and instructive to read, and infinitely more easy to remember, than codes, or digests, or elementary treatises. We believe these last to be commonly too abstract and general, and best suited to the minds of those, who are somewhat advanced in the science of the law. We know that the young pupil often grows tired of them, because he does not always easily or fully comprehend them, and, even if he does, cannot long retain them accurately in his memory. When afterwards, in the course of his professional practice, he is called upon to make an application of the knowledge which he has thus gone over, he finds that he has forgotten it; and when he recurs again to his books for the lost intelligence, it often appears new to him, and in nine difficult questions out of ten, he would not remember that he had ever seen it before. Not so, however, with that acquired by reading interesting law reports. The facts in these cases serve as bonds of association, by which the principles interwoven with them are held together, and kept long and strongly fas-

tened in the mind. We appeal to the most learned of the profession, if this, even with them, is not sometimes apt to be so. The nice distinctions and the subtle refinements in their elaborate volumes of digested jurisprudence, which they have cause of recollecting only as they have read them, may pass from their thoughts; but let them be connected with some cases of actual occurrence, in which they were engaged, or which they may have been called upon carefully to examine, and they do not forget the principles then. It is also to be borne in mind, that digests and elementary treatises are only the abstracts of adjudicated cases, and not always sure therefore of stating accurately the points decided. In fact, experienced counsel will never, in a case of importance, trust to a short sentence, which, the laborious compiler says, contains in an abbreviated form the principles of a question settled, when they have the original case itself within their reach; for they have learned by observation the errors and the imperfections of digests. These are excellent as indices or tables of reference. Seldom, however, are they to be relied upon as absolute authority in themselves, when it is easy to procure the books of reports from which they were at first taken. Thus it is that the student, so far as he can read reported decisions intelligently, is sure of learning his law more accurately, as well as more pleasantly, than he can in any other way. He thus, too, will learn the questions of practice; the various forms of action; the manner in which rights are to be ascertained and settled. He sees the remedy at the same moment that he sees the wrong; and if he reads the books of reports as rapidly as they appear, and in the same order, he will be likely to know what is actually going on professionally in the world around him, from which he is almost entirely separated in the common course of early legal education.

Many of our readers may think us enthusiastic in our estimate of the importance of reported decisions, and of the various and extensive uses to which they are actually subservient. In support, therefore, of some of our last remarks, we shall cite here another eloquent passage from the writings of the admirable Commentator on American law. It is in every way just; and nothing can be more practically applicable to the lessons of the student. We only wonder, that reflections, such as these, did not lead their distinguished author to apply them, more particularly than he has done, to the

great purpose, which we have designated in the foregoing paragraph.

'They [the Reports] are worthy of being studied even by scholars of taste and general literature, as being authentic memorials of the business and manners of the age in which they were composed. Law reports are dramatic in their plan and structure. They abound in pathetic incident, and displays of deep feeling. They are faithful records of those "little competitions, factions, and debates of mankind," that fill up the principal drama of human life; and which are engendered by the love of power, the appetite for wealth, the allurements of pleasure, the delusions of self-interest, the melancholy perversion of talent, and the machinations of fraud. They give the skilful debates at the bar, and the elaborate opinions on the bench, delivered with the authority of oracular wisdom. They become deeply interesting, because they contain true portraits of the talents and learning of the sages of the law.'

'Every person well acquainted with the contents of the English reports, must have been struck with the unbending integrity and lofty morals with which the courts were inspired. I do not know where we could resort, among all the volumes of human composition, to find more constant, more tranquil, and more sublime manifestations of the intrepidity of conscious rectitude. If we were to go back to the iron times of the Tudors, and follow judicial history down from the first page in Dyer to the last page of the last reporter, we should find the higher courts of civil judicature, generally, and with rare exceptions, presenting the image of the sanctity of a temple, where truth and justice seem to be enthroned and to be personified in their decrees.' *Kent's Commentaries*, pp. 462, 463.

'A still deeper interest must be felt by the American lawyer in the perusal of the judicial decisions of his own country. Our American reports contain an exposition of the common law as received and modified in reference to the genius of our institutions. By that law we are governed and protected, and it cannot but awaken a correspondent attachment.' *Ibid.* p. 455.

If the foregoing remarks are true of the publication of law reports generally, with what peculiar force do they apply to those of the national courts of the United States? It appears to us, that these must be interesting, not merely to the professional man and the jurist, but to every one who wishes to see clearly the true character of our political institutions. We know in fact, that there is no other way of acquiring a knowledge of them with any degree of accuracy. The constitution of the courts of which we are speaking, is entirely unexampled in the history of states.

We believe indeed that it forms the only characteristic feature, which is purely and exclusively our own, in the whole frame of our national government. All our other civil institutions have been partially borrowed from abroad, and are at least faintly imitated by foreign states. But the nature of the jurisdiction, and the supreme political ascendency of our national courts of judicature, have neither precedent nor parallel in any country or age.

It had long been a favorite maxim, among enthusiastic writers on the true nature of political rights, that officers of government are but the delegated agents of the people; subservient to them; bound to give them an account of their stewardship; with clearly defined duties; with restricted powers; not authorized, under any pretence, to overstep the strict limits prescribed to them; and liable to have their doings abrogated and held for nought, when they do. The world were inclined to look upon this as rather a Utopian vision in some fancied organization of civil society, than as a practicable principle in government. In ours, however, we have actually realized it. Our high courts of judicature have carried it into execution, and we are now witnessing their powerful influence over our political character, in the protection which they give to individual rights against the encroachments of the legislative and executive powers combined. It is not merely their humble duty to administer justice between man and man. They have a far more elevated one intrusted to them. In the vast machinery of our national affairs, they are, as it were, the regulators. All our great public functionaries, even Congress itself, as well as the legislatures of the several states, they hold in salutary check. Between the people and their delegated agents they stand the supreme umpire. To these they say, 'Your power of attorney is the constitution; keep you within the limits prescribed to you by that; for when you transgress them, we are bound by our high political principles, as well as by our sacred oaths of duty, to set your doings aside, and hold them for violations of right.' Is there anything comparable to this in the civil constitutions of foreign states? There the courts of judicature hold a subordinate rank in their various frames of government, and over them the legislative and the executive powers have the superintendence and control. Here they are supreme, and exhibit before us continually, in actual practice, as well as in beautiful theory, the absolute sovereignty of the law.

For the discharge of duties of such unexampled importance, the courts of which we are speaking are necessarily clothed with the most extraordinary powers. They have ultimately the power of defining their own powers; of drawing the line of demarkation between the rights of the several states and those of the Union; between the jurisdiction of the various superior courts belonging to the former, and their own; and of construing, and interpreting, and applying the provisions of the constitution, in such a manner as to their wisdom shall seem equitable and meet, for the purpose of promptly effectuating all the high purposes of national justice, for which it was originally designed. Should not the official doings of such a body of men be promptly and extensively made known? It appears to us, that the publication of the reports of adjudicated cases, from sources and on subjects like these, ought to receive, most liberally, legislative patronage and support, and be diffused as far and wide as possible, throughout our community. If there be any intelligence important to the freedom of our political institutions, it is this.

In the foregoing paragraphs we have referred only to the great questions of constitutional law which come before our national courts of judicature. The discussion of the simpler ones, occurring to them in the ordinary course of their jurisdiction, are also full of interesting matter to gentlemen of the profession. They are often called upon to decree and act on the law of nature and of nations. In many cases, they introduce us to a knowledge of the peculiar local laws of foreign states, as well as of the great international law which connects them all together. They bring also into some practice the civil law, and tend to diffuse a knowledge of it, and gradually to reconcile and incorporate it with our own, and thus give us the use of some of its admirable principles. We ask our readers to consider the cases of frequent occurrence before the courts of which we speak, for the evidence of what we have said. The examination of wrongs committed upon the high seas, or of crimes in any way affecting our sovereignty as a nation; of revenue and exchequer cases; of questions of admiralty and prize; of all those coming from the various laws of navigation and trade; of the vested or the violated rights arising under the stipulations of a treaty; of the infractions of the privileges of a patent, or of the sacred security of property contained in the published works of men of literature and science; of the

great maritime contracts, growing out of our extended commercial connexions with foreign states, and requiring for their elucidation the great code of mercantile law, now by common consent in force, almost all over the enlightened world ;—the examination of these, we say, has called forth in this country, to a very honorable extent, learning, research, and ingenuity, and furnished a rich variety of fruitful themes for valuable disquisitions, on the most important and interesting points of law ; and, for the reason we have already given, the publication of just reports of them must be exceedingly useful in extending the knowledge of that law, and making it more accurate and clear, as well as more generally known.

May we not also look to the publication of the reports of which we are speaking, for making the common law of our country more regular and uniform in its character, than it has been hitherto ? The several courts of the various states are separate and independent of each other. The decisions in one are not considered as having any obligatory force in those of another. Hence it is that they are often at variance and sometimes diametrically opposite. But the courts of the Union are joined. A most powerful bond of association connects them together. The decrees and doings of one would be considered as having something of more influence on those of another, than the mere opinions of learned and intelligent men. They go moreover into every part of the Union, and gather intelligence from the most gifted and eminent counsel of our country, and come together annually for the purpose of hearing, and conferring, and disposing of litigated rights, under circumstances peculiarly favorable to the clear and correct settlement of the law. No party feelings nor sectional views can sway them. Those of one must offset and counterbalance those of another. Their errors are reciprocally corrected. By a judiciary thus composed of the ablest judges, and acting under such advantages, the true principles of justice must be reached, if they are within the reach of human genius. Singly as well as collectively, we say, they may do much to place our common law on a more steady and regular foundation, than it now has. At least, so far as their influence goes, it may be rescued from that inconsistency and variance for which it has been so long and so deservedly reproached.

Is it not therefore to be regretted that the reports of cases adjudged in the courts of which we are now speaking, should be

so much neglected as they are? Questions of much moment, as we have seen, are constantly brought before them; and far the greater number of their important decisions are final; yet there is no provision made by law for their encouragement and support. While those of the various superior courts of the several states are brought forward under the avowed patronage of their respective legislatures, and ordered to be circulated throughout the community, those to which we now refer are left to struggle their own way into being, unaided, but by their own intrinsic merit. With the former, therefore, they can hold no fair competition in popular favor or notice. Indeed, when they are published, it is usually, as in the present instance, in consequence of the generous efforts of some enterprising young member of the bar, who, desirous of becoming versed in the learning and practice of the highest branches of jurisprudence, and seeing clearly the importance of the adjudications before him, records them and gives them to the public, though sometimes, we fear, at no little pecuniary sacrifice of his own. What must be the natural consequence of such neglect as this? Why, the reports of the cases settled in these courts are comparatively few in number; on some of the circuits they are not published at all; and on those where they are so in general, they appear irregularly and without any system. The publication of the present volume contains a remarkable illustration of this fact. It is intended to report the decisions upon a circuit, where very numerous and very important questions must arise. During the whole time which it covers, two of the brightest ornaments of the profession were upon the bench; and yet all the decisions which were gathered from the court, from the year 1810 to the year 1824 inclusive, are comprised in this single volume.

We have no room now to speak as we could wish and as we intended, of the particular merits of this collection of cases. Mr Paine is a judicious and a very able reporter. It is a sufficient recommendation of the volume, that it is filled almost entirely with the written opinions of Judges Livingston and Thompson; for the facts in the cases, and the arguments of counsel are stated very succinctly, and yet very clearly and satisfactorily, and the book therefore is encumbered with no useless or extraneous matter. Judge Thompson is still upon the bench. Many years of his very laborious public life have been spent in the discharge of the highest judicial duties, in the

courts of his own state as well as in those of the Union, and, we feel assured, to the great satisfaction of those who have fallen under his administration. In his knowledge and application of the common law, which is our favorite theme at present, we know him to be peculiarly accurate and unexceptionable. It is hardly proper for us, however, to dwell longer upon his judicial character now. But we hope to see more of it hereafter in the same manner in which this volume presents it to us.

In the death of Judge Livingston, the American public sustained an irreparable loss. As the volume before us contains the latest of his published judicial labors, it affords us a favorable opportunity, which we have long sought for, and which we now gladly embrace, of offering to our readers some slight sketches of his life and general character. The private as well as the public virtues of such a man ought to be made known and recorded.

The father of Judge Livingston was Governor William Livingston, of New Jersey, a distinguished lawyer and a revolutionary patriot, whose memoirs and a sketch of whose character may be found in Allen's Biographical Dictionary.

Judge Livingston was born on the twenty-fifth of November, 1757, and died at Washington on the 23d of March, 1823. His literary education he received at the College in Princeton. In the revolutionary war he served with distinction, and was aide-de-camp to General Arnold, at the battle of Saratoga, and indeed in the defeat and capture of Burgoyne's army. After this he studied law, and was a contemporary at the bar with General Hamilton, Mr Harrison, Judge Benson, Mr Troup, Mr Burr, and others, all of whom were very eminent lawyers. As an advocate his rank was among the highest. In fact, his talents were always thought more peculiarly adapted to the bar than to judicial duties. In his temperament he was very ardent and earnest, so that he was hurried on by the most implicit confidence in his client's cause, and identified himself in devotedness with all his views, and felt an interest in his success almost as if the cause were his own. The same traits of intellectual character sometimes marked his decisions from the bench. Boldness and rapidity of thought, and energy of mind and feeling, always accompanied them. On these occasions he was luminous and striking, far beyond the originality of the counsel in the case, the most eminent of whom were left behind him in the reasons given on their side of the question, when the judge decided in their favor.

We said, these pages show Judge Livingston to have been a scholar and a man of letters. And from a variety of other sources we understand this to have been remarkably the case. In the early part of his professional career, he stole many an hour from the forum, and from the severer studies of the law, and even from the nobler sciences of national and general jurisprudence, and gave them to the works of fine literature and taste. Of the ancient classics he was particularly fond. To the latest period of his life he read them with the greatest ease and delight. We understand that he never travelled on his long, laborious law circuits without taking some one of them as a cheering companion upon his journey. Most people would have said, that every moment of his time, which the pressing calls of duty on the bench did not extort from him, must be given to relaxation and repose. And so in fact it was with him. For to such minds as his, literature becomes, as it always ought to be, nothing but relaxation and repose. It is not surprising therefore, as has been well remarked, that he possessed a most copious and chaste and elegant diction.

The eloquence of Judge Livingston was fervid, impressive, masculine, and persuasive ; his power of research uncommon ; his zeal untiring ; and his command of illustrative topics most rapid and comprehensive. He had a very powerful influence therefore with juries. On these occasions, indeed, he was always truly delightful ; for with all his ardor, he mingled a delicacy and courtesy, a courage and constancy, a facility of changing his ground and returning to the charge, after defeat or discomfiture, which surprised and sometimes astonished his audience.

In the modern languages, too, Judge Livingston was an accomplished scholar. By his travels and his early residence in Europe, he learnt to speak the French and Spanish with as much fluency as his native tongue. His manners were uncommonly winning. In his general deportment he was affable, buoyant in spirit, and gentle to a most remarkable degree, unless roused by severe provocation.

We are told that he was full of candor and kindness ; of a liberal and benevolent spirit, an enlarged charity, a disposition to aid the humble and the oppressed ; and that he was a steady and bold asserter of the principles of civil and religious liberty. In the general diffusion of intelligence, he took an active interest. He aided the public schools personally ; and for

the purpose of improving and extending their good influences, he often wrote communications in the papers of the day. As a father and as a friend, he was admirable, and won the affections of all who knew him. As a political opponent, no one was more inflexible, but at the same time, no one was more kind to his adversaries.

These traits in the character of Judge Livingston, we have obtained from those, who were long and intimately acquainted with him ; and we were again and again assured, that we could not over-estimate his merits. In further illustration of them we shall conclude with the following extracts from a very able obituary notice, which was published at New York, immediately after his decease.*

'His judicial character is, of course, the most interesting to the public, and as a Judge, his character was very peculiar and strongly marked. He was eminently a man of genius, of strong, vivid, and rapid perceptions, and the frankness of his character always prompted the immediate impression of his convictions. Such a disposition and habit must of course, and not unfrequently, induce mistakes. But here intervened a redeeming principle resulting from one of the most peculiar characteristics of his happily composed nature. For a man of strong and ardent genius, and profound learning, and these too rendered conspicuous by great reputation and high office, Judge Livingston was in one respect, almost a miracle. *He seemed to be without vanity.* He did not listen, or affect to listen, to arguments in opposition to his declared opinions merely from official decorum, but his mind was literally and truly open to conviction. Others may have committed fewer errors, but who has left fewer unrepaired ?

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* Livingston was appointed Judge of the Supreme Court of New York, in January, 1802, and of the Supreme Court of the United States, as the successor of Mr Justice Patterson, in December, 1806.

He was buried under Wall Street Church, in the city of New York ; and in the church itself is the following inscription, written by a friend at the request of his family.

M. S.
Brockholst Livingston,
Sup. Cur. Fœd. Reip. Jurid.
Qui
Peracuto ingenio præditus,
Eloquentiâ tum suavi, tum splendidâ ornatus,
Omni juris et literarum scientiâ præstans,
Obiit Washingtoniæ,
Multis bonis carissimus, multis flebilis,
Martii XXIII. A. D. MDCCCXXIII.
Ætatis suæ LXVI.
Liberi ejus mœrentes hoc monumentum
Posuêre.

'The kindness and suavity of his character were strongly displayed in the discharge of his official duties. At every moment of his life, he was an amiable and a finished gentleman. He never manifested anything of the petulance or insolence of station. He ever seemed to be of opinion, that there was a dignity in the administration of justice, which reached even to its inferior ministers; and without ever forgetting the propriety of his station, he treated the gentlemen of the bar as his friends and brethren, over whom he was called, as it were, to preside for some temporary purpose.

'To say that he was just and impartial, would be low and inadequate praise. He was prompt, laborious, and indefatigable. His own ease and pleasure always gave way at the call of duty. He never delayed or slighted anything. He often labored most without the stimulus of fame. He was, perhaps, rather too averse to the parade of display and publication. Causes were not unfrequently heard at his own house, and many of his most elaborate opinions, the result of laborious and profound investigation, were communicated only to the counsel interested.'

'In all the relations of domestic life—and it is there that a man's true character is best known, and its influence—he was far above the reach of commonplace commendation. None but those who saw him in retirement and knew him intimately, can appreciate his character in this respect. He was ever most affectionate, attentive, and considerate, exacting little for himself, and always consulting the interests and feeling of his family. The main object of his life, at least that which seemed to interest him most, was to transfuse his own knowledge and character into the minds of his children. Every hour that could be spared from his public duties, and more than could well be spared from the time necessary for his relaxation and the care of his health, was devoted to their education.'

ART. X.—*Elements of Geometry*, by A. M. LEGENDRE, Member of the Institute and the Legion of Honor, of the Royal Society of London, &c. Translated from the French for the use of the Students of the University at Cambridge, New England, by JOHN FARRAR, Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy. Second Edition, corrected and enlarged. Printed by Hilliard and Metcalf, at the Univ. Press, Cambridge, N. E. 1825. 8vo. pp. 224.

THOSE who are fond of reconciling apparent contradictions in national character, may find amusement in attempting to

account for the singular fact, that the French, who are so remarkable for their constitutional vivacity, and, we had almost said, levity of character, should nevertheless have been unrivalled for nearly a century, in almost every department of scientific research. That they should have taken precedence of other nations in elegant literature, if such were the fact, would not be very surprising; for we should imagine we could discover a decided adaptation to such pursuits, in the prominent features of their character. But when we see them engaging with wonderful ardor and perseverance in those studies, which almost entirely exclude imagination and feeling, and demand for their successful prosecution, the severest efforts of reasoning and abstraction, we witness a phenomenon, of which we find ourselves unable to give a satisfactory explanation.

Of what discordant elements must the character of that people be formed, who, within the short space of thirty years, have gone through a revolution so momentous, that it broke up all the strong foundations of society, and yet, within the same time, have advanced physical science and pure mathematics to such a height as they never attained before. We have seen them rise, with a fearful unanimity, to hurl reason from the throne and trample truth in the dust, and then, before our terror and amazement have had time to subside, we have seen reason and truth reïnstated among the same people, and worshipped with a devotion as fervent and enthusiastic, as ever was paid to them before. The very same individuals, who now give up their days and nights to abstruse speculation, were once strenuous actors in the stormy scenes of the Revolution. There was one, especially, whose life exhibited a scarcely credible contrast. During that disastrous period, so expressively denominated the *Reign of Terror*, his mind, then all for action, caught to the full the mad phrenzy of those around him; and he engaged, heart and hand, in the infernal business of the time. But the moment that the moral hurricane was over, this same wonderful man, sitting down as it were amidst the very ruins he had helped to create, and apparently forgetting all that had passed, gave up his whole mind to the investigation of the celestial motions. In these serene and sublime contemplations, he was chiefly occupied for the last twenty years of his life; and next to Newton, Philosophy now hails him as her brightest name.

But to pronounce a panegyric upon French philosophy, is

not the purpose for which we have selected the book, whose title is placed at the head of this article. This work of Legendre forms one of a series translated by Professor Farrar, for the use of the students at Harvard University. The entire course, both of pure and applied mathematics, being now completed, we avail ourselves of this opportunity to call the attention of our readers to it. In bestowing upon it the tribute of our commendation, we do but echo the general voice of the scientific community, in our country. If the course be examined with the scrutiny which it may safely challenge, and meet only with that acceptance from the public, to which its real merit entitles it, we are sure it cannot fail to be adopted in all the distinguished seminaries of learning throughout the United States. Several of them, as we are informed, have already introduced it. We regard it as high testimony in favor of its excellence, that it was selected for the manual in the University of Virginia, by the judgment of such profound and sagacious men, as Jefferson and his associates. Nor should we prize less highly the ample sanction it has received at West Point, where, if we are correctly informed, the entire course has been introduced, and where, let it be remembered, Mathematics and the kindred sciences are pursued to a greater extent, than at any other institution in the country. To these authorities, we may add that of Columbia College, in New York, where we are safe in saying there is ample ability in this department, to scan the merits of the course severely. But we will not consume further time in adducing extrinsic evidence in support of the merits of these works. We prefer to let them speak for themselves.

The entire course translated and compiled by Mr Farrar, including all the subjects which fall within his department, as Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, is contained, as the books are usually bound, in eight volumes, comprising about 3000 octavo pages. The following is a list of the several works, which are comprehended in it, in the order in which they are intended to be studied.

'An Elementary Treatise on Arithmetic, taken principally from the Arithmetic of S. F. Lacroix.'

'An Introduction to the Elements of Algebra, designed for the use of those who are acquainted only with the first principles of Arithmetic. Selected from the Algebra of Euler.'

'Elements of Algebra, by S. F. Lacroix.'

'Elements of Geometry, by A. M. Legendre.'

'An Elementary Treatise on Plane and Spherical Trigonometry, and on the Application of Algebra to Geometry; from the Mathematics of Lacroix and Bézout.'

'First Principles of the Differential and Integral Calculus, or the Doctrine of Fluxions, intended as an Introduction to the Physico-Mathematical Sciences; taken chiefly from the Mathematics of Bézout.'

'An Elementary Treatise on Mechanics, comprehending the Doctrine of Equilibrium and Motion, as applied to Solids and Fluids.' This work is a compilation. The authors principally used, are Biot, Bézout, Poisson, Francœur, Gregory, Whewell, and Leslie.

'Elements of Electricity, Magnetism, and Electro-Magnetism, embracing the late Discoveries and Improvements, digested into the form of a Treatise.' This volume with the exception of the notes, is selected from Biot's *Précis Elémentaire de Physique*, and translated with such alterations as were necessary to adapt it to the English reader.

'An Experimental Treatise on Optics, comprehending the leading Principles of the Science, and an Explanation of the more important and curious Optical Instruments and Optical Phenomena.' The body of this volume like that of the preceding, is selected and translated from Biot's *Précis Elémentaire de Physique Expérimental.*

'An Elementary Treatise on Astronomy, adapted to the present Improved State of the Science.' This treatise is selected and translated from *Biot's Traité Elémentaire d'Astronomie Physique.*

Such is the ample list of works, by the preparation of which Mr Farrar has proved himself a benefactor to the cause of science, and acquired a durable reputation for most patient industry and profound judgment. Nor is this all. It is but justice to add that this Herculean task has been achieved, in addition to the constant and able discharge of the duties of one of the most important professorships in our University.

Our readers will scarcely believe us when we add, that besides all this, the same persevering hand has prepared and published, for the use of schools, an epitomized exposition of the principles of Mechanics and Natural Philosophy, under the title of *Fischer's Elements of Natural Philosophy.* It is a translation from the French of Biot, who himself translated it, with many additions, from the German of Fischer. It has

been recently offered to the public, and will speak for itself. We have only room to remark here, that from personal experience, we are convinced it will supply a deficiency hitherto deeply felt and complained of, by all those who have been engaged in elementary instruction.

We propose to confine our remarks in the present article, chiefly to the work placed at the head of it; reserving what we may have to say upon other portions of the system, for a future occasion. But before taking leave of the general course, we will ask permission to allude to one material omission. We have carefully examined every part of the course, and if our memory do not deceive us, the subject of *Acoustics*, or the *Laws of Sound*, has received no share of the author's attention. At Cambridge this omission may not be felt as a great evil, because it is well supplied by his justly celebrated lectures; for on this very subject, we remember him to have been peculiarly happy. Still in a course which may so safely count upon general circulation, a subject so important as this should not be wholly neglected; and we hope that when another edition shall be called for, the author, to whom the public is already under so many obligations, will add one more to them, by supplying that which alone seems wanting to the completion of the system.

The science itself, of which this work contains the Elements, has always been regarded with enthusiastic admiration. The surpassing beauty of its texture, no language can describe; and the mind loses itself in contemplating the grandeur of its results. It takes its name from the *measurement of land*, but its noblest application is to the spaces of the Heavens. When geometry was yet in its infancy, it acquired so strong an influence over Plato's imagination, that he placed an inscription over the door of his school, saying, *Let no one who is unacquainted with geometry enter here;* and when his disciples asked him what was the probable employment of the Deity, he replied, *God himself geometrizes.* Pythagoras was so delighted with his demonstration of the theorem respecting the *Square of the Hypothenuse*, that he is said to have sacrificed *one hundred oxen* to express his gratitude to the Muses. Archimedes took so much pride in his discoveries respecting the properties of the sphere and cylinder, that he ordered his tomb to be inscribed, after his death, with a *sphere* and a *cylinder*. Even in modern times, we find the great and excellent Dr Barrow en-

tertaining so profound an admiration for this science, that he placed the following inscription at the beginning of his Apollonius; *Tu autem, Domine, quantus es geometra.* Apollonius himself was known by the title of the *great geometer;* and this brief but expressive sentiment of religious enthusiasm for geometry, was written by the *preceptor* of Newton. But the most eloquent encomium, which we remember to have seen, is that of Gilbert Wakefield.

'For my own part,' he observes, alluding to his early studies, 'though I set inestimable value on the general conceptions which I had then acquired [of mathematics], I felt within me no proper relish for these sublimities of knowledge, nor one spark of real inventive genius. But happy that man who lays the foundation of his future studies deep in the recesses of geometry, "that purifier of the soul," as Plato called it; and in the principles of mathematical philosophy; compared with whose noble theories, I make no scruple to declare it, our classical lucubrations are as the glimmering of a taper to the meridian splendors of an equatorial sun.

'What subject of human contemplation shall compare in grandeur with that, which demonstrates the trajectories, the periods, the distances, the dimensions, the velocities, and gravitation of the planetary system; states the tides; adjusts the nutation of the earth; and contemplates the invisible comet wandering in its parabolic (?) orb for successive centuries, in but a corner of boundless space; which considers that the diameter of the earth's orbit, of one hundred and ninety millions of miles in length, is but an evanescent point at the nearest fixed star to our system,—that the first beam of the sun's light, whose rapidity is inconceivable, may be still traversing the bosom of boundless space? Language sinks beneath contemplations so exalted, and so well calculated to inspire the most awful sentiments of the Great Artificer; of that Wisdom which could contrive this stupendous fabric; that Providence which can support it; and that Power whose hand could launch into their orbits, bodies of a magnitude so prodigious!' *

Such being the wonders of the science of which we speak, and such the fervent devotion of its votaries, it may be well supposed, that at this period it must have reached a state little short of perfection. And so we accordingly find it. Compared with any other branch of pure mathematics, we believe it may be safely denominated a perfect science. We believe, moreover, that the work of Legendre, considered abstractly, as an exposition of the close and exact connexion which exists among the truths of elementary geometry, is the best which is

* *Wakefield's Life*, vol. I. pp. 102, 103.

extant. In one important quality, *arrangement*, it has a decided advantage over any of the editions of Euclid. If we were to suggest any change in this respect, it would be to place the *problems* immediately after the *theorems* upon which they respectively depend, instead of placing them by themselves at the ends of the sections. The reason for such a change is, that they would be solved more readily, and would be better understood, while the theorems involving them were fresh in the mind of the student, than when these impressions had become more indistinct by the intervention of other truths.

In claiming for Legendre a superiority over the ancient master, we shall probably shock the predilections of many. Indeed, considering how strong is sometimes our infatuation in favor of antiquity, there may be some who will contend, that no modern has been able to improve or beautify the magnificent fabric which the ancients reared. But if so, we have only to say, that it would be strange and unaccountable, if, in a progressive world, the experience and reflection of more than two thousand years, with the advantage of beginning where the ancients left off, had been unable to add anything to their discoveries. We are willing to concede to them all the glory of having been pioneers in the march of scientific truth. The invention and the creation belong to them, and surely this is glory enough. Long after every other memorial of their existence shall have sunk into oblivion; when their statues, and temples, and triumphal arches shall have crumbled atom by atom into dust, the science of geometry, of which they were the founders, shall still remain, and, we would fondly hope, grow beautiful with age; for it is founded upon immutable and everlasting truth. Decay and corruption can never reach it. Independent of matter and all its liabilities, it is the same in all times and places; and the admirers of geometry, through all future ages, will go back to the times of Thales, Pythagoras, Archimedes, and Euclid, to celebrate the birthday of their favorite science.

The work before us being a translation, it may be expected that we should say something of the execution. Of this, however, little needs to be said. The chief merit of any translation is fidelity and perspicuity, in rendering the meaning of the author. This is peculiarly true of a work on mathematics, in which all literary embellishment is to be studiously rejected. In this respect the language of science may be compared to

glass; we do not wish to look *at* it, but *through* it. Hence it would be as preposterous to deck it out with rhetorical ornaments, as it would be to paint pictures on the glass intended solely for windows; because both best answer the purpose for which they are designed, when they are perfectly clear and transparent. To this merit we conceive the translation to be fairly entitled. We doubt if there be any passages, whose meaning a learner of common sagacity would be at a loss to comprehend. Perhaps the *enunciations* of the propositions are more liable to obscurity and want of definiteness, than any other portion of a work on geometry. This is certainly the case with Euclid, in the editions both of Simson and Playfair, and these are unquestionably the best forms, under which the *Elements* of that illustrious man have appeared. But let any one examine the enunciations of Legendre, in this point of view, and he will find a manifest superiority in them. This may be chiefly owing to the fact, that in Legendre each one is rendered specific and definite by the introduction of letters, referring every part immediately to the diagram; whereas in Euclid the enunciations are all general and without letters. By way of illustration, we shall take at random a proposition from each. The first is from Legendre, art. 61. 'If two straight lines, AI, BD, (fig. 36.) make with a third line AB, two interior angles BAI, ABD, the sum of which is less than two right angles, the lines AI, BD, produced, will meet.' The other is from Simson's Euclid, prop. 7, b. 1. 'Upon the same base and on the same side of it, there cannot be two triangles that have their sides which are terminated in one extremity of the base equal to one another, and likewise those which are terminated in the other extremity.' Now we presume there can be no doubt, which of these two methods is best adapted to the conception of the learner; since it is admitted on all hands, that generalization and abstraction are the most difficult of all mental operations. Nevertheless we are aware, that besides the example of Euclid and his followers, there are many grave authorities against the practice of introducing the letters. We have been informed from a source which we presume is authentic, that an edition of this same Legendre (not from Professor Farrar's translation, but that made by Dr Brewster for the Edinburgh Encyclopædia), is in a course of preparation, in which one of the chief alterations will be the omission of the letters. Still we speak from some

experience, when we say, that we have found it much better to allow learners to use letters at first, and afterwards to require them to give a general enunciation, than to make use of general enunciations in the first instance. On the whole, therefore, we are decidedly in favor of retaining the letters.

The student of Legendre does not require much previous knowledge of Algebra. Besides *proportion*, only a few of the simplest operations are introduced, and these may be easily made intelligible at the time. The ancients were entirely unacquainted with algebra, and hence were in want of one powerful instrument which the moderns possess. Hence, too, arises the difficulty which the student of Euclid always encounters at the beginning of the fifth book, where the doctrine of *proportion* is introduced. It is, of course, not impossible to understand proportion without the aid of algebra; for if it were, Euclid must have terminated his work at the end of the fourth book. But though not impossible, it is certainly very difficult. Let those who doubt this, take up the subject as the sagacious mind of Euclid has presented it, and when they are wearied with the severe effort of abstraction, which is necessary where no algebraic symbols are used, let them turn to the exposition of the same subject, as given by Lacroix in his Algebra; and after a few hours of no very severe thought have put them in complete possession of the whole subject, we venture to say, they will agree with us in the opinion, that the introduction of algebraic signs and symbols into geometrical proportions, though it be a departure from the plan of Euclid, is a most decided improvement. But in order to have the benefit of this improvement, and, at the same time, not to presuppose a knowledge of algebra; the fundamental laws of proportion are illustrated in the Introduction.

We shall now say a word upon the *definitions*. The greatest obstacle to be encountered, in reasoning of every kind, arises from the imperfection of language. But this evil is less felt in geometrical, than in any other species of reasoning. Here, for the most part, the definitions may be perfectly exact, so as not to leave the shadow of a doubt in the mind as to what is intended. Hence the absolute and entire confidence we feel in the certainty of the conclusions to which we are led. Since, then, such perfect exactness is attainable, and since it is upon the definitions that the whole science rests as its *substratum*, there is no portion of a treatise which calls for so

much thought and circumspection; inasmuch as the slightest imperfection here must reach through and vitiate the whole system. Most of the definitions in the work before us are, in point of brevity and precision, all that we could wish. To this remark there are only two exceptions. One regards the definition of a *straight line*, the other that of *parallel lines*. These we shall notice hereafter. In the mean time we shall propose what, it appears to us, would be an important improvement in all the definitions of geometry. It is to introduce into them the idea of *motion*. Of this idea, we do not recollect to have met with any practical application, in the geometrical treatises which have hitherto been given to the world. It was suggested to us by somewhere reading, that Plato blamed Archytas for employing motion in geometrical constructions. In what manner he employed it, we are not told; and this is the only hint of the matter we have met with. For the purpose of illustrating our opinions, we shall here give a few specimens, intending to pursue the subject further, if another opportunity should present itself.

A *point* is mere position without magnitude.

If a point be supposed to move, the path described will be a *line*.

Cor. A line will have *length*, but neither breadth or thickness.

If the point, after commencing its motion, does not change its direction, the path will be a *straight line*. If it change it constantly, the path will be a *curved line*. If it change it only at perceptible intervals, the path will be a *broken* or *polygonal line*.

If a line move in any other direction than that of its length, the space described will be a *surface*.

Cor. A surface has *length* and *breadth*, but no thickness.

If the moving line be *straight*, the surface will be *plane*. If the moving line be a *curve*, the surface will be *curved*. If *broken*, the surface will be *polygonal*.

If a surface move in any other direction than that of its length or breadth, the space described will be a *solid*.

Cor. A solid has all the dimensions, *length*, *breadth*, and *thickness*.

If two points, each describing a straight line, preserve always the same distance from each other, the lines will be *parallel*.

Cor. Parallel lines will never meet, though ever so far produced.

If two points, describing straight lines, intersect each other's directions, the lines are said to form *angles* with each other.

If the intersection be such that any two adjacent angles are equal, these are *right angles*, and the lines are *perpendicular*.

If two parallel lines move in any other direction than that of their length, still continuing parallel, they will describe *parallel planes*.

If of two points one be *fixed*, and the other move round it, preserving always the same distance from it, the space enclosed will be a *circle;* the line described will be the *circumference*, and the fixed point the *centre*.

If a point, after commencing its motion, change its direction a number of times, so as to return to its first position, the space enclosed is a *plane figure*.

If the intervals between the changes of direction be perceptible, the figure is *rectilineal* or a *polygon*.

If a polygon move in a direction parallel to its first position, the solid generated will be a *prism*.

If a circle move in a direction parallel to its first position, the solid generated will be a *cylinder*.

We might continue this method through geometry; but the above examples are sufficient for illustration, and that was all we intended. We shall leave the subject with the single remark, that after making several experiments, we are fully satisfied, that definitions of this kind are more *intelligible* to beginners, than any we have met with. If it be objected, that they are not *strictly geometrical*, we must request the objectors to point out to us in what the precise quality of being geometrical consists.

We will now offer the suggestions we proposed above, concerning the definitions given by Legendre of a *straight line*, and of *parallel lines*. A *straight line* is defined to be 'the shortest way from one point to another.' Our objection to this is, that it does not bring distinctly and directly into view the very property, by which the mind always distinguishes a straight line from any other, namely, that *all its parts have the same direction*, while those of a curved or broken line have *different directions*. Let the following line be drawn, A⁀B. The mind decides at once that this is *not* a straight line; but how does it make this decision? Is it by *measuring the dis-*

tance, comparing it with others, and finding that it is *not the shortest?* We answer, No. It *perceives instantaneously that the direction changes.* Again, let the following line be drawn, A——B. The mind decides instantaneously, that this *is* a straight line; but how does it make the decision? Does it *compare this distance with every other*, and find that it is the *shortest of all?* Manifestly not. It perceives instantaneously, that its direction does *not change.* It is then *change of direction* that constitutes the distinguishing property, and this, we contend, should enter into the definition. Besides, *infinite straight lines* are treated of in mathematics, and we would ask the advocate for Legendre's definition, how he would determine the *shortest distance between two points infinitely distant.* Now let the defining property be *unity of direction*, and no such difficulty will occur. The idea of *distance*, which really forms no part of our conception of a straight line, will not then intervene. It is on these grounds that we prefer, both as more simple and more correct, the definition suggested above. *If a point, after commencing its motion, does not change its direction, the path described will be a straight line.* From this, distance and limitation are excluded, and the mind has to consider the direction alone. Moreover by adopting this definition, we avoid the necessity of demonstrating theorem 32; 'Two straight lines, which have two points common, coincide throughout, and form one and the same straight line.' This will be a necessary consequence from our definition; for if the two points which commenced their motion in the same line, were afterwards to separate, one or the other must change its direction. But then the lines would not be straight lines, which is contrary to the supposition.

We have dwelt thus long upon the definition of a straight line, because this is the first and simplest, and, for that reason, the most important of geometric magnitudes. The whole subsequent course of reasoning rests upon it. Legendre was aware that his own definition was imperfect, and it is but fair to give, in his own words, the reasons which induced him to adopt it.

'The definition of a straight line,' he observes in the Preface, 'being the most important of the elements, I have wished to be able to give to it all the exactness and precision of which it is susceptible. Perhaps I might have attained this object by calling a straight line that which can have only one position between two

given points. For, from this essential property we can deduce all the other properties of a straight line, and particularly that of its being the shortest between two given points. But in order to this it would have been necessary to enter into subtle discussions, and to distinguish, in the course of several propositions, the straight line drawn between two points, from the shortest line which measures the distance of these same points. I have preferred, in order not to render the introduction to geometry too difficult, to sacrifice something of the exactness at which I aimed. Accordingly I shall call a *straight line* that which is the shortest between two points, and I shall suppose that only one can be drawn between the same points. It is upon this principle, considered at the same time as a definition and an axiom, that I have endeavored to establish the entire edifice of the elements.'

We come now to the definition of *parallel lines*. This is the next most important definition in geometry. Our author follows Euclid, except in not confining it to straight lines. The words of Legendre are, 'Two lines are said to be parallel, when being situated in the same plane, and produced ever so far both ways, they do not meet.' Now this definition is liable to the following objection. It fixes a *test of parallelism*, which, from the very nature of the case, can never be applied. How, according to this definition, are we to ascertain that two lines are parallel? Will it be enough to produce them to any *finite* distance? No; because stop where we may, we cannot say but that, if we were to produce them still farther, they might meet. What then? We must produce them *infinitely*. But this is manifestly impossible. Indeed if the property of being produced to any finite or possible distance without meeting, were what consitutes parallelism, then the *hyperbola* and its *asymptotes* would be parallel; for these are such as *being situated in the same plane, and produced to any finite or possible distance whatsoever, would not meet.* Now what is there in this last case, which leads us at once to say that these lines are not parallel? Is it not the fact, that they constantly approach each other? If so, then the leading idea, in our conception of parallel lines, must be, that these do *not* approach each other; in other words, *that they are throughout at the same distance from each other.* This we believe to be the essential property of parallel lines, and that which the mind primarily contemplates, whenever it forms a conception of them.

Accordingly we contend, that it should form the basis of the definition. Assuming this, the other property, that *they could*

never meet, would follow of necessity; whereas by assuming the latter property, it becomes necessary to demonstrate the former, as in art. 69. In favor of the opinion we have here advanced, we have the authority of Hutton, and after him of Webber, who seems chiefly to have copied Hutton in his geometry. They define parallel lines to be 'those which are always at the same distance, and never meet though ever so far produced.'

A word respecting the *nomenclature* of figures, made use of by our author, will close our criticism upon his definitions. In general he has not departed from Euclid; and where he has done this, as in one or two instances, we think it is for the worse. We dislike the use of the term *rectangle*, to denote that figure which Euclid, by a much more convenient expression, denominates an *oblong*. The word *rectangle* literally means the same as *right angle;* it is almost equivalent, therefore, to using the same word in two very different senses. The substitution of the word *oblong*, for the 'quadrilateral which has its angles right angles, without having its sides equal,' instead of the word *rectangle*, would avoid all confusion. Again, the term *parallelogram* is used to denote that figure which Euclid calls a *rhomboid*. But the definition of Legendre is 'a quadrilateral which has its opposite sides parallel.' Now this is the property, not of one, but of four quadrilaterals, viz. the *square*, the *oblong*, the *rhombus*, and the *rhomboid*, of Euclid. Hence we think it produces unnecessary confusion to make it the denomination of only one of these figures. With the exceptions now stated, the author's nomenclature appears to be as concise and appropriate as the nature of the case admits of.

The subject next in order is *axioms*. These, in the words of Legendre, are 'propositions the truth of which is self-evident.' Taken in connexion with definitions, they form the entire groundwork of geometrical reasoning. Of course it becomes a very important question, what truths are to be regarded as axioms. Legendre has enumerated only five; but in this respect, he has departed from Euclid and all the other authors we have consulted. The number generally admitted is eleven or twelve. Indeed Legendre *supposes* throughout the work the admission of six, which he has not enumerated. What his motive was in omitting these, he has not told us. To say that they are *self-evident* cannot be a sufficient reason, for

this reason would equally exclude the mention of any. Accordingly we think that the work would be more complete, if this omission were supplied. It might be done as follows.

If equals be added to equals, the wholes are equal.

If equals be taken from equals, the remainders are equal.

If equals be added to unequals, the wholes are unequal.

If equals be taken from unequals, the remainders are unequal.

Things which are double the same, are equal to one another.

Things which are halves of the same, are equal to one another.

Besides these six, which are enumerated by Euclid, and constantly taken for granted by Legendre, we shall suggest two others. But previously to doing this, and in order that our motives may not be misconstrued in proposing this and subsequent alterations, we will here state in what light we propose to regard the work of Legendre, during the remainder of this discussion.

We have hitherto spoken of it as a complete treatise on the elements of geometry, and regarding it in this light, we have not hesitated to give it the first place among elementary treatises. Indeed we have strongly intimated our opinion of its general excellence, by the few and comparatively trivial defects, which we have been able to point out. But the object had in view in translating it, was to make it a manual or text-book for the students of Harvard University, with the expectation, doubtless, that it would be adopted also in other colleges and seminaries of learning. Considering it, therefore, in this light, as a manual or text-book, we think it is liable, in the first place, to this objection, that it is not sufficiently practical; in other words, that the problems are far too few, in proportion to the theorems. The student is put in possession of a mass of geometrical truths, while at the same time he is taught only a small number of their applications to geometrical constructions. Perhaps it may be answered, that the practical application is left for a useful exercise of the student's sagacity. But the same argument might be used with equal force for the omission of demonstrations. Besides it is a well known fact that very few students subject their sagacity to this salutary exercise.

But the gravest charge we have to urge against the work, considered in the light of a text-book, is, that it is by far more bulky, than the necessity or convenience of our students re-

quires. We presume it will not be denied, that if its size can be reduced, without diminishing the number of practical results obtained, or impairing the rigor with which they are established, such a reduction would be a decided improvement. For we hold it to be no argument in favor of its being extended over so wide a surface, that every part is an excellent discipline for the mind, and that consequently the greater its extent is, so much the more of mental discipline will be afforded. This argument would do very well, if there were no room for equally salutary discipline, beyond the precincts of pure geometry. But this is not the case. Geometry is but the first flight of steps. Attain their summit, and you are introduced into a boundless range. But the longer you are occupied in the ascent, just so much less time have you left for exploring the mysteries which now begin to open upon you; those sublime and stupendous mysteries, in the midst of which the intellects of Kepler, Newton, and Laplace expatiated, and which furnish even a higher and nobler discipline for the mental faculties, than the truths of pure geometry. To approve then of amplification, which might be avoided, merely on the ground of mental discipline, would be like recommending to the tourist the most circuitous routes he could find, because they would afford him the greatest amount of physical exercise. Our aim, therefore, in what follows, will be to suggest such alterations as would reduce the limits of the work, without diminishing at all the number of practical results; and we hope also to make it manifest that these changes, so far from rendering the subject more abstruse and difficult, will bring it even nearer than it is at present, to the level of youthful minds. For this purpose, we shall assume the following propositions as maxims. Whenever the truth of a proposition is immediately obvious, without demonstration, the demonstration should be omitted. Of two demonstrations equally rigorous, the shortest is the best. Lastly, if a proposition contain only an isolated truth, that is, if no subsequent theorem or problem depend upon it, it is better that such proposition be omitted.

These things being premised, we proceed to suggest the retrenchments which we think might be made in the work of Legendre. We begin by recommending that the first theorem, (art. 27), namely, that *all right angles are equal*, be regarded as an axiom. We have now before us the works of seven distinguished geometers, at the head of whom we place Euclid; and

not one of these has deemed this proposition to need demonstration. All set it down among the axioms. Now if it be not strictly an axiom, it is, at least, a necessary and obvious corollary from the definition; 'When one straight line meets another, in such a manner that the two adjacent angles are equal, each of these is a right angle.' Into this definition the length of the lines does not enter. Of course they may be produced indefinitely, and then a single diagram will represent all possible cases. Hence right angles can never differ. To give a labored demonstration of their equality, therefore, is mere supererogation.

We have only one more axiom to propose, which is the following. *If one straight line constantly approaches another, they will meet if produced sufficiently far.* This will fill up the only *apparent* chasm which occurs in the reasoning throughout the work.

In art. 58, we have the following proposition. We shall give it in general terms to avoid the necessity of a diagram. *If one straight line be perpendicular to a second, and if a third line make with the second an acute angle, the first and third will meet if produced sufficiently far.* This our author seems to think requires proof, and accordingly he has given us something which looks like an attempt at demonstration, or as he calls it, explanation; promising a more rigorous but not geometrical demonstration, in the notes appended to the end of the work. His inability to demonstrate it geometrically, he ascribes to the imperfect definition he has assumed of parallel lines and of a straight line. Why then did he not pursue the same course as Euclid did, when he found the same difficulty? Euclid at once made it an *axiom*, or, as it is sometimes called, a *postulate;* at any rate a proposition not requiring demonstration. In our view this was the wiser course. For though it be not quite so simple as the other axioms, and may perhaps require a moment more of reflection in order to believe it, yet it is a proposition, of which it is impossible not to believe the truth, the moment we form a conception of the relative position of the lines; moreover the belief is of that absolute kind, to which no resoning can add any force. One thing is clear; the mind *perceives* instantaneously that the two lines constantly approach each other, the farther they are produced. This is as evident, as that the whole is greater than a part. Yet this is the very thing and the only thing, which the author attempts to prove.

Hence we say it would have been better to admit the proposition as an axiom in the first instance; for the attempt to prove it, implies that it needs proof; and not to succeed in proving it, is at once to strengthen the doubt if there could have been any, and at the same time to convey to the mind of the student the impression, that geometrical reasoning is not equal to all it undertakes. Indeed the whole difficulty, if there were any, still remains unremoved. We have stated what is self-evident in this celebrated proposition, and we will now state what is wanting. Taking it for granted that two lines constantly approach each other, does it need to be demonstrated that these lines will meet if produced sufficiently far? If so, then all the propositions which come after art. 58, are doubtful; because they rest upon something which requires demonstration, and yet does not admit of it. But we contend that this is not the case. The mind does not require a demonstration here. After the simple perception of *constant approach*, we cannot conceive of a more immediate and irresistible conclusion, than that of *ultimate meeting*. Moreover we believe that this absolute certainty is the very cause which renders the demonstration impossible. We cannot prove it, for the same reason that we cannot prove the whole to be greater than its part; that is, because nothing is more certain. But here we are asked by the objector, why it is not equally certain that the hyperbola and its asymptotes may be produced so far as to meet? Why will not the same reasoning apply to this case as to the other? The distance at first is finite, and as there is a *constant approach* of the curve and its asymptote, this finite quantity must be constantly decreasing; and your principle is that the constant decrease of a finite quantity must ultimately bring it to zero. To this we reply, that the cases are by no means parallel. The very existence of an asymptote involves a *physical impossibility*. It is a tangent to the curve at *an infinite distance*. Now since such a curve can never be actually drawn, it follows that the point of contact must always be imaginary, and of course that the asymptote can exist only in imagination. But the proposition in question *does not* involve any physical impossibility. The lines can be actually represented to the eye, and the idea of *infinity* does not intervene. Hence our instantaneous belief that the lines in question must meet; since we only want sufficient space, *and that not infinite*, in order actually to make them meet. We shall now leave this subject; having already pro-

tracted the discussion farther than we should have done, had it not been for our strong desire to show that no attempt at demonstration is here necessary; and our regret that, in a chain of reasoning so beautiful as that of Legendre, there should be even the appearance of a chasm.

We proceed to our work of abbreviation. By adopting what we have endeavored to show is the true definition of straight and of parallel lines, and also the two additional axioms above proposed, articles 27, 32, 58, 59, and 69 become unnecessary.

Theorem 178 is, *The area of a trapezoid is equal to the product of its altitude by half the sum of its parallel sides.* The labored demonstration here given is unnecessary. The truth follows from what has already been shown to be the measure of a triangle; for by drawing a diagonal, the trapezoid is divided into two triangles, having for their common altitude the altitude of the trapezoid, and for their bases the parallel sides. Therefore the measure of these triangles is the measure of the trapezoid. Q. E. D.

The following articles, 223, 224, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, may be omitted, as they lead to no practical result of importance, and as nothing subsequent depends upon them.

Problem 260, which is, 'To find the common measure, if there be one, between the diagonal and side of a square,' is useless; because it was before shown, (188) that these two lines are *incommensurable.*

Lemma 283, which is, *Every curved line or polygon, which encloses from one extremity to the other a convex line, is greater than the enclosed line,* does not require demonstration. No reasoning can make the truth of it strike the mind more forcibly, than the mere enunciation of it. One glance at the diagram makes it a matter of simple perception. Both lines being convex, who can doubt that the enclosed line occupies a shorter distance than the enclosing one? For our part, we can see no room for reasoning; it rather impairs than increases the force of our first conviction. But even if what we have said were not true, still, both this and the following Lemma, 285, both of which are employed as subsidiary to theorem 287, will be evidently superfluous, if a method of demonstrating this theorem can be devised, which shall not depend upon the admission of these subsidiary truths. Accordingly such a method we shall now propose.

For this purpose, we only require the admission of the following proposition. *The circle may be considered as a regular polygon of an infinite number of sides.* This may be made intelligible to the mind of any youth, in the following manner. Take a circle and inscribe in it any one of the regular polygons before mentioned, (art. 269, 271, 273). Then proceed to bisect the arcs subtended by the sides, and draw chords to these half arcs. This operation may obviously be continued until the arcs become confounded with their chords; a limit, which on account of the imperfection of our vision and of instruments, will soon be attained. But it is evident that the operation may be extended in imagination beyond this limit, to an indefinite degree. Indeed problems 293, 294, furnish us with a method of approximating the circle to a regular polygon, until they shall not differ by any assignable quantity. It is not therefore absolutely necessary to introduce the idea of infinity; for if we suppose the operation to terminate at some distant finite limit, still the error will be so small that it may be safely neglected, as it is in the quadrature of the circle. We have, however, preferred the use of the term *infinite*, both because it is more convenient than any other, and because it is the only one which renders the proposition strictly true. We are aware that the above considerations do not amount to a positive demonstration, for this is not practicable. Mathematical infinity, as here presented, is a negative idea, and the only proofs, which propositions involving it admit of, are of a negative or indirect kind. We shall give an indirect demonstration of the rigorous truth of the one in question, by showing in the sequel, that all the conclusions which result from reasoning upon it as a hypothesis, are precisely the same as those which Legendre has obtained with vastly more labor, by a course of strictly geometrical demonstration. Meantime what we have said above, will put the student's mind into a train of reasoning, such as cannot fail to remove whatever doubt the first statement of the proposition might have occasioned. Perhaps, too, it would not be amiss to place before him that negative sort of evidence, which results from the fact, that, whether true or not, its *falsity* can never be demonstrated; since every attempt to prove a want of coïncidence between the circle and polygon, must suppose the number of sides finite, which would be contrary to the hypothesis.

After all, we expect that the lovers of strict geometry will

object to the introduction here, of a principle which belongs more properly to fluxions. We have already stated our object to be the abridgment of labor; and when we shall have shown that the recognition of this single principle will do away the necessity of many of the longest demonstrations in the work before us, we trust that no one who is not a bigot to particular forms and systems, will find fault with the step we have taken. Let it be remembered, moreover, that the first suggestion of such a principle was made by a man no less profound and sagacious than Kepler, who employed it in a manner very closely resembling the one we propose; that it has already been partially recognised by Legendre himself, in his approximation to the quadrature of the circle; that it forms the entire basis of Trigonometry, as presented in the volume which follows Geometry in the Cambridge course; and finally, that the application of the Differential and Integral Calculus, to geometric magnitudes, through its whole extent, is a recognition at once of its truth and importance. Who then will say that we can avail ourselves *too early* of that instrument, by which Kepler, Newton, Leibnitz, and Laplace, have so wonderfully facilitated their vast calculations?

We accordingly now proceed, without further apology, to point out the extent to which the limits of the work before us may be abridged, by admitting the principle, that the circle is a regular polygon of an infinite number of sides.

Theorem 287. *The circumferences of circles are as their radii, and their surfaces are as the squares of their radii.* Admitting our principle, this proposition is included in that of art. 282. It is there demonstrated, that 'the perimeters of regular polygons of the same number of sides, are as the radii of their inscribed circles; and their surfaces are as the squares of these same radii.' Now the circles in question being regular polygons of an infinite, and therefore *the same number* of sides, and the radii of the inscribed circles being the radii of the circles in question, as both become coïncident, we have only to substitute for *perimeters*, the word *circumferences*, and for *the radii of their inscribed circles*, the words *their radii*, and the same theorem is sufficient for both cases. Q. E. D.

Theorem 289. *The area of a circle is equal to the product of its circumference by half the radius.* It was demonstrated, 280, that 'the area of a regular polygon is equal to the product of its perimeter by half the radius of the inscribed circle.'

But the regular polygon of an infinite number of sides becomes confounded with its inscribed circle. Therefore it must have for its area, its perimeter or circumference multiplied by half the radius. Q. E. D.

Theorem 312. *The circle is greater than any polygon of the same perimeter.* We would vary this phraseology conformably with our principle, by saying, 'the circle is greater than any *other* polygon of *equal* perimeter.' Then it becomes a corollary to proposition 311, 'of two regular isoperimetrical polygons, that is the greater which has the greater number of sides.' For the number of sides in the circle being *infinite*, must be greater than that of any *other polygon*. Q. E. D.

We now come to Part Second. This is divided into four sections. The first three treat of planes, polyedrones, and figures described on the surface of a sphere. In no part of these, therefore, could our mode of reasoning be substituted. But by applying it to the Fourth Section, which treats of the *sphere*, the *cylinder*, and the *cone*, the limits of that section will be reduced more than one half. We proceed to point out, as briefly as possible, in what manner this application is to be made.

In the first place, Lemmas, 513, 514, 515, may be omitted, being only subsidiary to theorem 516. *The solidity of a cylinder is equal to the product of the base by its altitude.* This proposition is involved in that of the solidity of the prism, 406. It is there shown that the solidity of a prism is equal to the product of its base by its altitude. But *the cylinder is a prism of an infinite number of faces.* This may be illustrated by the same kind of reasoning as that employed with regard to the circle. Indeed it is a necessary consequence of admitting that the circle which forms the base of the cylinder, is a polygon. Hence a second demonstration is unnecessary. The solidity of a cylinder must have the same measure as that of a prism. Q. E. D.

Again, lemma 522 may be omitted, being only introduced for the sake of demonstrating theorem 523. *The convex surface of a cylinder is equal to the circumference of its base multiplied by its altitude.* Now it has already been demonstrated, lemma 520, that 'the convex surface of a *right prism*, is equal to the perimeter of its base multiplied by its altitude.' Admitting, then, our principle, the convex surface of a cylinder will consist of an infinite number of rectangles, each having for its alti-

tude, the altitude of the cylinder, and the sum of their bases, forming the circumference of the base of the cylinder. In other words, the *cylinder is a right prism*, of an infinite number of faces. Hence the convex surface of a cylinder must be the same as the convex surface of a prism. Q. E. D.

Theorem 524. 'The solidity of a cone is equal to the product of its base by a third part of its altitude.' It was before demonstrated, 416, that 'every pyramid has for its measure, a third part of the product of its base by its altitude.' But according to our principle, a *cone is a pyramid*, having an infinite number of triangular faces. This necessarily follows from its base being a polygon of an infinite number of sides. Hence the measure of a cone must be the same as that of a pyramid. Q. E. D.

Theorem 527, enunciated in general terms, is as follows. 'The frustum of a cone is equal in solidity to the sum of three cones, having for their common altitude, the altitude of the frustum, and for their respective bases, the inferior base of the frustum, its superior base, and a mean proportional between these two.' In art. 422, it was demonstrated that the frustum of a pyramid has the same measure for its solidity. Admitting our principle, a second demonstration becomes entirely unnecessary; for the *frustum of a cone* becomes the *frustum of a pyramid* of an infinite number of faces. Therefore it must have the same measure of solidity. Q. E. D.

Theorem 528. 'The convex surface of a cone is equal to the circumference of its base multiplied by half its side.' This results necessarily from the definition of a cone just given. All the triangles forming its surface, have the *side of the cone* for their common altitude, and the sum of their bases forms the *circumference of the base*. Hence the sum of all these triangles, or the convex surface of the cone, is equal to the circumference of the base into half the side. Q. E. D.

Theorem 530. 'The convex surface of the frustum of a cone is equal to its side multiplied by half the sum of the circumferences of the two bases.' The two bases being parallel polygons of an infinite number of sides, it follows that the convex surface is composed of an infinite number of *trapezoids*, each having the side of the frustum for its altitude. Therefore the sum of all the trapezoids, or *the convex surface*, must be equal to the *side of the frustum*, that is, the altitude of the trapezoids, multiplied by half the sum of all the parallel sides, or *half the sum of the two circumferences*. Q. E. D.

Theorem 535. 'The surface of a sphere is equal to the product of its diameter by the circumference of a great circle.' This is incuded in the preceding corollary. 'The entire surface described by the revolution of a semipolygon about its axis, is equal to the product of the axis into the circumference of the inscribed circle.' Here we have only to substitute for semipolygon the word semicircle, and for axis the word diameter, and to remember that the *great circle* and the *inscribed circle* are one and the same, in order to perceive that the surface of the sphere must have the measure enunciated. Q. E. D.

Theorem 538. '*The surface of any spherical zone is equal to the altitude of this zone multiplied by the circumference of a great circle.*' This is involved in lemma, 533, as may be shown by considerations precisely like the preceding, and therefore unnecessary to be mentioned.

Theorem 546. *Every spherical sector has for its measure the zone which serves as a base multiplied by a third of the radius, and the entire sphere has for its measure its surface multiplied by a third of the radius.* This long demonstration may be avoided, and the truth inferred directly from theorem 545, by substituting, as our principle justifies, the words *spherical sector*, in place of the words *polygonal sector*. The same demonstration will then suffice for both cases.

It is now time to draw our remarks to a close. The alterations which we have suggested, will reduce the limits of the work about one fifth. Had we time we might mention several other propositions which might be omitted altogether, on the ground of standing isolated or leading to no practical results. Whether the increased popularity and practical utility, which might thus be insured, be an object worthy of consideration to the publishers, when another edition shall be called for, as we understand will soon be the case, it does not concern us to inquire. Of this, however, we are assured, that the wants of the public do really require a work on geometry less amplified than Legendre, and at the same time rendered more practical; and we know of no treatise which would so well serve for the basis of such a work, as that which we have attempted to review.

XI.—1. *De l'Opposition dans le Gouvernement, et de la Liberté de la Presse, par* M. le Vicomte de Bonald, Pair de France. Paris, 1827.

2. *Debates in the British Parliament on the Change of Ministry, and on the Battle of Navarino.* London, 1828.

3. *Manifesto of the Sublime Ottoman Porte of December* 20, 1827.

Although the period which has elapsed since the close of the last general war, is commonly spoken of as a season of tranquillity, and may be justly viewed as such when compared with the five and twenty years immediately preceding, it has nevertheless been filled up by an almost uninterrupted series of important events. The foundation of a numerous brotherhood of new nations in Spanish and Portuguese America, the establishment of representative governments in various parts of the continent of Europe, the four military revolutions in the Italian and Spanish Peninsulas, and finally the desperate and glorious struggle for national existence in Greece, are occurrences hardly inferior, in permanent interest and actual importance, to those which constituted the successive stages of the French Revolution. Of these great political movements some have already nearly reached, in one way or another, their natural termination, and have ceased in consequence to attract, so strongly as before, the attention of the world. Notwithstanding the fatal dissensions that have lately distracted the councils of some of our sister Republics of the South, and the clouds that overshadow to a certain extent their immediate future prospects, we cannot permit ourselves to doubt for a moment, that the independence and freedom of the whole of Spanish America are substantially secure ; and we are firmly persuaded that this grand consummation will open a new and most auspicious chapter in the history of human affairs. On the other hand, the temporary triumph of liberal principles in several quarters of the south of Europe, which was attended from the beginning with many ominous and unsatisfactory circumstances, was soon succeeded by such decisive reverses, as to leave for the moment, in that quarter, no farther ground of hope. But while the general interest in these two courses of events has been thus diminished by success on the one hand, and by failure on the

other, the establishment and progress of representative government on the Continent, and the war of Independence in Greece, continue to offer from year to year new incidents of constantly augmenting importance. The last few months in particular have been marked in both by occurrences of signal moment. The sea-fight of Navarino, if its influence on the fortunes of the Turkish Empire should at all correspond with present probabilities, can hardly fail to form an epoch in the history of the Christian world in general, as well as in that of the Greek Revolution; while the late dissolution of the French House of Deputies, followed by the unexpected triumph of liberal principles at the elections, and a consequent change of ministry, is perhaps the most curious incident that has yet occurred in the operation of the new representative constitutions of the continent. Either of these events, considered in all its details and consequences, would furnish ample materials for a long article, and might be separately treated without inconvenience. But at this distance from the scene of action, the public curiosity does not require, perhaps, so copious a supply of particulars, or so minute an investigation of their character and results, as might be suitable elsewhere; and when political events of this magnitude, though not in themselves directly connected, proceed from and exercise their influence upon a cluster of neighboring powers, so closely united by relations of every kind, as those which make up the European commonwealth, it is in some respects convenient and advantageous to review them together. We accordingly propose in this article to survey, in the very rapid and imperfect manner, which only our limited resources and space will allow, the present aspect of the general politics of Europe, and shall digest our remarks under the two leading heads which we have already specified. The fluctuations and changes which have successively occurred in the British ministry, since the retirement of Lord Liverpool, although highly important, as well from the immense interests immediately affected by every movement in the main spring of so vast a machine, as from the high celebrity of many of the names that appear in these transactions, are nevertheless not likely, we think, to produce any very material effects, either on the internal condition or foreign relations of the country. It would however be improper to leave them entirely out of view on the present occasion, and before we proceed to examine the other two subjects, alluded to above, we shall briefly con-

sider the causes and character of these changes, principally for the purpose of establishing the correctness of the remark we have just made upon their comparative indifference to the general politics of Europe and the world.

1. A change in the persons administering the government of a country, although always a thing of considerable moment, on account of the different shades of opinion and feeling under which similar principles may be professed, and the different degrees of ability with which they may be practised upon, rarely possesses a paramount interest, except when it indicates the triumph of a party or opinion. The late successive changes in the administration of the British government do not appear to be of this latter character, and even approach less nearly to it than many similar movements have done at other periods. In reality the form of that government and the general principles of policy upon which it is administered, are so well established by the experience of a century and a half, which have elapsed since the close of the civil wars, that there is little or no difference of sentiment about them in the minds of intelligent men. The nominal parties of *Whigs* and *Tories*, into which the well informed and substantial part of the community is divided, are little more than shadows of the two violent factions, whose embittered and bloody struggles formerly distracted the kingdom, and are now separated by almost imperceptible lines of distinction ; while the third party of *Radicals*, whose doctrines are no doubt sufficiently at variance with those of the two others, and whose triumph would be the signal for a domestic revolution similar to that of France, is not yet powerful enough to affect in any way the march of the government, still less to claim a direct share in the administration. Any change therefore which could well take place at present, in the *personnel* of the British ministry, would hardly be of a nature to alter materially the course of its general policy.

But the late successive new arrangements are, as we just remarked, less likely to have this effect, than many preceding ones of a similar kind ; since they have all been formed upon the avowed principle of a union of parties, and a representation in the cabinet of all the various groupes and *coteries*, which compose the ruling aristocracy. Although the cabinet of Mr Canning contained a large infusion of whig materials, he was doubtless himself its inspiring soul and actual head, and continued to be, as he had hitherto been, a professed tory. The

short lived administration of Lord Goderich was a mere continuation, on the smaller scale allowed by his Lordship's inferior talents and feebler character, of that of Mr Canning. The late recomposition of the government by the Duke of Wellington, has no doubt been effected under an influence somewhat less friendly to the whigs, than the one which prevailed immediately before; and the more tenacious and sensitive leaders of that party have again retired to the opposition benches. But the cabinet nevertheless maintains its coloring of impartiality, comprehending the most effective members of the two that preceded it, particularly Mr Huskisson and Lord Dudley; and has publicly pledged itself before the country and the world to pursue, on all material points, the policy of Mr Canning. It is evident therefore that the new arrangements, considered as a change of ministry, can have no very material or decisive results. Mr Peel may be somewhat less successful in calling forth alternately the smiles and tears of the faithful commons, than his brilliant predecessor; while, on the other hand, the name of the conqueror of Waterloo, standing at the head of the government, will carry with it into the cabinets of all the continental powers far more weight, than the quiet appellations of Jenkinson or Liverpool. But the ordinary train of affairs, both foreign and domestic, will pursue substantially its former course. On the three great questions of internal policy, the finances, the corn laws, and concessions to the Catholics, there is no probability of any change. In the foreign relations, which consist at this moment in like manner of three principal branches, Spanish America, Portugal, and Turkey, the system of Mr Canning will doubtless be sustained with undiminished firmness, as respects the two first; and should there be, as is not improbable, some variation from it in the third, it will not be the effect (rather one of the causes) of the last ministerial change, but in the main the result of unexpected events occurring abroad, which would have produced nearly the same operation upon the councils of the British cabinet under any minister. The extent and effects of this probable variation will come more naturally under our review, when we treat directly of the Greek question, in a subsequent part of this article.

The late movements in the British administration may therefore be viewed on the whole as of little importance to the general political system. They were occasioned by merely accidental causes, the attack of disease that prostrated Lord

Liverpool, and the death of Mr Canning; and they do not indicate any change of policy in regard to the great interests of the country. When such changes do in fact take place under a government so strongly controlled by public opinion as that of England, they can have but little connexion with the caprice, or even the personal character and talent of individual statesmen, but must be owing to some corresponding change in the actual situation of the political world at home or abroad. The form and opportunity of particular measures may vary with the various tastes and powers of different ministers, which may produce in this way results of considerable importance; but the great ends (to reverse the illustration of Shakspeare) are in the main 'rough hewn by the Divinity,' who only leaves it to his mortal ministers to affect, in some slight degree, their shape and color.

A revolution of an essential kind, in the policy of the British government, has actually taken place since the close of the late wars; and the circumstances which occasioned it, as well as the manner in which it has steadily developed itself under the numerous and often abrupt and unexpected changes in the administration, singularly illustrate the correctness of the above remark in both its parts; and show at once the degree to which the general policy of the kingdom is controlled by changes in the state of the political world, and the trifling extent to which the measures dictated by such changes are modified by the personal character of individual statesmen. We allude here, as the reader will of course perceive, to the retirement of Great Britain from the great despotic alliance of the Continent of Europe, and her adhesion to the liberal system which happily flourishes throughout our own. This revolution, however important, was not the result of a change of ministry; nor has it been the occasion of any one of the successive changes of this description which have taken place since it has been in progress. Great Britain, with a constitution founded substantially on free principles, had been led by circumstances, partly accidental, to engage with ardor and activity in a coalition, whose indirect results at least were adverse to liberty. The terror inspired by a common danger, real or supposed, first from the excesses of the French revolution, and afterwards from the military ambition of Napoleon, gave rise to this unnatural connexion, and sustained it firmly as long as the danger lasted. But when the repeated conquest of France by the

allies had completely dispelled all remaining apprehensions from that quarter, the coalition virtually ceased of itself, with the cause that created it. The parties naturally pursued on subsequent occasions the course of policy conformable to their habitual principles of administration ; and as these were of a directly opposite description, they were brought, almost immediately, out of a relation of close and intimate coöperation, into one of direct hostility. Even before the battle of Waterloo, the first symptoms of this divergence appeared in the dissensions among the great powers at the congress of Vienna, and in the refusal of the British government to adhere to the holy alliance. It became still more manifest when that government declined to assist at the several anti-constitutional congresses of the continent, and even protested directly against their proceedings. Still however there was no change of ministry. Lord Londonderry, though as fully pledged by his known principles and his previous course of life to the former system as almost any man in England, felt no difficulty, under the change of circumstances which had since occurred, in acting on another of a directly opposite character ; and we now saw this sworn friend and confidential ally of legitimacy wielding his inoffensive pen (no longer backed by the thunders of Wellington and Nelson) in the cause of freedom.

In the meantime, a change of ministry produced by an accidental cause in fact occurred, and brought to the direction of the foreign affairs a statesman still more deeply pledged than Lord Londonderry to the anti-jacobin policy, and remarkable for an energy of character and a superiority of talent, which exempted him more than most persons from the control of circumstances, and rendered him in an uncommon degree the independent master of his own conduct. The personal relations of Mr Canning with his predecessor were also such, as did not naturally impose upon him any very strong obligation to follow the course which the latter had marked out. This therefore was a crisis in which we might have expected to witness the triumph of the force of individual character over that of circumstances ; and it was now, if ever, that the world might have looked for a return to the anti-revolutionary system. What in fact happened ? The energy and talent of Mr Canning served only to precipitate the change of policy which had been commenced by Lord Londonderry, and to brush away, without ceremony, the minor difficulties, which that more scrupulous or timid statesman

might have found insurmountable. We saw this ancient champion of the altar and the throne sanctioning by one of his earliest acts the revolt of the Spanish colonies, calling, in his own phrase, a new world into existence, and in the face of the rooted prejudices of his countrymen, publicly professing, with a sort of affectation, a community of system and feeling with these United States.

Another accident again unsettles the ministry, raises Mr Canning to the head of the government, and gives him the free choice of his associates. Now at least, if we suppose him to have been shackled before by the authority or judgment of others, was a golden opportunity for indulging his favorite prejudices, shifting at once the helm of state, and returning to the old course, given out in better days by 'the pilot that weathered the storm.' What, again we ask, was the result? The cherished nursling and fond admirer of Pitt fills his cabinet with avowed and veteran whigs of the school of Fox, and even carries his liberality so far, as to make himself the object of the bitter personal animosity of the principal surviving disciples of his ancient master. The *Coryphaeus* of anti-jacobins, who had cheered on in poetry and prose, for twenty years together, a general European crusade against revolution, now declares in open parliament before the face of Europe, that he is ready, if circumstances require, to take the field a second time on the other side, and to head the revolutionary troops on a crusade, as long and as bloody as the former one against legitimacy. Finally the last act of his life was to conclude, under the form of a treaty of alliance with Russia and France, for the pacification of Greece, a compact with the latter power, for the real purpose, as we shall show hereafter, of embarrassing the policy of Russia herself, of Russia, the long tried, faithful, and invaluable coadjutor of the Pitt-statesmen, in their struggle with Napoleon. Such then is the influence of circumstances over the conduct of a British minister, and so little are his measures dependent upon his own peculiar views and character. If his temper be quiet and feeble, he pursues without a struggle the onward current of events. If, on the contrary, he have anything of a 'tyrant's vein' about him, any disposition (of which the late premier certainly had a good deal) to 'make all split,' he only abounds the more fully in the same sense, and overleaps with the less difficulty all minor scruples.

The principles we have here stated are sufficiently evident, and have their application to a greater or less extent in most other governments; but they are so curiously illustrated and corroborated by the history of that of England, for the last fifteen years, that we have been led insensibly into a fuller recapitulation of details, than was absolutely necessary to the course of the present inquiry. We repeat however, that the late ministerial changes in England are not of a nature to produce, as such, any material effects upon general politics. It does not belong to our present purpose to examine them much in detail under other points of view. Of the three complete revolutions that have taken place within the last two years, the two first were occasioned, as we have remarked above, by events entirely casual. The real causes of the dissolution of the Goderich administration are less apparent, and after the ample explanations given on all sides of both houses of Parliament, are still, to a certain extent, enveloped in mystery. The trifling misunderstanding between Mr Huskisson and Mr Herries, respecting the person who should fill the chair of a Committee of Finance, does not appear to us a circumstance of sufficient importance to have produced this effect, although we are well aware that little things become great, when they affect great interests. It is not impossible to reconcile the positive assertion of Lord Goderich and other members of the late administration, that this misunderstanding was the actual and only cause of its dissolution, with the supposition that other and more weighty difficulties had created in his Lordship's mind an inclination to retire, without which the small matter in question might have been got over. A powerful party in the aristocracy continued to exhibit a menacing aspect, and Lord Goderich, a sensitive and gentle rather than commanding character, may have felt that he had not the casque of three fold brass, which armed the dauntless front of his lamented friend and predecessor, wherewith to stem its fury. On the other hand, affairs had taken a somewhat unfavorable turn in Turkey, and another general war, if not probable, was at least within the compass of no very distant possibility. Lord Goderich may not have chosen to encounter this hazard, from which indeed a stouter heart than his appears to be, might well recoil with consternation. In the apprehension of these impending storms, he may have preferred to resign at once, before the arrival of the moment of actual danger, when it would no longer be possible to quit his post with honor; and on

that account may have attached an importance to the affair of the Finance Committee, which he would not have given to it under other circumstances; while this, being the only motive for his retirement which he mentioned to the King, may have been spoken of with technical propriety as its real moving cause. This view of the subject is the more probable, since we must look for this cause, in circumstances likely to operate precisely on his Lordship's own mind, as he appears to have resigned, not only without consulting with his colleagues, but even without apprising them of his intention. Mr Tierney declared in the house of Commons, that he supposed the government to be going on as usual, twenty-four hours after the head of it had quitted the helm. We cannot however enter any further at present into this discussion.

The new administration seems to us to wear an aspect of firmer consistency and greater durability, than either of the two preceding ones. We consider Mr Peel as the effective Prime Minister. The Duke of Wellington, though perhaps less incapable of conducting the civil affairs of the kingdom, than he is supposed to be by many, and than his noble frankness and genuine modesty have induced him to represent himself, does not appear to be regarded by his countrymen, as the precise person best fitted for the post he now fills; and from intimations which he has given in the house of lords, as well as from the nature of the arrangements which have been made for supplying his place at the head of the army, it is not unlikely that he intends at no very distant period to return to this latter station. In that case Mr Peel may probably be called to succeed him, and to assume the ostensible direction of the government. Of the character and talents of this statesman we entertain a very favorable opinion. He has not perhaps the brilliant elocution, the ready wit, the rich stores of polite literature, and the fine poetical taste, which gave Mr Canning so powerful a sway over the house; but we are not sure that, even as a parliamentary speaker, he is not really equal or superior to his great predecessor. He has more discretion, more familiarity with matters of mere business, and, we incline to believe, more precision and correctness in his habits of thinking. These are solid qualities, which cannot but secure, in the end, the confidence of the nation to a greater extent than mere rhetoric. Mr Peel is however by no means defective in manner as an orator. He possesses, on the contrary, a copious,

manly, and unaffected style of elocution, highly appropriate to the subjects he is called to treat, and graced perhaps with as much ornament as good taste would admit. The mixture of firmness and moderation exhibited in his conduct on the occasion of the forming of the Canning ministry, whether he be right or wrong on the Catholic question, was creditable to his moral character, which is also, we understand, in all respects unexceptionable. He is now in the flower of life, possessed of every accidental advantage, and at the opening of a public career which promises, we think, to be highly honorable to himself, and useful to his country.

2. The late changes in the administration of the French government, to which we next propose to direct our attention, are different in character, and much more important to the general politics of Europe, than those which we have just been considering. France seems to be almost the only country where the great political parties which divide to a certain extent, and under different shapes and names, the whole christian world, are actually in presence of each other, and carry on the war with activity and vigor. In the military monarchies of the East of Europe, and, as at present constituted, in the two Peninsulas, the *liberal* opinion is crushed into silence by main force, and has no public expression. In Great Britain and in all parts of our own Continent, the *legitimate* opinion, if it in fact exist at all, is too feebly sustained by the public sentiment, to form the avowed creed of any considerable party; and the political controversies that are carried on from time to time, with more or less warmth, turn, for the most part, in England, on the merits of particular measures, and with us, where the field is still more narrow, on the characters of individuals. In France, on the contrary, the two opinions are pretty nearly balanced; for if the liberal party have, as we incline to think, a decided superiority of force in the nation, their legitimate opponents are, on the other hand, backed by a powerful foreign influence, which can never be entirely overlooked in a kingdom having an immense open frontier. This reinforcement enables the party to keep the field, and has even given them, for a considerable portion of the period subsequent to the restoration, an appearance of success, and at times a complete and undisputed predominance. The respective opinions and objects of these two parties are sufficiently familiar to our readers. They are determined in general by the great changes in the state of civ-

ilization and society which have led to the division; although the views of the individuals engaged in the controversy at particular times and places, often vary very much from the common standard, and are not always fully realized by themselves; for in practical life, the influence of impulse and passion is not less powerful than that of principle, or even interest. Since the revolution in France, the struggle has been immediately for the administration of the government. It has been kept up steadily under several successive alternations of triumph and defeat; but the recent victory of the opposition seems to be more complete and decisive than any preceding one of either party. A rapid review of the political history of France during the period in question, will serve perhaps to explain the circumstances which have led to this result, and to throw some light on its probable consequences.

The first demonstration of public opinion that was exhibited after the king's second return, seemed to indicate a clear superiority of force on the anti-constitutional side. We allude to the election of the house of deputies of 1815, called by Louis XVIII. the *chambre introuvable*, and which was composed almost wholly of returned emigrants. By what species of management or accident this result was effected, is a point that has never been precisely explained; but it was pretty soon apparent that the majority of the house were much better royalists than the people, or even than the king. The king may in fact be viewed as having been himself from early life, and from personal conviction and feeling, an adherent of the liberal party; a fact which has probably had more weight than any other single circumstance, in regulating the course of events since the restoration, and determining the present state and future destinies of France. The concession of the charter was the first great and unequivocal proof which he gave of his intentions; and after his return from Ghent, his disposition on these subjects was soon exhibited in other not less certain forms. The ministers whom he chiefly favored and trusted, particularly M. de Cases, were known to be decidedly liberal; and the dissolution by a special ordinance of the *chambre introuvable*, the year after its formation, was a sufficiently significant rebuke of the spirit which prevailed in its deliberations. For the three or four years intervening between this period and the assassination of the Duke of Berry, liberalism was undoubtedly the order of the day, and was understood to be constantly gaining ground

both at court and in the country. This was a turn of affairs which the royalists could not at all comprehend, and still less acquiesce in with a good grace. Considering the entire history of the last thirty years to be fairly expressed by the single word *revolution*, a word which, in the Scripture phrase, was not even to be named among christians; they look upon the king's whole course of proceedings, including the concession of the charter, as a sort of inexplicable mystery, a kind of desperate and fatal somnambulism, which they could hardly imagine possible, but from which, as it had really occurred, it was their bounden and sacred duty to rouse their sovereign, for his own good as well as theirs. They accordingly commenced in the two houses, and through the channel of the press, a most violent attack, which they carried on with undiminished zeal for three or four years, upon liberal, or as they called them, revolutionary principles. The leader of the party in the house of Deputies, where the struggle was more active than in that of Peers, was M. de Villèle. The daily newspapers being subject to a censorship, the great engines in the written controversy were periodical and other pamphlets, the most remarkable of which was the *Conservateur*, or *Preserver*, a sort of journal published in numbers of thirty or forty pages each, at irregular periods, but on an average about once a fortnight, under the direction of the Viscount de Châteaubriand, assisted by a considerable number of friends and associates. Such was the original position in the political field of these two statesmen, then in the strictest bonds of alliance, whose coöperation, assisted in some degree by accidents, effected after a while the triumph of the royalist party, and whose subsequent division has been the main cause of its late discomfiture, and perhaps final and irreparable overthrow.

Although M. de Châteaubriand, whose name is familiar to our readers as that of one of the most distinguished literary characters of the day, be undoubtedly much superior in original talent and liberal accomplishment to M. de Villèle, the latter appears, notwithstanding, to have been recognised, at this time and ever since, as the effective leader of the royalist party, while the other was looked upon merely as a powerful champion and coadjutor in the common cause. The general acquiescence which was given to this arrangement by all except the brilliant author of the Genius of Christianity himself, may induce us to suppose, that it was not adopted without good

reasons; but if we form an opinion of the character of M. de Villèle merely upon such grounds as are open to the public, it is not easy to discover the precise qualities which have entitled him to this distinction, or in fact to the degree of confidence which he seems to have enjoyed among his political friends. He certainly possesses none of those gifts and graces which captivate the imagination, and are generally necessary, at least to a certain extent, to secure the popular favor. Though copious and ready as a parliamentary orator, a distinction much more rare in France than in England or the United States, his manner is altogether plain and even ungraceful, and his speeches give little or no evidence of extraordinary depth or sagacity of thought. It would seem therefore, that his great superiority, if real, must consist in practical ability and sound discretion in the management of delicate affairs. The combination of these useful qualities with a decided natural talent, though of daily occurrence in cooler climates, is somewhat less common, and of course more valuable, in France; and the confidence entertained by the royalists, that it formed the basis of the character of M. de Villèle, was, we incline to think, the real ground, certainly a very just and proper one, of the high estimation in which they held him. Whether his administration has fully justified this confidence, is perhaps a doubtful question. As far as we can judge of it at this distance, it exhibits no very decided demonstrations either of practical talent or of extraordinary discretion. His course in regard to the Spanish war, the most important of his measures, was not only liable to strong, substantial objections, but was throughout vacillating and uncertain in a very singular degree; and his previous declaration in the house of deputies, on that occasion, 'that if he did not make war at the South he should have it at the North,' was certainly anything but discreet. The abrupt and passionate manner in which he broke with M. de Châteaubriand (supposing him even, as we incline to do, to have been in the right on the merits of the quarrel) was not very honorable to his coolness and prudence. Finally the measures by which he brought on the late crisis, and to which we shall presently advert, as they were wholly uncalled for by any pressing emergency, and, instead of strengthening his hands, as he expected, have led to his own ruin and that of his party, have been shown by the event to have been in the highest degree impolitic and

ill judged. Making every allowance for the difficulty of the times, which yet does not seem to have been excessive, we cannot therefore recognise in his conduct any striking appearances of judicious, practical statesmanship. His warmest admirers would certainly never dream of classing him with the greatest names in this line, the Richelieus and Ximeneses of other times, or the Pitts and Metternichs of our own. We cannot indeed but think, that even his friends must have been disappointed in him, and that his measures can hardly have realised the expectation they had founded on his supposed consummate prudence and address.

We may add, that while his natural genius seems to have been by no means of an elevated order, his education was also not exactly of the kind most likely to furnish him with the proper accomplishments and talents of a statesman. He had served in the navy from his earliest youth until the opening of the revolution; and at that time had taken refuge with some of his personal friends in a remote colony in the East Indies, where he continued to reside, until the quiet of the country was completely restored by Napoleon. He returned to France in 1807, and took up his abode in his native city of Toulouse, where he lived in complete seclusion from political affairs until the restoration. His opinions were, however, very well known, and he lost no time in fully avowing them in a pamphlet which he published in 1814, in opposition to the concession of the charter. He was elected the next year to the *chambre introuvable*, where he immediately distinguished himself among the very few extemporary speakers in the house, and was soon recognised, by general consent, as the royalist leader. The complete independence which he had maintained of all the preceding governments, although it did not increase his capacity for conducting the affairs of the state, probably contributed to establish his fame for purity of principle; while the modest and unassuming virtues which distinguished his private character, conciliated the esteem and affection of all who knew him. After all, the actual scarcity at this moment of persons, at once entirely uncommitted to the revolution, and well fitted in all other respects for political life, was doubtless among the principal causes that raised M. de Villèle so suddenly into notice and distinction among his political friends. This circumstance, however, did not entitle him to the preëminence over M. de Châteaubriand, who had been already known for years pre-

ceding, through evil and good report, as an uncompromising adherent of the Bourbon cause, and who had rendered with his pen the most essential services to the principles upon which its success was supposed to rest.

The Viscount de Châteaubriand undoubtedly possesses an intellect not only much superior to that of M. de Villèle, but absolutely of the highest order; and from the eminence which he has attained, both in the literary and political career, may be fairly reckoned among the most distinguished individuals of our times. He has courted in turn, with equal fervor and nearly equal success, the three sister muses of Poetry, Philosophy, and History, who, according to the scheme of Lord Bacon, divide between them the dominion of the world of letters; and has entered with ardor, as a leading character, into all the political struggles of the eventful period in which he has lived. In early youth he seems to have labored, as it were, under an exuberance of life and talent, which overflowed in the most impracticable and extravagant projects both in action and in literature. Descended from one of the old, noble families, and holding a commission in the king's service, he embarked for this country at the age of three or four and twenty, with the double purpose of discovering the northwest passage, and collecting materials for an epic poem in prose, on the manners and history of the Indians. The first of these promising enterprises seems to have failed at the outset. In preparing to execute the other, he travelled far and wide over all parts of this continent, and finally digested his observations into a work called the *Natchez*, a sort of romance founded on the historical event of the massacre of the French colony of that name by the neighboring tribes, and in which the novels of *Atalá* and *René*, since published in a separate form, were originally inserted as episodes. Circumstances prevented the author from finishing this work; and we are rather surprised, that his mature judgment should not have induced him to suppress it entirely. In the mean time, however, while he was engaged in these interesting philosophical and literary pursuits, the revolution opened with the emigration of the princes and most of the nobility. M. de Châteaubriand felt himself bound in honor to share the fortunes of his order, and, abandoning at once the northwest passage and the Natchez, embarked for England, and immediately enlisted in the army of Condé. With this high spirited but ill starred little corps, he appears to have seen much hard

service, and to have encountered many dangers and hair breadth 'scapes. On its final dissolution he retired to London, and lived for some years, like most of his brother emigrants, in an obscure and penurious condition, subsisting precariously on French translation, and employing his leisure in the composition of an *Essay on Revolutions*. This treatise, of which the first part was published at the time, and which has lately been reprinted in a complete edition of the author's works, is a curious specimen of the wild extravagance of youthful genius, full of life and power, but not yet taught or tamed by wholesome experience, bursting with imaginary stores of intellectual wealth, and, that no time may be lost in communicating them, despatching with a few dashes of the pen an encyclopedia of the greatest questions in politics, morals, and literature. The plan of the work is essentially vicious, and the details extravagant often to absurdity. It also abounds in false principles, and, to a less extent, in marks of false taste in style; and it is written throughout in an amusing tone of self-sufficiency and dogmatism. That a person capable of producing such a work should be compelled, by any chance, to vegetate unknown and unthought of in a garret, was, of course, in his opinion, a fact sufficient of itself to demonstrate the utter rottenness of the existing condition of society, which he accordingly qualifies in no very favorable terms. 'I figure to myself the world,' he remarks, in one of the passages in which he treats this subject, 'I figure to myself the world as a vast forest, and the human race as a band of robbers, who lie in wait in it, to rob and murder each other.' A charming illustration of the principles and forms of social intercourse! But with all its defects, the style and substance of the Essay argue powers of the highest order, and extensive research through the whole field of knowledge. In the late new edition of it, the author has accompanied the text with a commentary, in which he candidly avows, and often ridicules, with great good humor, the faults to which we have alluded.

We mention these particulars in the early life of M. de Châteaubriand, rather as being in themselves of a curious and amusing description, than as tending to illustrate his mature character, which, if estimated by them, would certainly be far from deserving, in any respect, the opinion we have given of it. The youthful sallies of superior minds are generally extravagant in proportion to the extraordinary vigor and efficiency of

their riper efforts. With the return of M. de Châteaubriand to France, about the year 1800, a new era commenced in his political and literary conduct. Among the wanton and thoughtless passages in the Essay on Revolutions, were some that alluded disrespectfully to religion. These of course gave great pain to his family; and his mother on her death-bed had sent him a solemn admonition on the subject through his sister, who also died before the letter, in which she conveyed it, reached her hands. The deep impression, naturally produced by such a concurrence of circumstances on a sensitive and ardent constitution, turned at once the current of his thoughts and feelings in an opposite direction; and for many years after it seems to have been his principal object to make an honorable reparation for his former faults, and to counteract, as far as possible, the effect they might have had on the minds of others. For this purpose he undertook, and two or three years after published, his principal work, entitled the *Genius of Christianity*, which met with a high degree of public favor, and on which his purely literary fame is mainly founded. Its character is rather poetical than philosophical; and it was doubtless on this account so much the better fitted to effect its object. Its popularity was much increased by the insertion, in the body of it, of the tales entitled *Atalá* and *René*, originally intended as episodes in the romance of the *Natchez*. Considered as works of art, these novels are perhaps conceived on false principles of taste, and are not unexceptionable even in a moral point of view; but they both display great power of execution, and they recommended the work to a class of readers, for whom it would otherwise have had less attraction.

The opinion of competent judges has been a good deal divided, respecting the literary character of the Genius of Christianity; but we incline to believe, that it will be viewed hereafter as one of the remarkable productions of the age. It possesses indeed the singular merit of being the only defence of our religion yet published, which has had an extensive vogue as a merely literary work, independently of its substantial or scientific value. It has also the advantage of being in a great measure clear of controversial topics, and consequently nearly equally interesting to Christians of all denominations. But whatever its positive merit may be, it certainly produced, from the peculiar circumstances under which it was published, a greater and happier effect, than almost any book of modern times. It was one

of the most powerful, immediate agents in counteracting the current of opinion, that had set so strongly in France for many years preceding, in favor of loose doctrines in religion and morals. One or two brilliant pens commonly set the fashion of the day in letters, and when so popular a writer came forward, as the champion of good principles, the minor wits were ashamed to scoff, and the crowd of imitators followed of course in the new direction. After running the gauntlet through a pretty severe course of abuse and ridicule, the work finally obtained a decided victory; and it is from this period, that we may perhaps date with precision the revived respect for religion, which forms the most pleasing feature in the present moral aspect of the French people. The glory of having contributed so much to this result, is undoubtedly far superior to any merely literary or political distinction; and we have sometimes regretted, that the pen, which had been sanctified as it were by such success in so holy a cause, should have ever after been devoted to merely worldly topics.

The immense importance to the state of the service thus rendered to the church, could not be overlooked by any who entertained just notions of the nature of the relation between religion and government. Even Bonaparte, with his exclusively military tastes and habits, was not so insensible to moral considerations, as to view it with indifference. He immediately appointed M. de Châteaubriand, secretary to his embassy at Rome, then filled by Cardinal Fesch, and soon after, his minister plenipotentiary to the republic of the Valais. The leisure afforded by these situations was devoted to the composition of another work, called the *Martyrs,* intended to promote the same general object as the Genius of Christianity, but which, although it contains many beautiful passages, is on the whole, we think, a less fortunate effort. Upon the execution of the Duke d' Enghien, he threw up his place in disgust, and retired entirely from political life. Soon after this, he made a rapid tour through Greece, Palestine, and Egypt, for the purpose of viewing, with his own eyes, the places in which he had laid the scene of the Martyrs, and enabling himself, in this way, to give his descriptions additional truth and vivacity. After his return from this expedition, he resided in Paris, until the fall of Bonaparte, chiefly occupied in finishing and publishing, first the work just alluded to, and afterwards an account of his travels, under the

title of an *Itinerary from Paris to Jerusalem.* This production is essentially a poem like the other, and, we think, the finer one of the two. Some passages in the Martyrs were supposed to allude indirectly to Napoleon; and the latter, in revenge, as we are told by M. de Châteaubriand, ordered one of his cousins, who was then a state prisoner, to immediate execution.

We shall not, we trust, be considered as giving a disproportionate importance to M. de Châteaubriand, by entering upon this somewhat protracted detail of the events of his life, when it is recollected, that he has been perhaps the most active politician in France since the revolution, and that his influence has been exerted decisively in the late ministerial changes, which form at present our immediate subject. The return of the Bourbons gave a new direction to his literary talent, which has since been exclusively and indefatigably employed on political topics. He announced and welcomed the new order of events in a powerful pamphlet, which had the effect of recommending to the affection of the people their almost forgotten, legitimate monarch. Upon Bonaparte's return from Elba, he accompanied the king to Ghent, and acted there as his principal minister. The ascendency acquired by the liberal party, soon after the second restoration of Louis the Eighth, to which we have already alluded, threw him, with the other determined royalists, into the ranks of opposition. The first fruit of his efforts, under these new circumstances, was the work entitled the *Monarchy according to the Charter*, the largest and most elaborate of his mature political essays, in which he first analyzes the nature of representative government in general, and then examines and endeavors to invalidate the grounds on which the adoption of a liberal system of administration by the king was commonly defended. With all the respect which we feel for the intellect of M. de Châteaubriand, we conceive that it is essentially a poetical, and not a philosophical one; and that his talent lies in expressing his opinions, whatever they may be, in powerful and beautiful language, rather than in forming them with extraordinary sagacity, coolness, and precision. We find him indeed adopting, at different times, with equally apparent and, we doubt not, real conviction, the most opposite theories in religion and politics, and expressing them both with the same force and fervor, without always deeming it necessary to account distinctly for the change. Hence the charge of inconsis-

tency, which has been urged against him with considerable plausibility, and to which we shall advert more particularly hereafter.

The *Monarchy according to the Charter* does not, in our opinion, in its purely theoretical part, exhaust the great question of representative government, or even furnish any decidedly original and striking views on the subject. It is rarely indeed, if ever, that there is any real value in discussions of general principles, brought forward in the heat of controversy, for the purpose of effecting the decision of points in dispute between political parties. In the work now alluded to, there were two or three passages which the ministers affected to consider as personally disrespectful to the king, and under this pretence they struck off the name of the author from the roll of counsellors of state. This proceeding did not tend, of course, to conciliate his feelings; and, pursuing with augmented zeal his course of opposition, he undertook, with the aid of a number of friends, the publication of the *Conservateur*, to which we have already alluded, and assumed, in conjunction with M. de Villèle, the principal direction of the royalist party.

Such were the characters of these two statesmen, and if M. de Villèle was generally acknowledged as the real leader of the party, it can hardly be denied, that M. de Châteaubriand was the person who contributed most powerfully to the attainment of the common object. It is indeed to his labors in the *Conservateur*, that the triumph of the royalists, as far as it was the effect of exertion, has been universally ascribed by friends and foes. Never before, with perhaps the single exception of the writings of Burke on the French revolution, was a political controversy sustained, through the channel of the press, with equal ability. The author is now upon his true ground. He loses no time in a cool investigation of facts or impartial settlement of philosophical principles, but takes for granted, that he is fighting the battles of God and the king, or according to the chosen motto of the work, *le Roi, la Charte, et les honnêtes gens*, against the efforts of a new incarnation of the principle of evil in the form of revolution. The vice in his reasoning lies in this assumption; but admitting his principles, the fearful conclusions which he drew from them followed of course; and being announced with such splendid and impressive eloquence, they struck terror into every heart. His articles, like every thing else that proceeds from his pen, are a series of poems, and in stern sublimity of spirit, as well as bold

imagery and rich oriental coloring of language, resemble the terrible denunciations of the ancient Hebrew prophets, rather than the petty sparring that forms the staple of common newspaper controversy. Social order, with all its dependent charities and blessings, law, morals, the sacred name of religion, every principle that good men regard as dear and valuable, is invoked to lend its aid in this holy war. Having firmly enchained his readers by the magic of his eloquence, he transports them successively to the scenes of all the horrors that disgraced the revolution; the groves of La Vendeé sanctified by the blood of a host of martyrs; the violated sepulchres of Henry the Fourth and St Louis; the prisons of the reign of terror; the scaffold of Louis the Sixteenth; and finally the death-bed of the duke of Berry, from which, as a starting post, he leads on the last and most furious onset against the obnoxious favorite.

Such was the battery, which the Viscount de Châteaubriand opened upon the administration of M. de Cases and his adherents. Nothing could sustain its tremendous fire. The smaller craft of ordinary newspapers and pamphlets sunk under it like a fleet of gun-boats, under the broadside of a seventy-four. Even the *Minerve*, a very able liberal publication of the same class, conducted by such men as Constant, Etienne, Jay, and others, writers of great merit, was clearly overmastered. The ministry perceived the havoc that was making in their ranks by this merciless engine, and by extending the censorship to books and pamphlets, as well as newspapers, succeeded in reducing it to silence. But it was now too late to remedy the evil. The prodigious effect that had already been produced, aided by the imprudence of the liberalists, and by the fatal catastrophe of the duke of Berry, finally unsettled the administration, and threw it into royalist hands. The change in the public opinion of the country was not less complete. The liberal party were defeated at the following elections in all quarters, and instead of commanding, as they had done before, nearly half the votes in the house, and at times a majority, found themselves reduced in the new parliament, summoned on the accession of Charles the Tenth, to an insignificant fraction of some twelve or fourteen persons. Such were the wonders achieved, in the course of two or three years, by a single pen. The result evidently proved that, although the public taste does not always accurately estimate the nice distinctions between the personal qualities of different competitors for influence, there are some

talents of so transcendent a kind, that they cannot be overlooked, and if at all aided by circumstances, infallibly produce effect. The sequel of these occurrences affords a still more striking illustration of the same principle.

The royalists had now obtained a complete triumph, and it only remained to distribute the rewards and honors of victory. In performing this delicate task, they exhibited the same preference, whether well or ill founded, for the claims of M. de Villèle over those of M. de Châteaubriand, to which we have already alluded. Although the latter was undoubtedly superior in general ability to the former, and had proved himself a far more active and useful champion in the cause, they nevertheless continued to regard M. de Villèle as the real leader. He was accordingly placed at the head of the government, in the character of president of the council of ministers, and minister of Finance. M. de Châteaubriand was appointed ambassador at London; upon the meeting of the congress at Vienna in the course of the year following, was sent with the duke of Montmorency, then minister of foreign affairs, to represent the king on that occasion; and upon the resignation of M. de Montmorency, soon after his return from the congress, was called to take his place in the cabinet. From this time forward, the two statesmen conducted the affairs of the country as the leading members of the government. They acted together in apparent and probably in real harmony, during the critical period of the Spanish war, which immediately followed; but not long after this war was finally terminated, in the course of the summer of 1824, a breach took place between them, and to the great surprise of the public, which had little or no previous notice of their misunderstanding, M. de Châteaubriand was abruptly removed from his place, without the observation of the ordinary forms of personal civility, by a laconic and almost insulting note from the count Villèle.

A knowledge of the circumstances which were assigned as the causes of this rupture, tended to increase rather than diminish the surprise that was generally felt at its occurrence. It was natural to suppose, that these two distinguished friends and allies, who had coöperated so long and with so much activity in what they regarded as the best and holiest of causes, could have been separated only by a difference of opinion, upon some question of deep and vital interest to the monarchy. But the experience of the world, in all ages and nations, shows but

too plainly, that the merest trifles are often permitted to distract the councils and destroy the friendships of the best and greatest men. The consolation is, that the rule works with equal force the other way, and that enmities which seemed irreconcilable are often appeased and converted into lasting friendships, by the occurrence of the least momentary community of interest or feeling. In the present instance, the ostensible ground of quarrel related to a purely financial measure, unconnected with any important political question, and in itself of a transitory character. M. de Villèle had formed the project of reducing the interest on a part of the public debt, by proposing to the creditors to exchange their five per cent. stocks, for three per cents, of the same nominal amount, or to receive payment of the principal. Similar operations have been often attempted with success in England, and in the United States, and when practicable are always regarded, we believe, in both countries, as highly advantageous to the public and free from all objection. M. de Châteaubriand viewed it in a different light, and considered it as a hardship on the creditors to be compelled to make the election required by such a measure. However this may be, the question does not seem to be of a nature to create a permanent breach between the two ministers. It was wholly unconnected with the general course of politics, and having once been adopted or rejected, might never perhaps have been mentioned again in the cabinet, and could of course in no way disturb the future concert of action among its members. In opposing it in the council, M. de Châteaubriand exercised a right which could not be called in question, and we are not informed that he violated in any way the decorum of his position by attacking it publicly either in print or in the house of peers. The pretended offence, if we rightly understand the matter, was, that he did not support it in that body, but kept silence while it was under discussion. To expect a member of the cabinet not merely to vote but to speak in favor of a ministerial measure which he disapproves, is a thing unheard of in England, the great exemplar of the scheme of representative monarchy; and M. de Villèle in insisting upon this, gave but slender evidence either of his familiarity with the principles of that form of government, or of his supposed extraordinary discretion. We are tempted to believe in this case, as in that of the late dissolution of the Goderich administration, that the ostensible course, though the immediate, may not have been the only

one; that M. de Châteaubriand may have found his position under a leader whom he doubtless considered as decidedly his inferior, habitually uneasy; and that the sentiment naturally growing out of this situation, may have displayed itself at this particular juncture in some unguarded proceeding, of a nature to offend M. de Villèle, and to make the future coöperation of the two ministers impossible. The circumstances of their separation evidently show, that some communications of an irritating nature had passed between them; and the bitter animosity, which M. de Châteaubriand has ever since displayed towards his ancient friend and ally, confirms the conclusion. No sooner was he ejected from the cabinet, than he threw himself, without a moment's delay, into the ranks of opposition, and commenced an attack upon the royalist administration, of which he had just formed a part, not less furious and unrelenting than that which he had before directed against the liberal one of M. de Cases; and having kept it up with exemplary steadiness and vigor for about the same period, has had the satisfaction to see it attended with the same success. It is generally admitted that his writings have been the main cause of the change in public opinion, which led to the late recomposition of the ministry.

Under these circumstances it was difficult for M. de Châteaubriand to escape the charge of inconsistency; and with every disposition to put the most favorable construction on his conduct, and to approve his present principles, which are more consonant with our own than his former ones, we cannot but think that the impeachment was made with some degree of justice. The opposition with which he had now connected himself, although it contained a small fraction of discontented royalists, consisted in the main of the liberal party, the very party which he had himself branded as revolutionary, and had contributed so much to drive from power. His separation from the ministry, having been occasioned by a single isolated measure, furnished no new grounds for regular and standing opposition. The disposition of the government to neutralize the liberal spirit of the charter, and especially to encourage the ascendency of the clergy to an unconstitutional and illegal extent, were still, as before, the leading topics of attack. Although there was probably much real foundation for both these charges, it must in candor be allowed that neither of them lay with great propriety, to use the law phrase, *in the mouth* of the noble Viscount. It is true that he had always, to a certain ex-

tent, professed his approbation of the principles of representative government. His *Monarchy according to the Charter* was ostensibly a sort of exposition of what he considered the true intent and meaning of that instrument; and even at the period of his most decided devotion to the royalist cause, when he was acting as ambassador at the congress of Vienna, he had been denounced by some of the blinder fanatics, as a well known and incorrigible *apostle* of *constitutions*. It must however be recollected, that, in countries where a representative government is established by law, every person who takes part in political affairs, must of course assume the expediency of such an institution, whatever may be at bottom his real opinion. The only possible difference that can exist in such a case between active parties, is that of construing the spirit and form of the government more or less favorably to the rights of the king on the one hand, or of the people on the other. Within the limits allowed by the constitution, M. de Châteaubriand had heretofore distinguished himself as the most determined champion of majesty, and the most inveterate foe of liberalism. Could he now with perfect consistency join the ranks of a party, which was constantly urging to the full extent of their constitutional limits, often, as the ministers affirmed, a great deal further, the rights and pretensions of the people in opposition to the royal prerogative?

On the other topic the charge was perhaps still more fully substantiated. The disposition of the ministry to encourage the ascendency of the clergy was no doubt apparent, and it was also incontestible that the forms under which this was done were not always strictly legal. The Jesuits had been formally prohibited in France, and the prohibition, though of ancient date, had never been repealed. As the unpopularity of the order was infinitely greater than before the revolution, the attempt to restore it was on every account decidedly impolitic; but if made at all, it could only have been done with constitutional propriety, by enacting a new law upon the subject. Aware that such a proposition would shock too directly the opinion of the country; and incapable, as it seems, of resisting, on the other hand, the urgency of the solicitations in favor of the Jesuits, who were probably sustained in a quarter of very high authority, the government permitted this celebrated *company* to establish their colleges, in defiance of the letter of the law, as well as of the almost universal feeling of all

classes of the people. When called on to defend these proceedings at the tribune of the chambers, the ministers could only answer with shifts and evasions, obviously insufficient in themselves, and which of course tended to create the suspicion that more was meant than met the ear. The conduct of the government was the more impolitic, in as much as there was at the time a strong and active party among the clergy, comprehending most of the young and ardent members of the body, and headed by the well known Abbé de la Mennais, who were constantly proclaiming, with a fiery and fanatical zeal, almost amounting to fury, doctrines entirely subversive of the cherished liberties of the Gallican church, and even of the temporal authority of the sovereign. These doctrines were publicly disavowed by the ministry; but while there appeared any reasonable ground for suspicion in their own conduct, it was not unnatural to consider them as guided in secret by the same views. On this subject therefore they were fairly open to attack, and it was doubtless at this weak point in their defence, that the breach was finally made. But was it for the author of the genius of christianity to denounce in bitter terms the dangers of the growing ascendency in religion? Did it belong to the eloquent apologist of the monastic orders in general, including particularly the Jesuits, as the most remarkable among the number, to raise the alarm at the toleration of the *company* in France? It was hardly possible not to apply in this case the *Quis tulerit Gracchos?* and although, as we have remarked, we consider the apprehensions that were entertained on this head as justly founded, we cannot but think that M. de Châteaubriand was the last man in France, who ought to have taken upon himself to express them. To do him justice, we believe, as far as we have had an opportunity to observe the progress of the controversy, that he has not individually so strongly insisted on this topic, as on the other of the generally illiberal and unconstitutional tendency of the ministry. The task of denouncing the Jesuits was principally executed by the avowedly liberal party; and as far as the royalists joined in it, fell into the hands of the Count de Montlosier, another seceder from the common standard, who, at the age of nearly four score, displays all the activity and vivacity of a young combatant on his first campaign, and who has done more than any other person to direct the public attention to this particular point; not without some little sacrifice on his part too of consistency; for in his earlier writings,

during his emigration, he had insisted greatly on the importance of reëstablishing the church, and had even conceived the not wholly anti-monastic project of invading France at the head of an army of Capuchin friars, for the purpose of crushing the revolution and re-conquering the throne of the Bourbons.

But whatever may be thought of the consistency of M. de Châteaubriand, a somewhat delicate question, in regard to the conduct of most practical statesmen, the event has shown, that his aid, wherever given, was by no means a matter of indifference. The royalists found to their cost, that Achilles had retired to his tent, or rather that Coriolanus had gone over to the Volscian camp, and had *organized victory* there, as Carnot is said to have done in the French revolutionary armies. The press had been for some time entirely free, and the war of parties was principally carried on, as must always happen in such a case, in the daily papers. On this ground, the liberalists, though feeble in the house, were very strong. Two of the best written and most widely circulated journals, the *Constitutionel* and *Courier*, were avowedly in their interest. Two others, the *Quotidienne* and *Drapeau blanc*, representing the opinions of the discontented royalists, though they had comparatively a small circulation, were written with a good deal of ability, and rendered some service to the common cause. On the other hand, there were enlisted, in support of government, the official organ, called the *Moniteur*, and a morning and evening paper, called respectively, the *Gazette de France*, and the *Etoile;* but the main dependence was on the *Journal des Débats*, on the whole the ablest, and among men of weight and intelligence, the most extensively circulated and popular of all the journals. Unfortunately for the ministry, this important paper was devoted to the interest of M. de Châteaubriand, and, upon his removal from the cabinet, it went over at once to the opposition standard, and commenced a furious attack upon M. de Villèle, who, for ten years preceding, had been as the royalist leader, its constant theme of adulation. All the journals of much real influence were now, therefore, in open hostility to the ministry. The two which supported government, soon after combined their establishments into one, called the *Gazette de France*, and the ministerial *star* (Etoile) disappeared from the horizon. This was a proof of the small extent of the circulation of both these papers, and might have been viewed, in superstitious times, as a bad omen. With the exception

of the *Moniteur*, which takes little or no part in the passing controversies, there was now only one ministerial paper to sustain the onset of five or six of various colors and opinions, all equally hostile; and while several of these were conducted with signal ability, the single champion of government seemed to be totally deficient both in power and address. Mistaking entirely the state of public feeling, and playing, as it were, into the hands of the enemy, he filled his columns habitually with labored apologies for the clergy, and especially the Jesuits, at the very moment when the opposition were chiefly anxious to establish, to the general satisfaction, that the government felt a deep interest in this obnoxious order. The effects of this unequal contest were soon perceived in a very rapid change of public opinion; and the complaint made by the ministry, that this was occasioned by *journalism*, that is, by the influence of the newspapers, is, we believe, perfectly well founded. In fact, the dangers apprehended from the imprudence of the administration were entirely of a prospective kind, and had not yet made themselves felt in a material form. Never before had the state of the kingdom been in general more prosperous. Industry was flourishing beyond example in all its great branches; the finances were entirely unembarrassed; the army and the navy in the highest order, as has been amply shown by their excellent conduct in Spain and at Navarino; the population rapidly increasing, and animated throughout by a natural and healthy activity, the best preservative and remedy against any tendency of a violent and morbid kind. Not to be able to govern a country thus situated would have seemed to argue, either that the people were essentially ungovernable, or the minister essentially incapable of governing. Nevertheless the popularity of M. de Villèle declined with astonishing rapidity. In the course of the year 1826, the growing strength of the opposition began to show itself plainly by the frequent returns of liberal deputies to fill the accidental vacancies that occurred from time to time in the house. Bourdeaux, the head quarters of royalism, elected M. Gautier, a liberal merchant of great respectability. The illustrious 'Nation's Guest,' Lafayette, not long after recovered his place. In the mean time, the opposition journals, encouraged by success, pursued their attack with unremitted or increasing vigor. The syren song of liberty and equality resounded every morning from the bureaux of the *Constitutionel* and *Courier*. The terrible Viscount contin-

ued from day to day his *debates* on three and five per cents, and on the *monarchy*, no longer *according to the charter;* while the ultra-royalists denounced the minister at the same time as a secret adherent of the revolution. Abandoned by all but the Jesuits, whose alliance was even more fatal than the enmity of the other parties, M. de Villèle at length became satisfied that he could not stand the attack of the press, and must either silence it or retire. In the session of the winter of 1826–7, he accordingly proposed to the House of Deputies a new law on this subject; which passed that body, but with so much difficulty, that the minister did not venture to carry it to the Peers, where the government party has been somewhat feeble ever since the restoration. Things remained, therefore, in their former state, and according to the existing laws, the control of the press did not rest entirely in the hands of government. They could reëstablish the censorship if any extraordinary occasion required it, in the interval between two sessions of the Chambers; but it would expire again of itself at a certain period after their next meeting, if not renewed by law. Some days after the close of the session just alluded to, the government resorted to this extraordinary prerogative, and reëstablished the censorship, which was to be exercised under the direction of a council of censors, having for its president the Viscount de Bonald, author of the work called *Legislation Primitive*, a noted doctor in the very straitest sect of legitimacy. Having thus silenced the press for the time, and having also at present the command of the House of Deputies, the true policy of the minister, if resolved at all hazards to retain his place, seems to have been, to strengthen himself in the House of Peers, by a large new creation, and at the opening of the next session to restore the censorship permanently by law. The House of Deputies had still two years to run, and during this period the ferment created by the newspapers, supposing it to be wholly artificial and unreasonable, would have had ample time to subside. New events would have occurred to divert the current of public opinion, and before the arrival of the electors, the present alarm would in all probability have been forgotten. Instead of taking this course, the minister made up his mind to dissolve the House of Deputies. The object of this proceeding, considered as a mere measure of policy, is not apparent, since, while he hazarded everything by bringing on the elections in the midst of the existing ferment, he had nothing to gain by

success, having already a handsome majority in the lower house. We may therefore presume that M. de Villèle acted upon nobler and more honorable motives, than those of mere policy; that finding himself assailed in various quarters by the voluntary organs of public opinion, he determined to appeal directly to the people, and if he found their decision turn against him, to retire at once. On this construction of his conduct, which, as being the most honorable to him, we are ready to admit as the true one, it is still difficult to see, why he should have resolved, at the same time, to take the extraordinary measure of creating between seventy and eighty new Peers; since, if he failed in the election of the Deputies, he would still be obliged to resign, and this strong measure, which would then be of no use to him, would only embarrass the march of his successor; while, on the other hand, if he succeeded with the Deputies, he had ample time before the meeting of the Chambers to strengthen himself with the Peers. Perhaps his confidence of a favorable result was such, that he felt himself at liberty to adopt beforehand a measure, which would be wanted only in case of success; but if such were his feelings, it must be owned, that they do but little honor to his boasted discretion.

In the mean time, other demonstrations of his unpopularity, more significant even than the general consent of the journals, had exhibited themselves since the close of the session, and the reëstablishment of the censorship. When the king on his birth-day reviewed the National Guard, or militia of the city of Paris, comprehending all the substantial, middling classes of the population, their shouts of *Vive le Roy* were mingled even in his majesty's presence, with cries of *a bas les ministres*, "down with the ministers!" The next morning there appeared in the Moniteur a decree disbanding this most respectable corps. This vigorous exertion of authority, suitable perhaps in itself, since the decorum of monarchical governments does not admit that the king in person can ever be received with any other expressions than those of pleasure and loyalty, did not tend to conciliate the favor of the worthy burghers of Paris; and Paris, as our readers are aware, is, politically speaking, only another name for France. Even the highest courts of justice, bodies much less likely than the militia of the capital to be the organs of a merely popular clamor, had expressed very strongly their disapprobation of the tendency observable in the march of the ministry. Most of the persons brought to trial about

this time for seditious publications, were acquitted; and one of the courts, upon being urged in a formal petition by the count de Monttosier to institute a legal process against the Jesuits, although it declined proceeding in the form suggested, expressed a decided opinion, that the toleration of their establishments in France was illegal. Such were the not very flattering auspices, under which M. de Villèle concluded to make his appeal to the people. About the beginning of September last, there appeared at once in the Moniteur, several decrees, of which one declared the dissolution of the House of Deputies; another ordered the preliminary arrangements for the election of a new one; a third created about seventy-five new peers; and a fourth restored the liberty of the press; which, however, by virtue of the existing laws, would have revived of itself, without a special ordinance, upon the mere fact of the dissolution of the House.

Although this measure was sudden and generally unexpected, it does not appear to have taken the opposition by surprise. They had made, as it seems, all possible arrangements for conducting the elections to the greatest advantage; and however sanguine may have been their hopes of success, the result probably very much surpassed them, and proportionally disappointed the expectations of the ministers. Instead of the poor fractional minority of twelve or fourteen, to which they were reduced in the last house, the liberal party now elected more than a hundred and fifty deputies of their own color. Among the number were all the most active and eminent supporters of this opinion, some of whom were returned from various departments, and by a sort of acclamation. M. Royer Collard was chosen in seven different places. General Lafayette and his son were elected. The Abbé de Pradt and M. Guizot took their seats, for the first time, on this occasion. At Paris, where the liberal ticket has generally prevailed, but where the vote at the last elections was nearly equally divided, and even went in one or two districts in favor of the government, it was now almost unanimous. The avowedly liberal party, and the discontented royalists had acted in concert throughout the country; and in addition to the deputies of the former color, alluded to above, they elected not less than thirty or forty of the latter class. There was, in short, a burst of opposition which carried everything before it; and it was evident from the moment of the elections, that the minister had lost the command of the

House. M. de Villèle and his colleagues of course resigned at once, to avoid worse consequences, and a new administration was formed, consisting of persons not particularly conspicuous in any party, but distinguished in general for talent and discretion. The most remarkable feature in the new arrangement was the separation of the department of public instruction from that of church affairs, the two having previously been united under the direction of the bishop of Hermopolis. The meaning of this measure was understood by the Jesuits, who, if the newspapers are not misinformed, took the hint at once, and without waiting for farther notice, immediately left the kingdom. The Dauphin, Duke of Angoulême, whose liberal inclinations are sufficiently notorious, and had been exhibited decidedly, during the Spanish war, although unfortunately counteracted at the time by a stronger influence of an opposite kind, was now entrusted with a partial superintendence over the war department. These proceedings, as well as the personal character of the new ministers, indicated the king's disposition to yield to the current of public opinion. About the first of February the House assembled, and it was found in fact, that the combined opposition parties possessed the majority. Of the five candidates for the place of president (speaker) of the House, two were taken from the discontented royalists, and the other three were avowedly liberal. At the head of the latter stood the name of M. Royer Collard, at present the most conspicuous member, and as it were the leader of that party, who was accordingly appointed. This nomination is another indication, still more decided than any preceding one, of the altered tone of the government. Some farther changes have since taken place in the administration, which, as well as the measures which have been adopted by the new ministers, have also been conceived in a liberal spirit. At the time when we write this article, the new arrangements are still not completed. The place of president of the council of ministers, which was occupied by M. de Villèle, and which carries with it the principal direction of the government, is yet vacant. As no other post has been assigned to M. de Châteaubriand, on every account the most conspicuous person in the opposition, it is possibly reserved for him. He seems indeed to be fairly entitled to it, and experience has shown that he is a person whose just claims it is somewhat dangerous to overlook.

But whatever place may be allotted to the noble Viscount in

the new administration, it is generally admitted by all parties, as we remarked above, that his exertions have been the main immediate cause of the downfal of the last. It would be difficult perhaps to find another example in history, of an individual determining successively by mere power of writing, and within the short space of seven or eight years, the prevalence of two directly opposite parties, in one of the first nations of the world. The life of Burke presents us with a case in some degree similar, but the contrast between the spirit and tendency of his early labors in favor of our revolution, and his later ones against that of France, is partly softened by the length of time that had intervened; nor was his influence on the former occasion, though highly important, so completely decisive as it was in the latter. In the present instance, the intervention of M. de Châteaubriand was equally effective on both sides. He seems, like the Jupiter of Homer, to hold in his hands the balance of victory, and to regulate the fortunes of the adverse parties by the weight, which he may choose to throw into one or the other scale.

Seldom, if ever before, have achievements like these been effected by a single pen, and we can hardly find a parallel for them, except in the extravagant warlike feats of the heroes of romance, which, when we consider the vast influence of individual characters on the course of public affairs in general, are, after all, perhaps, less out of nature, than they are sometimes supposed to be. We may add, that these events, while they prove immediately the extraordinary talent of M. de Châteaubriand, tend also to exhibit the prodigious efficacy of *the pen*, as a political engine in the present state of society. The trident of Neptune, says a French poet of the last century, is the sceptre of the world; and we may assume, perhaps, with equal truth, that in large civilized communities, organized in popular forms, a goose-quill is the sceptre of government. In such societies, the pen carries with it the power which belongs to *the sword*, in barbarous times, and that which belongs to *eloquence*, properly so called (that is, the gift of *speaking well*), in free states of limited extent and population. In the ancient republics, where all the citizens assembled in council to transact the public business, the most powerful orator settled the question in debate, and was thus the real sovereign. But in modern representative governments, mere eloquence is an instrument of secondary value, and indeed produces most of its effects

through the medium of the press. A great speech in parliament or in congress, is in general not so much intended to affect the decision of the question to which it relates, as to operate on public opinion through the newspapers. It is now understood that Burke, and not Pitt, was for England the real pilot 'that weathered the storm' of the French revolution. The name of Burke, said the late lord Thurlow, will be fresh in the memory of men, when those of Pitt and Fox are comparatively forgotten. We would not, however, be understood to mean, that the influence of the pen has no limits. The progress of political affairs is determined in general by the changes that occur in the condition of different nations, or of the world, and it is only in an order subordinate to these, that the warrior, the writer, and the orator, who act immediately on the form of particular events, produce their effects. Thus in the instance before us, M. de Châteaubriand is able, by the mere force of writing, to govern the various elements that affect the struggle between the two great parties existing in his country, and to give the victory to the one, to which he chooses to attach himself; but let him attempt to create a new party of his own, entirely independent of previous opinions and interests, and he would not perhaps obtain a proselyte. The power of individuals, however great within their sphere of action, is confined by the necessity of nature to certain limits. These they rarely desire or attempt to exceed; and if they do, they are reduced at once to utter insignificance.

Having thus stated, with as much detail as our limits would admit, the causes that have led to the late political changes in France, we shall now advert to their probable consequences—a point which we shall treat with greater brevity. We have already remarked, that the triumph of the opposition, or liberal party, is much more complete, than it has ever been at any other moment since the restoration. Perceiving the persons and the principles, to which they habitually give the name of *revolutionary*, recovering their ascendency, it is not unnatural for the royalists to take the alarm, and to suppose that the country is threatened with a new revolution. This apprehension is already loudly expressed in their speeches and newspapers, and the king is adjured as he values his crown and life, and as he wishes to avoid the fate of his unhappy brother, to take the most vigorous measures, while it is yet time, for checking the evil. The principal question which we have now to

consider, is, whether there be any real foundation for their alarms,—whether the liberal party, being clothed with power, will run on with heedless fury, in what they call the career of reform, until they again subvert all the establishments of the country, or whether they will rest within the limits of the charter, and content themselves with accommodating the form of the administration more nearly to the letter, and what they regard as the spirit of that instrument. The latter supposition we consider as the more probable one, for the following reasons.

The real cause of the apprehension now felt by the royalists of the occurrence of a new revolution, is doubtless the fact, that under circumstances which they view as substantially the same, a revolution occurred forty years ago. But supposing the similarity of circumstances to be as great as they believe it to be, it is obvious that the conclusion is by no means a necessary one. A revolution happens in a certain state of things, partly, perhaps principally, because it was not anticipated. Upon a recurrence of a similar situation, it is much less likely to happen, for the precise reason, that it *is* anticipated. This single difference between the circumstances of the two cases,—if there were no other, as there are very many,—would be sufficient to invalidate the conclusion drawn by the royalists, from their similarity, and to remove the ground of their present terrors.

Independently of this circumstance, we consider the existing French constitution as resting on foundations, that are not to be readily shaken by the efforts of a merely popular party, however active and powerful within the country. The present system, which is expressed and represented by the charter, is, as we understand it, a sort of compromise, or middle term, between the form of government naturally resulting from the condition of society in France, and the one which would be most acceptable to the great continental powers. France, if left entirely to herself, would become a *republic;* while the allies, could they have their way, would convert the government very shortly into a simple *monarchy.* But in the present state of Europe and of France, neither the inclinations of the sovereigns nor those of the French people, can be entirely overlooked, and the existing constitution is, as we conceive, a compound result of the influence of the two elements. It is there guarantied in both its essential parts, by substantial secu-

rities, of a kind not likely to give way. The popular provisions represent the state of the nation, and must last as long as that remains what it is. Its monarchical features, which are now supposed to be in danger, represent the policy of the great continental allies, are sustained by the moral influence of these powers, and will be, if the occasion require it, by their military force. From this view of the subject it seems to us quite evident, that although the form and spirit of the administration may fluctuate considerably within the limits of the charter, and will probably for some time to come be much more liberal than they were under the last ministry, the two great component elements of the present constitution must retain substantially the same proportional weight, while the state of Europe and of France remains in substance what it is now.

We think we hazard little in expressing, as above, the opinion, that the form of government most natural to France, in its present situation, is that of a republic. On this subject the leading consideration is the state of property. In all communities, as far as they are really independent, the form of the political constitution naturally accommodates itself to the substance, that is, the condition of the people; and the exercise of nominal power falls into the hands of those who possess the reality, that is, wealth, and the knowledge and influence over others which attend it. Where the mass of property is concentrated in a few hands, the constitution is essentially aristocratic, and has a natural tendency to become so in form. When property is much subdivided and widely distributed among the people, the constitution is essentially democratic, and has, in like manner, a natural tendency to assume a popular shape. Such is the state of things in these United States; and it is to this circumstance, that we must look as the solid and lasting security for our popular institutions and personal rights, under the various changes of fortune, that may happen to us, in matters within the reach of accident. In England the opposite principle prevails; and serves, in like manner, as a solid foundation for the institutions existing in that country. In France the property is minutely subdivided as with us. It appears from official returns, that not less than half the heads of families are landholders; and there is no such thing in the kingdom as a class of great proprietors. Hence the French constitution, though copied in form from that of Great Britain, is in substance and principle entirely different from it. The Parliament of England, in both its

branches, is a representation of the small class of wealthy proprietors who form the ruling aristocracy, with a trifling mixture of purely popular elements. In France, where no such class exists, the two Chambers form a double representation of the mass of the community; for although the electors are limited in number to about eighty thousand, they have no distinct interest from that of the body of the people, and are animated by the same spirit. In the former country the titles of the aristocracy indicate large masses of real power, in the latter they only serve to improve the style of a visiting card. Hence, as *aristocracy* is by general acknowledgment the principle of the British government, it is equally evident that the one which prevails in that of France is *democracy;* and it thus appears, that the attempt to copy as closely as possible the form of the British Constitution has resulted in the establishment of another, not only of a different, but of a directly opposite character. So true is this in practice, that the somewhat greater independence of the house of Peers has served only to render this body, what it has been ever since the Restoration, a more popular one than the house of deputies. In a government essentially aristocratic, although the substance of monarchy cannot exist, the form may well be preserved, as in England, because it naturally allies itself with the form of aristocracy; but it is not very easy to see how the form even of monarchy can long be preserved in an essentially democratic government, with the natural form, as well as the spirit, of which it is entirely at variance. Such a combination, after having been established and long maintained by force, might perhaps continue to exist after the force which created it had ceased to operate; as appears to be the case in some of the great Asiatic empires, where men are contented to pursue from century to century the track beaten by their forefathers. But no such thing can happen in the constantly agitated states of christendom; and least of all in France, by temperament the most uneasy and restless of the number. We are therefore compelled to believe, that in the French constitution the monarchical and aristocratic elements are mere shadows, without any corresponding substance; and that the point towards which the efforts of the popular, or more properly, *national* party, by the force of circumstances naturally tend, and at which, if unchecked by any foreign intervention, they would speedily arrive, is the establishment of a *representative republic.* Few if any of the individuals composing this party are now

aiming directly, even in secret, at this object. They deem it, as in fact it is, impracticable, without in all cases realising that the only objection to it lies in the policy of foreign powers. But they all by a sort of instinct admire it in theory; and considering our institutions as the nearest approach to it that has been made in practice, they often mention them in the strongest and most flattering terms of approbation, as the *beau ideal* of government, a bright etherial dream of perfection too beautiful to be ever realised in the corrupt societies of the old world.

But while a representative republic appears to be the form of government most natural to France in its present condition, it is equally or still more evident, that the great military powers of the continent can never consent to the introduction of such institutions in that country. The general reason for this is the same, which induced the authors of our constitution to guaranty to all the states a republican government, or in other words, to interdict throughout the Union the establishment of monarchy. The commonwealth of Europe, though not in form a confederacy of states, is as much so in fact as this American Union; and in all such confederacies the concert of action among the members, necessary to the march of government, absolutely requires that the forms of legislation and administration should be throughout to a certain extent homogeneous. In the case of small and unimportant members, a deviation from the principle would of course not be attended with danger. Such republics as those of San Marino, Cracow, and Switzerland, may be admitted on the continent. But in states of the first order, an exception from the general rule could never be a matter of indifference, least of all in France, the intellectual and moral metropolis of cultivated Europe, the arbitress of elegance, the mother of the graces, the mistress of politeness and civilization, the fountain of the language and literature, the arts, manners, fashions, and amusements, and by a necessary consequence the feelings and opinions of the higher ranks of all other countries. A violent departure on the part of this most important and interesting member, from the political forms observed throughout the system, must produce convulsions which could end only by a return, complete or partial, to the common model. Such in fact was the occasion and result of the long wars of the Revolution, which had no other real origin than the obvious and deeply felt incongruity between the new French institutions and those which existed elsewhere.

On the other hand, the principle, that in every independent society the form of government naturally adapts itself to the condition of the people, is equally certain in its operation, with that which requires a degree of uniformity among the members of the same confederacy. When, therefore, a real change takes place in the condition of a people forming with others a political system, of which it is a member too important to be neglected, and too powerful to be dictated to (and such was actually the case with France), the two principles are brought into open conflict, and no alternative is left, except that of an exterminating war or a compromise. Under the peculiar forms which regulate the international concerns of the European commonwealth, it was natural that the first resort should be to war; and it was also natural, in the present state of civilization, that the war thus undertaken should not be urged to the extreme point of entire extermination, but that the adverse parties, after they had fairly supped full of horrors, should find it in the end more profitable to reconcile the difference between them by mutual concession. The result was the adoption of the present French constitution, which is thus, as we have remarked, guarantied in its monarchical parts, by the policy of the continental powers, and in its popular ones by the condition of the French people, and may of course be considered as reposing, in both its great divisions, upon a firm and substantial basis, not to be shaken by the fluctuations of merely domestic parties, or by any convulsions, that do not, at the same time, unsettle the general system of Europe.

Such are the reasons which lead us to think that the monarchical principle will not be subverted, as the royalists now affect to believe, by the present reaction in favor of the liberal party. All France is perfectly aware, that every attempt to overthrow the monarchy, or even to change the dynasty, would be immediately followed by another general invasion from the North and East; and having ascertained, by repeated experiments, the complete certainty of this result, the mere terror of it will be sufficient in future to prevent the necessity of its recurrence. It is not in human nature to persist long in attempting to pass the limits of possibility, physical or moral. It is nevertheless probable that the acquiescence of the nation under political arrangements, determined in part by the policy of foreign powers, will appear for a considerable time somewhat reluctant and uneasy, because the situation supposes a partial sacrifice of

national independence. Hence perhaps the 'indescribable disease,' *mal indefinissable*, as the Bishop of Hermopolis qualifies it, with which France seems to be laboring, under circumstances of the highest general prosperity. Add to this the natural mobility of the French character, and the prodigious influence of a single large city on the politics of the kingdom, and we have causes enough to account for all the agitation we have lately witnessed. But this, should it even increase for awhile, will exhaust itself, we think, in modifications of the present institutions, coming within the limits and spirit of the charter, for the most part salutary, and not of a nature at all events to disturb the tranquillity of the world. The control of the presses will probably now for the first time be taken entirely out of the hands of government. The system of elections has already attracted the attention of the ministers, and will doubtless be rendered more popular. The municipal organization of the kingdom will be completed. In short, the liberty of the subject will be in various ways considerably extended and better defined and secured, than it has ever been before in France. Conceiving, as we do, that individual liberty, pushed to the farthest limit consistent with the preservation of social order and the public tranquillity, is the main principle of national prosperity and private happiness, we cannot but anticipate that much advantage will accrue from the changes to which we have alluded. It would give us pleasure to dwell at greater length upon these agreeable and encouraging prospects; but we are compelled to quit the subject, in order to devote our remaining pages to a few hasty remarks upon the affairs of the East of Europe.

3. The limited space we now have at command will oblige us to treat this question in a very summary manner, nor is it necessary for the information of the public, to enter into the detail of the political and military events of the Greek revolution preceding the treaty of London of the sixth of July, of last year. The correspondence and personal communications of our high minded fellow citizens, who have embarked in this sacred cause, have rendered the subject more familiar to the general reader than any other branch of foreign politics; and we have ourselves repeatedly taken occasion to advert to it in various former numbers of this journal. As far as the condition of the Greeks connects itself with the policy of the leading powers of Western Europe, for two or three years past, the simple ques-

tion with these powers has been, whether they would look on quietly, till they saw the last descendant of the countrymen of Homer and Plato, Socrates and Phidias, Miltiades, Epaminondas, and Philopœmen, or in one word, the last of the Greeks, slaughtered by a horde of savage bandits, on the native soil of his ancestors; or whether they would step in with one accord, and deliver the poor bleeding remnant of this wretched people from the jaws of swift destruction. The case even on this statement appears strong; for when common sense and satire have said as much as they please of the impropriety of mixing up poetry and the classics with the political combinations of the day, it is still certain that we cannot and ought not to regard such a contest as this with indifference. Every generous heart thrills with emotion at the bare mention of the plains of Marathon and Elis, the straits of Salamis and Thermopylæ, the vale of Tempe, the summits of Pindus and Aonian Aganippe, or the springs of Castalia and Helicon; and if other considerations of a higher order require the sacrifice of these emotions, we are conscious at the moment, that we are suppressing some of the noblest affections of our nature. The case is therefore, we repeat, in itself a very strong one, even leaving out of view the still deeper and higher, and more solemn motive of a common faith. But strong as it is, it was strengthened by circumstances which amounted to an actual obligation of the most imperious kind, at least on Russia, to lend some active assistance to the Greeks. This wretched and fallen race, crushed to the earth under the iron yoke of their oppressors, had lost every hope or thought of attempting to recover their national existence, until they were roused by the exertions of emissaries from the great christian powers. For half a century the Russian agents had been from time to time laboring, with more or less activity, in exciting the Greeks to assert their independence, ; and these proceedings were undoubtedly the real immediate cause of the present revolutionary movement. To invite, seduce rather, a feeble nation to join in a common struggle against a powerful enemy, such an enemy as the Turks, and then to desert them in the hour of trial, and give them up without assistance to indiscriminate and hopeless destruction, would be not mere injustice, but the height of baseness. It is a policy that would brand the proudest sovereign in Europe with infamy. Add to all these considerations the diabolical and cold blooded horrors perpetrated by the Turks at the opening of the struggle, and

their repeated and contemptuous infractions of their treaties with Russia; and we make out a case upon which that powerful government might have been expected to act with promptness, and undoubtedly would have acted at most other periods without a moment's hesitation.

But the emperor Alexander was advised to see emblazoned, on the banner of the Greeks, the fatal sign of *revolution*, the terror of which had in his latter years bewildered his fine understanding, and diverted his naturally liberal and generous spirit from the glorious objects to which his earlier life was devoted. This single defect, under the peculiar circumstances of the moment, outweighed all the claims of the Greeks to protection, and produced in the emperor's mind, not merely a disinclination to aid them, but an actual wish for their failure. He looked upon their movements as a branch of the vast system of freemasonry and *carbonarism*, to which he attributed all the troubles of Europe, and which he supposed to be at this time operating with new vigor in the two Peninsulas, in such a way as to require a military intervention on his part to check its progress. In this state of things, he not only felt no disposition to take part with the Greeks, but had it been in his power to settle the question by a word, he would have doubtless decided it against them. To avoid even the suspicion of any intention to favor them, he removed from about his person one of his principal ministers of state, for no other reason than that he was a native of Greece, and might be naturally considered partial to the cause. With the emperor Alexander the great difficulty seems to have been, how to avoid being forced into a war with Turkey, by the headlong and reckless imprudence of that power, and thus compelled against his will to coöperate indirectly with the Greek insurgents. On the other hand the British government were impressed with a terror of the vast and growing power of Russia, not less urgent, and a good deal better founded, than those with which the emperor had been inspired by the redoubtable society of *Colliers;* and being aware that from the relative positions of Greece and Russia, and the community of religion existing between them, any successful European intervention in favor of the former, must necessarily end in an augmentation of the influence of the latter, they were highly gratified to find the emperor animated by hostile, instead of friendly dispositions towards his brethren of the Greek faith. The only thing necessary, under such circumstances, in order

to avert entirely the threatened danger, was to prevent the rupture between Russia and Turkey (upon grounds entirely independent of the Greek question) which appeared almost inevitable, and which, if it took place, would produce a diversion in favor of the Greeks, equivalent in all its results to a direct intervention. Great Britain undertook accordingly to mediate between the two powers for this purpose, and the emperor Alexander, who, for different reasons, was equally anxious to effect the same object, availed himself gladly of the overture. Having been compelled, by the outrageous conduct of the Turks, to withdraw his own minister from Constantinople, he committed the negotiation entirely to the British ambassador, lord Strangford, who carried it on with great ability for two or three years. During this time the world beheld, with astonishment and edification, the two most powerful nations in Europe receiving, one as principal and the other as mediator, from a feeble and semi-barbarous government, a series of injuries and insults, the least of which, in most other circumstances, would have occasioned an exterminating war. All this more than Christian long-suffering appeared however to meet with its reward. The direct causes of quarrel between Russia and the Ottoman Porte were at last removed, and a new treaty, apparently satisfactory to all parties, was concluded at Ackerman, on the sixth of August, 1826. The Turkish government in their late manifesto very frankly avow, that they signed the treaty merely to gain time and escape from farther importunity; so that they appear to have had the honor of overreaching, as well as treating with undisguised contumely and outrage, the two most powerful nations in Europe. This however was not suspected at the moment, and the British government retired from the field of negotiation, flushed with supposed triumph, and full of satisfaction at having averted all danger of a rupture between the emperor of Russia and their 'ancient ally,' the Turk.

In the meantime the emperor Alexander had been called to his account, and his youthful successor, who had given proof, by his conduct in the circumstances attending his accession, of a noble and generous disposition, was believed or suspected to be somewhat less timorous on the score of revolution, and somewhat better inclined to assist the Greeks by direct intervention, than his predecessor. Thus while the danger of the diversion in favor of the Greeks, which would have resulted from a rupture between Russia and Turkey, was supposed to have disap-

peared, that of the direct intervention by the latter power seemed to be increasing. Mr. Canning, whose influence in the British cabinet was at this time rapidly growing, was not disposed, by character, to trust much for the removal of difficulties to the slow developements of time, in many cases the safest course, but was rather for cutting all knots of this kind by vigorous measures, conceiving that the superiority of his talent would always carry him through with credit and success. We may add, that while he was doubtless not less jealous than his countrymen in general of the power of Russia, he was probably somewhat more alive than his immediate predecessor, to the high moral considerations which plead so loudly with every elevated and naturally feeling mind, in favor of the suffering Greeks. Under the influence of these various motives, he accordingly determined to propose to Russia a joint interference for their relief, believing that the coöperation of the two powers, backed as they would probably be by most of the other leading governments, would effect the object without much difficulty; and that by thus taking an active part in the intervention, in concert with Russia, it would be easy so to govern the course of affairs, as to prevent that power from acquiring, in any event, any dangerous augmentation of influence. The proposition was made to the Russian government, by the duke of Wellington, in the spring of 1826, and having been accepted with readiness, formed the basis of a protocol or informal treaty between the parties. Negotiations were immediately commenced upon this basis at Constantinople, and, in the mean time, the other powers were invited to accede to the arrangement. France alone consented, and at her instance, as it appears, the informal agreement at St Petersburg was converted into a formal treaty between the three powers, which was signed at London on the tenth of last July. The general import of this instrument is of course familiar to all our readers, who take any interest in the subject. It provided for a joint proposal by the three mediating powers to the two conflicting parties, to reconcile their differences upon certain specified terms. Upon the refusal of both or either of them to accept this proposal, the powers, without formally declaring or making war, were to interfere and forcibly separate the combatants. Such was the purport of this treaty, which by a piece of indiscretion unexampled in diplomatic history, was published in the British newspapers even to its secret articles, within a day or two of its signa-

ture, and before it had been ratified by all the parties to it, or officially made known at Constantinople. Count Capo d'Istria appears to have taken part in the arrangement, as the representative of Greece, and was immediately placed at the head of the executive department of the government of that country.

The treaty of the sixth of July was generally hailed, by liberal and feeling men, as a measure highly honorable to all the parties engaged in it, and likely to be attended with the happiest consequences. When viewed merely in reference to its effects on the fortunes of the Greeks, it will always probably bear this character. A cool consideration of the circumstances of the case, aided by the partial developement that has already taken place of the results of the treaty, may perhaps lead us to conclude, that it could not fairly be expected to realise the intentions under which it was concluded; and that as a diplomatic and especially a British measure, it must necessarily fail, and was of course impolitic and unwise. From the commencement of the Greek revolution, the great problem with the British government has been, how to aid the Greeks, without incurring the danger of increasing the influence of Russia. Now the mere diminution of the Turkish power, which would be occasioned by the emancipation of the Greeks, would itself negatively produce this effect; while emancipated Greece, under whatever form or name, must be substantially, for the present at least, little more than a province of Russia, and from its southern, and maritime position would constitute a positive accession of high importance and value to that vast empire. These were necessary results of the force of circumstances; and independent altogether of any supposed ambitious designs in the Russian government. The problem was therefore evidently insoluble, and having been viewed as such from the beginning, by the British government, the idea of aiding the Greeks had never been entertained for a moment. Mr Canning, upon taking up the question, apparently left out of view the consideration to which we have now alluded, and proceeded on the supposition, that there could be no augmentation of the power of Russia, excepting by the actual and formal annexation of some province to her territories. His course in this respect is the more remarkable, inasmuch as the very form of the arrangements in which he was engaged, strikingly illustrated the dangers to which we have alluded. It was perfectly evident that Greece, under the government of Count Capo d'Istria,

must be essentially a Russian province. Having however, as we have remarked, left this difficulty entirely out of view, and supposing the only danger to be that of actual territorial aggrandizement by Russia, which could only take place in time of war, he appears to have calculated first that the vast weight of a joint intervention of all the great European powers could hardly fail to succeed, and would thus be attended with perfect safety; or supposing it even to fail, that the relation established between Russia and the other powers, by this concerted system of action, would enable them to prevent any abuse by her of the results of the partial war which would then follow. Of these two calculations the former has already been shown by the event to have been erroneous; but, it is proper to add, it has been defeated in part by the accidental occurrence of the battle of Navarino. The latter was in the main just, as respects the conclusion; for although we doubt the ability of the other powers to oppose by force any permanent barrier to the aggrandizement of Russia, we believe that they are secure enough from any danger of that kind, in the moderation which has prevailed for a long time past in the councils of that empire, and has now, greatly to its honor and advantage, become their habitual characteristic. We are satisfied for this reason, that, in the event of war, there is no probability that Russia will claim more than a fair proportion of the common spoil. But had both these calculations been completely justified by the event, it would have still, as we remarked above, left in full force the main objection to an intervention, politically considered; to wit, that it must, if successful, place the Greeks in any event virtually under the protectorate of Russia, and in this way, as well as by proportionally diminishing the power of Turkey, augment the influence of the formidable rival of Great Britain. We may therefore conclude, that the treaty of July, however agreeable to the friends of humanity, who care less about the comparative weight of England and Russia, than about the immediate relief of their oppressed and agonising fellow-creatures, was, when viewed as a merely British measure, at best very questionable. From the precipitation with which it was hurried through, and the indiscretion with which it was so prematurely published, we may perhaps suspect that it was somewhat hastily and rashly determined upon by Mr Canning, under the influence of the sort of intellectual fever with which he seems to have labored for some time previous to his death (occasioned

no doubt in part by this cause), and which threw a sort of extravagant and inflammatory coloring over all his late proceedings and speeches.

If the policy of this treaty, considered as a British measure, was in some degree doubtful, the details of the arrangement appear to be also liable to serious objections, of which events have shown the validity. The alternative offered to the Porte under the treaty of July, was substantially that of acquiescence in certain propositions, or of war. Nevertheless, the three powers abstain from pronouncing the fatal word, and only declare that in the event of refusal, they will interfere by force and separate the combatants. Not only this, but they affect, ever since the battle of Navarino, to deny the existence of war. The battle, they say, was fought by the Allies in bare self-defence; and if the peace be after all broken, it will not be their fault. This language appears singular; nor is it easy to see in what quarter it is intended to produce effect. It must clearly fail with the Turks, whose moral faculties are by no means delicate enough to seize the nice distinction made by the Allies. The hesitation of the latter, in pronouncing the decisive word, was doubtless construed at Constantinople into timidity, and tended of course to defeat the arrangement. The real object of giving it this form appears to have been, to deprive Russia of the pretext which she might otherwise have had, for putting her armies in motion in the event of the non-acceptance of the proposals. As the Allies are not to make war, but merely to step between the combatants, and separate them where they are actually engaged, and as this is not the case on the northern frontier, there is of course no occasion for Russia to move, and the active part of the interference falls entirely into the hands of Great Britain. This ingenious scheme, which takes for granted that Russia is ready to seize the first opportunity of aggrandizing herself by violent means, and that she can be prevented from so doing by such a diplomatic contrivance as the one in question, is far from complimentary, either to her moderation or sagacity. Conscious of possessing superior power, and intending to use it with a just regard for the rights of others, the giant of the North may probably have smiled with pity at this feeble attempt to fetter him with cobwebs, and pursued his course with unaltered tranquillity; but it is evident, that such a display of jealousy and want of confidence on the part of an ally, at the very moment of establishing a concert of action, if it

did not irritate and offend, had no tendency to concilitate, or to improve in any way the state of affairs. This device therefore, while it was wholly ineffectual for every good purpose, was of a nature to embarrass the operations of the Allies in the event of refusal, and even to place them morally in the wrong, if that were a point worth considering with the Turks. In the intercourse of nations there is no middle course between war and peace. If the Allies intended to remain at peace with the Turks, they had no right to interfere between them and the Greeks, whether the latter be viewed as enemies or rebellious subjects. If they intended to make war, they had then doubtless a right to assist the Greeks, but were bound in the first place to give due notice of their intentions by a public and intelligible declaration. In this, as in most other cases, a perfectly frank, open, and manly course would have been on all accounts the most politic, as well as the most honorable and just. By keeping firmly in view and announcing distinctly to the Porte, that the real alternative was that of peace with the Greeks or war with themselves, the Allies would have had a better chance of avoiding this extremity, and would have been certainly better prepared to meet it, if unavoidable, than they were found to be when the crisis arrived.

It is comparatively easy to be wise after the event, but in the doubtful situation in which things were placed by the provisions of the treaty, the occurrence of some such affair as the battle of Navarino seems to have been probable; and if this action be, as it certainly is, and has been publicly declared to be by the British government, for them at least, an *untoward event*, it furnishes a strong illustration of the impolicy of these provisions. It is not necessary to our present purpose to enlarge upon the circumstances of this affair. Considered as between the Allies and the Turks, it was on the part of the former a manifest infraction of all the ordinary rules of public law; and the feeble attempts made in England to justify it on the principle of self-defence, only prove, that those who make them are conscious of having done a wrong action, without being willing to acknowledge and repair it. The fault, however, lies with the governments, and not with the naval commanders. The British admiral was not expressly authorized by his instructions to go the full length to which he went; but he nevertheless appears to have played the part of a gallant and efficient officer, following in general the tenor of his orders, and con-

struing them, when doubtful, in favor of prompt and energetic action. He is therefore, we conceive, in no way to blame, but rather entitled to thanks and credit, as well for going into battle, as for his excellent conduct when engaged. The real difficulty lay in the false position of the Allied and Turkish forces in relation to each other; and this was a necessary result of the terms of the treaty, for which the ministers, and not the admirals, were responsible. The former had so arranged matters, that the latter, by performing their duty in a manly and vigorous way, could hardly fail to precipitate the war which the Allies were so anxious to avoid, and which, if they thought it unavoidable, they ought to have declared themselves, instead of leaving the Turks to learn it from the total destruction of their fleet. This event, confessedly *untoward* in its effect on the question of peace and war, is not perhaps in other respects precisely in accordance with British interests. The sort of instinct, which leads a British naval commander to attack any foreign flag upon the least appearance of pretext or provocation, and which in some former cases, as in this, has occasioned the destruction of whole fleets belonging to powers with which Great Britain was at peace, is generally a safe and wholesome one, because it tends even in its excesses to promote and secure the naval ascendency of the kingdom. When, for example, a British admiral attacked, in time of peace, and completely destroyed the Spanish fleet of twenty-five sail of the line, which cardinal Alberoni had with so much ability created in the course of a few months, the mistake, though unpleasant perhaps to both parties, was far less injurious to the interests of Great Britain, than to those of his Catholic majesty. But in the present instance (to which the occurrence just alluded to furnishes the nearest parallel to be found in history), the operation of the principle was less favorable. The Turks, if not an ancient, are, at least since the great recent developement of the Russian power, an actual ally of England, the more important and useful, inasmuch as their naval strength, though considerable, at least before the late event, can never be dangerous. When therefore we see the British and French fleets joining in an annihilation of that of Turkey, the only permanent check to the increase of the maritime greatness of Russia in the quarter where it was most to be apprehended, we are bound to recognise with due humility the hand of Providence, overmastering the ordinary motives that govern

human actions, and making them subservient to the promotion of his own all-wise and inscrutable designs.

Such was the anxiety entertained in England for the preservation of peace, that the government, disposed to believe what they so ardently desired, did not entirely abandon all hope even after the battle of Navarino. It was doubtless one of the objects of the new ministerial arrangements, to facilitate as far as possible this result; and the feigned moderation of the Porte rendered it for a moment apparently not quite desperate. Even the appearance of the Turkish manifesto, though in substance and form an undisguised and even insulting declaration of war, does not seem to have entirely dissipated the illusion. If at least we can draw any conclusion from the tone of the newspapers, hopes are even yet indulged, that, by the effect of the change of ministry, the crisis may be avoided. The passage of the Russian armies over the Pruth, the great new Rubicon, not of Rome, but of Asia and Europe, though often announced, is not, while we are writing, ascertained to have taken place. It *may* yet be averted by efforts hidden from the public eye, and on which it is vain to speculate. But in the aspect of things, as it *now* presents itself to us, on this side of the water, war is inevitable.

It is not unlikely that war has actually commenced. When, how, where it will end,—whether it will prove a passing commotion, like those which have disturbed the south of Europe since the fall of Bonaparte, or whether it will turn out one of those tremendous hurricanes which from time to time convulse the European system for twenty or thirty years together, are questions which 'time and the hour' alone can solve. That the Turkish empire, wholly incapable of contending successfully with either of the great powers now leagued against it, must give way before the union of them all, is a matter of course; and the results of the struggle will therefore depend almost wholly upon the form which policy or accident may give to the relations between these powers. From the jealousy entertained by England and France of the progress of Russia, it will doubtlesss be their effort to limit the duration and theatre of the war, and to secure the original objects of the intervention with as little diminution as possible of the power of Turkey. On this supposition, the war will be speedily terminated, and the principal direct result will be the emancipation of Greece, a consummation highly agreeable in itself to the

civilized world at large, but somewhat ominous in the view of the western powers of Europe, as contributing both directly and indirectly (in the manner explained above) to the augmentation of the influence of Russia. A larger, more generous, and perhaps in the end not less safe and judicious policy would be, to take advantage of the present favorable crisis for the purpose of overthrowing entirely the Ottoman empire, and restoring to civilization and christianity the fine regions that have so long withered under its blasting sway. By a concert of action among the great powers the object might of course be effected at once; and the princely spoils that victory would throw into the hands of the alliance would furnish, one would think, means of satisfying the pretensions of all, with little or no risk of internal dissension. Greece with her islands, the continental provinces of Turkey in Europe, Asia Minor, Syria and Palestine, all Arabia, Egypt, Barbary and Morocco, territories as fertile as any in the world, and as finely situated for the pursuit of every species of industry, would be at the disposal of christian Europe. They might be distributed as provinces among the allies, or erected into independent nations, as might best comport with the general good; but they would become equally, in either case, abodes of knowledge, wealth, and happiness, instead of being, as they now are, the eternal haunts of pestilence, poverty, and wretchedness. What sublime prospects of extended population and improvement would open on the ancient world, could the Mediterranean sea be again, as formerly, encircled by a line of flourishing christian states. This magnificent basin, which forms as it were the heart of the vast body, composed by the three ancient continents, would in that case send forth rivers of strength and prosperity in all directions, and would resuscitate, as if from their sepulchres, the industry, the arts, the population, the wealth, and the liberty, that once adorned these delightful climates. The valley of the Nile would again boast its thousand cities; Barbary would display as of old her three hundred Universities; Palestine would flow once more with milk and honey; the sacred standard of the true religion would take the place of the miscalled *Sandjar Sherif* on the towers of St Sophia, and a new spring would revive the dead groves of the Academy. Even the christian nations of Southern Europe, which now stagnate in a sort of hopelss decrepitude, under the influence of vicious institutions, religious and political, would feel the effect of this change in a restora-

tion of their industry and commerce, and under this genial impulse, would recover their ancient prosperity and glory. The remoter regions of Sourthern Africa, on the one hand, and of Arabia and Persia, on the other, would gradually quicken into moral life, and be brought in time within the pale of the civilized world. Such are the prospects that would open upon Christendom in the event of a vigorous and concerted action of all the great powers against the Turkish empire. But we do not, as we have already said, expect that they will now be realized. The not unfounded caution of Great Britain, and the noble moderation of Russia will combine to limit the theatre of the war and its results, within the smallest possible space. Let us then be content, for the present, with the emancipation of Greece,—an event which seems to be now beyond the reach of accident, and which twenty years ago we should hardly have thought within the compass of possibility. This, if not the most important, is doubtless the most surpising and agreeable of the various revolutions of our eventful age. The affections of the generous and the good have always attached themselves with a sort of melancholy interest to the soil of this celebrated country, and they are ready to welcome the restoration of its inhabitants to national existence, as they would the return of a lost friend from the grave. In the present altered state of the world, we cannot anticipate a complete revival of the taste and genius of ancient Greece, still less a renewal of her political ascendency; but under the inspiring influence of independence, commerce, and industry, we shall doubtless behold a remarkable improvement in the now deteriorated character of the people, and a rapid developement of all the elements of general prosperity.

We have thus noticed successively the leading points in the present state of the politics of Europe, and the extent of the preceding remarks reminds us that we must bring them rapidly to a close. The point of view which presents these occurrences in connexion with each other, as accidents happening to the different parts of the same great system, opens new fields of observation still more interesting perhaps, than those which we have surveyed. The prodigious ascendency of Great Britain and Russia over all the other powers, even those habitually reckoned as the first rate, the healthy, vigorous, and active constitution of Russia, as compared with the embarrassed and distracted situation of the Western nations, these are traits in the

picture, which strike the observant eye too plainly to be overlooked or mistaken, which are important even to us, and to Europe momentous, perhaps alarming. At other times Austria, France, Great Britain, even Spain and Turkey, have successively kept the other nations in terror, and swayed for a while the sceptre of christendom. Now the Autocrat of Russia rules the ascendant; Great Britain leads the defensive; France follows in the wake of one or the other, while the rest of the powers, including even Austria, are passive spectators. Again; what stability, vigor, and wisdom, on one side! What division, feebleness, confusion, on the other! Behold France, illustrious, beautiful, cultivated France, rent in twain by permanent political dissensions, that can never be reconciled; Russia presenting to the world a compact and undivided mass, or if accidental troubles occur, only making them occasions for new displays of magnanimity and wisdom in the highest quarters. Compare for a moment the generous contention between the Granddukes Nicolas and Constantine, who should *not* be the emperor of all the Russias, with the paltry five and three per cent. struggles between Messrs de Villèle and de Châteaubriand, each anxious not so much to obtain power himself, as to prevent the other from possessing it. Contrast the correspondence of the high-minded Muscovite princes, on the occasion just alluded to, with the debates in the British Parliament, on the several changes in the ministry since the death of Mr Canning. Contrast the tone of the papers and speeches of this justly eminent statesman on the most important subjects, with the decision, depth, and moderation of the Russian diplomacy. We seem to pass from the domain of one of the two great principles which divide the world between them into that of the other, and unhappily the west is not the bright side. The power of Russia is no doubt tremendous, and the steady, untiring march of her military progress must inspire the western nations with serious alarms. While the councils of Great Britain are suspended on the grand question, whether Lord Althorpe shall be chairman of a Committee of Finance, which finally unsettles the government; while France is agitated through all her departments by the momentous *debates* of half a dozen newspapers, the Russian armies are crossing the Araxes. They dictate peace on their own terms in the second city in Persia. This treaty is, it seems, not ratified, and the next will of course be signed at Teheran. In the meantime, another army is pouring into the Ottoman

Empire, while Count Capo d'Istria, with the title of President, is, virtually in the name of Russia, taking peaceable possession of Greece. These are important movements, and they indicate, as we have said, an extent of power that may justly be viewed as alarming. But it is not the mere possession of this power, portentous as it is, that we think the most formidable feature in the political aspect of Russia. There lies a deeper peril in the high intellectual and moral qualities, by which that power now appears to be directed. Mere brute force destroys itself by its own excesses, or may easily be parried by a skilful antagonist. It is only when enlightened by superior intelligence, and employed in the attainment of noble ends by noble means, that it really becomes irresistible. The sublime moderation of the Russian cabinet, the unexampled magnanimity of the Imperial family, the beautiful concord, the deep religious feeling that pervades all classes of the nation, these are 'signs of the times,' at which the statesmen of the West of Europe may well tremble; these are engines of aggrandisement, which, if they mean to resist, they must first imitate. 'I was not alarmed,' said a Greek philosopher, in whose presence Cicero had been declaiming, while on a visit at Athens, 'I was not alarmed at the progress of the Roman legions, but I now see that Greece is indeed conquered.' In this remark there was perhaps more professional prejudice than good sense; and a sounder reasoner might have argued, that in giving her arts to Rome, the city of Minerva had recoverd, in some degree, the ascendency which she yielded to the sword of Sylla. But what is excellence in art, considered as an instrument of power, when compared with superiority of intellect and morals? Music, poetry, and eloquence enchant the ear; painting, sculpture, and architecture ravish the eye; but wisdom and virtue are the 'stability of our times, and the fear of the Lord is our treasure.' The British stock-jobbers forget this, when they say that Russia has no finances. If the Western nations of Europe are at once outdone in force, and eclipsed in intellect and morals by their formidable Eastern neighbor, a mere superiority in the fine arts of life, should they retain it for awhile, will have no tendency to sustain their importance, or secure their national existence.

ART. XII. *An Epitome of Grecian Antiquities for the use of Schools.* By CHARLES D. CLEAVELAND. Boston: Hilliard, Gray, Little & Wilkins; and Richardson and Lord. 1827. pp. 177.

A judicious compend of Grecian antiquities has long been a *desideratum* in our classical schools. All the books on this subject within our knowledge are either too voluminous for the use of schools, or they are like Pennock's and Irving's Catechisms, which, though excellent as far as they go, are too limited for the illustration even of the books used in the common course of studies preparatory for college. The author of the work before us has attempted to fill up the chasm in one department, and has given us a volume of convenient size, containing a brief outline of the principal topics involved in an elementary course of studies in Greek.

The nature and design of the work will be understood by the following extract from the Preface.

'It has been subject of remark and regret among scholars, that Grecian Antiquities should receive so little attention in our preparatory scholars. But the neglect of this essential part of classical study should be attributed to its right cause;—to the want of a suitable book. Potter, though a most full and learned work, is adapted only to advanced scholars. It is too large and expensive for a school book, and as such, we think, it can never be generally introduced. To the young student it appears formidable; its mythological and historical digressions become tedious; and its long and numerous quotations from the Greek and Latin poets increase its size, without adding much to its value. Robinson, though better than Potter, is still too large for those who have made but little progress in the classics; and Bos is seldom met with in this country.

'The following pages have therefore been compiled for the use of our Classical Schools. The work was suggested by a desire to make accessible to the youthful scholar, a compact and unexpensive manual, for the illustration of his elementary studies: and the task has been executed in the conviction that no such manual existed.'

The materials of this little volume have been carefully compiled from the best authorities, and judiciously arranged after the manner of Bos's Greek Antiquities, which the author has made the basis of his work.

Although from the nature of the case me might expect this work to be rather dry, yet we understand it has been found not only useful, but interesting, in several of our best schools where it has been used. In point of mechanical execution the book is admirable. It is printed with great neatness, on beautiful paper, and in a style altogether above that of ordinary school books. And for this too, as well as for the internal excellences of this 'Epitome,' we feel much obliged to Mr Cleaveland. The miserable system of printing school books on the poorest paper, and in the cheapest possible manner, is gradually giving way to a more enlightened economy, and a better taste in the community.

Should we notice any thing in this manual as subject of improvement, it would be the want of a little more fulness in some parts. In selecting and abridging from materials so copious as those which offered themselves in the present case, it is extremely difficult to hit the happy medium. The danger is of being too diffuse, and of swelling the volume beyond the size convenient for schools. In attempting to avoid this, the author has, we think, erred on the other side, and reduced his subject occasionally to an unnecessary leanness. But this defect may easily be supplied in a future edition. We have discovered several errors of the press; but perhaps not more than ought to be expected in the first impression of a work of this kind. We consider this little work highly creditable to Mr Cleaveland, and a valuable auxiliary to our classical seminaries; and we are happy in having an opportunity of recommending it to the attention of teachers of the ancient classics.

Art. XIII. *The Substance of a Journal during a Residence at the Red River Colony, British North America; and frequent Excursions among the Northwest American Indians in the years* 1820, 1821, 1822, 1823. *Second Edition enlarged with a Journal of a Mission to the Indians of New Brunswick, and Novascotia, and the Mohawks on the Ouse or Grand River, Upper Canada,* 1825, 1826. By John West, A. M. Late Chaplain to the Honorable the Hudson's Bay Company.

We have here two Journals of an English clergyman, while in performance of his duties as chaplain to the Hudson Bay com-

pany, and afterwards on a mission to the Indians, in some of the other British possessions on this continent. The author appears to have been actuated by a pious spirit, which is constantly shining through his pages; and his work affords considerable information concerning the territories occupied by the British fur traders, as also the state of the Indians, which it appears, is wretched enough. Nor can any other consequence ensue while they remain under the influence of trading companies, who have no object but gain, and whose cupidity in this pursuit will allow of no material melioration of their condition. Accordingly we find that our author's attempts to teach them the arts of civilized life, were discouraged by the agents of these companies, as tending to detach them from the pursuit of furs, and that a settlement commenced for this purpose had actually been destroyed. He succeeded however in obtaining several Indian children for instruction, and we are gratified to learn that the use of ardent spirits, as an article of trade, has been considerably diminished. It is to be hoped that the example of our government will be followed in prohibiting altogether this pregnant source of disease and wretchedness to the Indians.

Our author seems also to have met with some success in his attempts to introduce better habits among the settlers at the Red River colony, and the rites of baptism, and the marriage ceremony among the half breeds, a numerous class, which has sprung from the intercourse of the hunters with the Indian women, of whom we are told 'that it is the too common practice of the country, to put them away, after enjoying the morning of their days,' or desert them, to be taken by the Indians with their children, when the parties, who have cohabited with them, leave the Hudson's Bay companies territories.' Mr West states that he had much difficulty in imparting religious instruction to this class of persons, from their speaking the Indian language only, their mother tongue.

We extract for the benefit of our readers the relation of our author's journey from York Factory on Hudson's Bay, where he first landed, to the settlement on Red River.

'The scenery throughout the passage is dull and monotonous (excepting a few points in some of the small lakes which are picturesque), till you reach the Company's port, Norway house, where a fine body of water bursts upon your view in lake Winnipeg. We found the voyage from the factory to this point, so sombre and dreary, that the sight of a horse grazing on the bank, greatly ex-

hilirated us, in the association of the idea, that we were approaching some human habitation.

'*Oct.* 6. The ground was covered with snow, and the weather most winterly, when we embarked in our open boats to cross the lake for the Red River. Its length from north to south, is about three hundred miles, and it abounds with sunken rocks, which are very dangerous to boats sailing in a fresh breeze. It is usual to run along shore, for the sake of an encampment at night, and of getting into a creek for shelter in case of a storm, and tempestuous weather. We had run about half the lake, when the boat under a press of sail, struck upon one of these rocks, with so much violence as to threaten our immediate destruction.'

The party, however, escaped shipwreck, and at length arrived at the destined point.

Lord Selkirk's colony on the Red River seems not to have thriven very rapidly, during our author's residence at it, having been reduced to great straits, and once or twice in imminent danger of starvation. The colonists are described as a compound of individuals of various countries, being chiefly Canadians and Germans, with a considerable portion of Scotch Highlanders.

In the winter season journies are performed in this region in sledges, drawn by dogs of the wolf kind. We subjoin an account of one of these excursions.

'I left the Forks in a cariole, drawn by three dogs, accompanied by a sledge with two dogs, to carry the luggage and provisions, and two men as drivers, on the fifteenth of January, for Brandon House and Qu'appelle on the Arsiniboin river. After we had travelled about fifteen miles, we stopped on the edge of a wood and bivouacked on the snow for the night. A large fire was soon kindled, and a supply of wood cut to keep it up. When supper was prepared and finished, I wrapped myself in my blankets and buffaloe robe, and laid down wit a few twigs under me in place of a bed, with my feet towards the fire, and slept soundly under the open canopy of heaven. The next morning we left our encampment before sunrise, and the country, as we passed, presented some beautiful points, and bluffs of wood. We started again early the following morning, which was intensely cold; and I had much difficulty in keeping my face from freezing, on my way to the encampment, rather late in the evening at the Portage de Prairie. In crossing the plain the next morning with a sharp head wind, my nose and part of my face were frozen quite hard and white.'

On this excursion, the party perceived some traces of the buffaloe, and the wolf was frequently seen following their track, or crossing in the line they were passing.

A long and severe winter is followed by a summer tending to the opposite extreme.

'*July* 2. An agreeable change has taken place in the scenery around us; the trees are breaking into leaves, and many plants are in bloom, where but a short time ago every thing bore the aspect of winter. But this almost sudden and pleasing change has brought an unceasing torment; night and day we are perpetually persecuted with the musquittoes, that swarm around us, and afford no rest but in the annoying respiration of a smoky room.'

20*th*. The weather is extremely hot, the thermometer more than 90° above zero. Vegetation is making an astonishingly rapid progress, and the grain in its luxuriant growth upon a rich soil, presents to the eye the fairest prospect of a good harvest. But the locust, an insec tvery like the large grasshopper, is beginning to make sad ravages, by destroying the crops, as it has done for the last three years at the settlement.'

The state of the Indians, who inhabit these inclement and desolate tracts, is the extreme of wretchedness,—some affecting descriptions of which are given by our author. He bears testimony also, to the custom, among some of the tribes, of exposing the aged and infirm, when unable to take care of themselves, who, we are told, are accustomed to consider it an act not of cruelty, but of mercy.

'A little meat,' he observes, 'with an axe, and a small portion of tobacco, are generally left with them by their nearest relations, who in taking leave of them say, it is time for them to go into the other world, which they suppose lies just beyond the spot where the sun goes down, where they will be better taken care of, than with them, and then they walk away weeping. On the banks of the Saskashawan, an aged woman prevailed on her son to shoot her through the head, instead of adopting this sad extremity. She addressed him in a most pathetic manner, reminding him of the toil and care, with which she bore him on her back from camp to camp during his infancy; with what incessant labor she brought him up till he could use the bow and the gun; and having seen him a great warrior, she requested that he would show her kindness, and give a proof of his courage in shooting her, that she might go home to her relations. "I have seen many winters," she added, "and have now become a burden, in not being able to assist in getting provisions; and dragging me through the country, as I am unable to walk, is a toil, and brings much distress;—take your gun." She then drew her blanket over her head, and her son immediately deprived her of life; in the apparent consciousness of having done an act of filial duty and of mercy.'

Our author's second journal contains a brief narrative of his mission to the Indians in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, and the remnant of the Mohawk tribe in Upper Canada, under the direction of the New England company, which was incorporated in the reign of Charles the Second. It contains little of interest, nor have we space for further extracts. We accordingly take leave of him here, not however without rendering him due acknowledgment for the entertainment his work has afforded us, which we have great satisfaction in recommending to the perusal of our readers. It relates to portions of our country less explored than almost any other parts of it, and its contents are consequently so much added to the stock of information on the subject of America.

NOTE.

An article on *Bees*, communicated for this number, has been unavoidably deferred till the next.

QUARTERLY LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

ARTS AND SCIENCES.

A Natural History of Animals, illustrated with colored Engravings. By John Bigland. Philadelphia. I. Grigg. 12mo. pp. 189.

A Popular Exposition of the System of the Universe, with Plates and Tables. By H. R. Hassler. New York. G. & C. Carvill. 8vo.

American Natural History. By John D. Godman, M. D. Vol. III. 8vo.

BIOGRAPHY.

Memoirs of Andrew Jackson. By a Citizen of Massachusetts. Boston. Charles Ewer. 1828. 12mo. pp. 334.

A Sketch of the Life of William Penn. By Mrs Hughs. Philadelphia. 12mo.

The Life of Elbridge Gerry, with Contemporary Letters to the Close of the American Revolution. By James T. Austin. Boston. Wells & Lilly. 8vo. pp. 520.

Memoir of Samuel Hooker Cowles, with an Address delivered before the Society of Inquiry into Missions. First published in the Christian Spectator.

Lives of the Twelve Apostles, with Explanatory Notes. By F. W. P. Greenwood. Boston. Hilliard, Gray, & Co. 12mo. pp. 148.

American Medical Biography, or Memoirs of Eminent Physicians who have flourished in America. By James Thatcher, M. D. Boston. Richardson & Lord. 2 vols. 8vo.

Memoirs of John Horne Tooke, containing proof that he is the Author of Junius. By John A. Graham. New York.

A History of the Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus. By Washington Irving. New York. G. & C. Carvill. 3 vols. 8vo.

Memoirs of Miss Elizabeth I. Drysdale. By the Author of Triumphs of Religion. Charleston.

EDUCATION.

First Principles of English Spelling and Reading. By Caleb H. Snow, M. D. Boston. James Loring. 12mo. pp. 72.

Poetry for Schools. By the Author of American Popular Lessons. Philadelphia. 12mo.

The Italian and French Phrase Book, serving as a Key to Italian Conversation. By M. l'Abbé Bossut. Boston. Hilliard, Gray, & Co.

A Sequel to the Analytical Reader. By Samuel Putnam. Portland. Shirley & Hyde. 12mo. pp. 300.

Parental Duties, illustrated from the Word of God, and enforced by a particular Account of the Influence therein ascribed to the proper Government of Children. New York. N. B. Holmes.

The National Spelling Book and Pronouncing Tutor. By B. D. Emerson. Boston. Richardson & Lord. 12mo. pp. 168.

Report of the Secretary of State in Relation to the Instruction of the Deaf and Dumb in the City of New York. Albany. Croswell & Van Bethuysen. 8vo. pp. 68.

A Brief Outline of the Mode of Instruction, pursued by the Rev. J. M. Mason, in the Theological Seminary in the City of New York. By a Student of said Seminary. New York. J. P. Haven.

M. T. Ciceronis Orationes quædam Selectæ, Notis Illustratæ. Bostoniæ. Sumptibus Hilliard, Gray, et Soc. 12mo. pp. 403.

The Easy Reader, designed to be used in Schools and Families. By John Frost. Boston. Bowles & Dearborn. 18mo. pp. 142.

The French Accidence, or Elements of French Grammar. By William B. Fowle. Boston. Hilliard, Gray, & Co.

Outlines of Scripture Geography, with an Atlas. By J. E. Worcester. Boston. Hilliard, Gray, & Co. 18mo. pp. 44.

A History of the Kings and Queens of France with Engravings; translated from the French. Boston. S. G. Goodrich. pp. 140.

The History of France from the Foundation of the Monarchy to the Abdication of Napoleon. By William Grimshaw. Philadelphia. John Grigg. 12mo. pp. 410.

GEOGRAPHY.

Rudiments of Geography on a new Plan, accompanied by an Atlas. By W. C. Woodbridge, A. M. Eighth Edition. Hartford. O. D. Cooke & Co. 18mo. pp. 208.

A System of Universal Geography on the Principles of Comparison and Classification. By William C. Woodbridge. Second Edition, accompanied with an Atlas. Hartford. O. D. Cooke & Co. 12mo. pp. 432.

HISTORY.

A History of the States of Antiquity; translated from the German of A. H. L. Heeren. Northampton. S. Butler. 8vo. pp. 487.

Conspiracy of the Spaniards against Venice, and of John Lewis Fiesco against Genoa. Boston. Hilliard, Gray, & Co. 12mo. pp. 171.

LAW.

Reports of Cases argued and determined in the Supreme Court of the State of New York. By Esek Cowen. Vol. VII. New York.

A Digest of Martin's Reports of the Decisions of the Supreme Court of Louisiana from its Establishment in 1813 to 1826. By William Christy.

Reports of Cases adjudged in the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania. By Thomas Sergeant and William Rawle, jr. Vol. XIV. Philadelphia. P. H. Nicklin. 8vo.

A Practical Treatise on the Law of Venders and Purchasers of Estates. By E. B. Sugden, Esq. From the last London edition, with Notes and References to American Decisions. By Thomas Huntington. Boston. Hilliard, Gray, & Co.

Reports of Cases argued and determined in the Supreme Court of the State of Vermont. By Asa Aikens. Vol. I. 8vo.

A Treatise on the Principles and Practice of the High Court of Chancery. By H. Maddock, Esq. From the last London Edition, with additional American Decisions. By T. Huntington, Esq. Hartford. O. D. Cooke & Co. 2 vols. 8vo.

MEDICINE AND SURGERY.

The New York Medical and Physical Journal. New Series. Conducted by T. B. Bech, M. D. J. A. Smith, M. D. and others. No. I. April, 1828. New York. C. S. Francis. 8vo.

Medical Inquiries and Observations on the Diseases of the Mind. By Benjamin Rush, M. D. Third Edition. Philadelphia. J. Grigg. 8vo. pp. 365.

Observations on the Efficacy of White Mustard Seed in Affections of the Liver, Internal Organs, &c. By C. T. Cooke. New York. G. & C. Carvill.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Scelta di Prose Italiane tratte, da piu celebri Scrittori antichi e moderni, da Pietro Bachi. Cambridge. Carlo Folsom. 12mo.

Proceedings of the Massachusetts Episcopal Missionary Society at the Annual Meeting held in St Paul's Church. Boston. pp. 24.

Report of a Select Committee of the Legislature of Maine, in Relation to the Northeastern Boundary of that State, with an Appendix.

A Defence of the National Administration in an Address to the People of New Hampshire. By Cato.

Estractos de los mas Célebres Escritores Españoles en prosa i verso; siegunda edicion, revista, corregida, i mejorado por Mariano Cubi i Soler.

First Annual Report of the American Temperance Society. Andover. Printed by Flagg & Gould. 8vo. pp. 68.

An Appeal to the Temperate, on the Vice of Intemperance, in Three Parts. By Samuel Nott, jr. Albany. Webster & Wood, Printers. 12mo.

Tales and Selections from the English Souvenirs for 1828. Philadelphia. James Kay, jr. 12mo. pp. 300.

Beauties of the Waverley Novels. Boston. S. G. Goodrich. 18mo. pp. 456.

First Report of the New Hampshire Branch of the American Education Society. Portsmouth. 8vo.

A Selection in Prose and Poetry from the Miscellaneous Writings of the late William Crafts, to which is prefixed a Memoir of his Life. Charleston. 8vo. pp. 384.

A Review of the Mayor's Report on the Subject of Schools, so far as it relates to the High School for Girls. By E. Bailey. Boston. Bowles & Dearborn. 8vo. pp. 54.

A Moral Enquiry into the Character of Man. Part I. New York. E. Bliss. 8vo. pp. 78.

A Review of a late Pamphlet under the signature of Brutus. By Hamilton. First published in the Charleston Courier. Charleston. I. S. Burges. 8vo. pp. 105.

A Treatise on the Cultivation of Ornamental Flowers. By Roland Green. Boston. J. B. Russell. 12mo. pp. 59.

The Religious Instruction of the Slaves in the West India Colonies advocated. By the Rev. R. Watson. New York.

Critical Observations on a New System of Translation, with a Philosophical Inquiry into the Modes generally pursued in learning Languages. By M. Mariano Cubi i Soler. Boston.

A Tribute to the Memory of De Witt Clinton. Albany. 12mo.

Proceedings of the Pennsylvania Society for Discouraging the Use of Ardent Spirits. Philadelphia. 1827-8.

Freemasonry; its Pretensions exposed in faithful Extracts from its Standard Authors. By a Master Mason. New York. 1828. 8vo. pp. 306.

A Continuation of Remarks on the Character of Napoleon Bonaparte, occasioned by the Publication of Scott's Life of Napoleon. From the Christian Examiner, Vol. V. No. 2. Boston. Bowles & Dearborn. 8vo. pp. 23.

The First Annual Report of the Board of Managers of the Boston Mechanic's Institution, made January 7, 1828. Boston. John Cotton, Printer. 12mo. pp. 24.

The Legendary; consisting of Original Pieces in Prose and Verse. Edited by N. P. Willis. Boston. S. G. Goodrich. 12mo. pp. 286.

The Harbinger of Peace. No. I. Vol. I. for May, 1828. New York. 12mo.

Daily Monitor, or Reflections for each Day in the Year. By the Rev. Charles Brooks. Boston. N. S. Simpkins. 8vo. pp. 374.

The Recollections of Jotham Anderson. Second Edition enlarged. Boston. Bowles & Dearborn. 18mo. pp. 189.

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Extracts from the North American Review. No. 52.

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The notes are various in their kind; and not among the least frequent or useful are those of a philological character. The editor will not be accused of superfluity or prolixness in this part of his work; and his reasons for brevity are such as every person of similar experience will accept without hesitation.

National Gazette and Literary Register. July 13, 1827.

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In preparing this little volume from the writings of Ovid, great care has been taken to admit *nothing in the slightest degree indelicate*, or improper for the study of youth. One object has been to furnish examples of the different kinds of measure used by this polished

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The questions are designed to direct the student's attention to the subjects of the notes, as well as to those of the text; for a knowledge of the characters here introduced will generally facilitate a proper understanding of all subsequent studies in Latin and Greek.

Extracts from the United States Review and Literary Gazette, for August, 1827.

As in his Virgil, so in these selections from Ovid, Mr. GOULD has rejected the *order of construction* and the *interpretation* and for reasons, we think, perfectly satisfactory. The Notes, too, [in English] are of the same judicious character as those in his Virgil. And besides those which are intended to assist the pupil merely in the business of interpreting the author, many of them are devoted to the explanations of names which occur so frequently in the Metamorphoses, and which have so much to do with the fabulous history of ancient times.

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Preface to the Sixth Cambridge Edition.

It has long been a complaint, that the notes of Collectanea Græca Minora, being written in Latin, were not so useful as they might be to beginners, for whose use they were prepared. In this edition, therefore, the notes and lexicon have been translated into English; so that the work may be used without any previous knowledge of the Latin language. So numerous are the words and idioms in Latin authors, which may be illustrated by a knowledge of the Greek language, from which they were borrowed, that no reasonable man can doubt that the Greek should be studied first.

In this edition a few notes have been added, particularly upon the most difficult part—the extracts from Tyrtæus. The text also has been diligently compared with the latest and best editions of the works, from which the extracts were made, belonging to the library of Harvard University; and a few new readings have been introduced, which throw light on obscure passages. It is hoped, therefore, that those who have heretofore used and approved the work, will be still better satisfied with it, now that it is more free from errors, and more easy and instructive to young students.

COLLECTANEA GRÆCA MAJORA. Ad usum Academicæ Juventutis accommodata; cum Notis philologicis, quas partim collegit partim scripsit ANDREAS DALZEL, A. M. &c. Editio quarta Americana, ex Auctoribus correcta, prioribus emendatior, cum Notis aliquot interjectis. Cantabrigiæ, Mass. E prelo Universitatis. Sumptibus HILLIARD, GRAY et Soc. Bibliopolarum, Bostoniæ. 2 vols. 8vo. Price $7,00.

Extracts from a Review of this Edition.

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The chief object of the American editor, Professor JOHN S. POPKIN of Cambridge, was to make the book a correct one. It had gone through so many editions, and each new one had repeated so many of the errors of the last, and made so many of its own, that both the text and the notes had become very much disfigured. Not only accents and letters were often wanting, but words, and sometimes whole lines were omitted; especially in the notes. In the third American edition, these were in a good degree amended; in the fourth the same purpose has been most assiduously pursued. To do this the original sources of the notes and text were consulted, and these, together with other good editions of the several writers, were diligently compared. Not a few fractures and dislocations were repaired by means of an early edition of the Collectanea. When the sense was found broken and obscure, it appeared on examination that words, lines, and sometimes several lines had been omitted; particularly where a word was repeated at no great distance, the intervening words were sometimes passed over in printing.

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Not less than five hundred volumes were of necessity consulted.

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To the Publishers.

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In this state of things Mr. CLEAVELAND's well digested manual supplies a deficiency and obviates an objection, which has heretofore existed, to making Grecian Antiquities a separate and particular study in our Academies and Classical Schools.

WILLIAM CHAMBERLAIN,
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and many similar and curious operations in the vegetable kingdom. It is an indispensable accompaniment to one of the best books in the English language.

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Preface to the Second Edition.

The favorable reception of the first edition of this Treatise, has induced the Translator to revise it carefully, and to add to it a Second Part, containing the elements of *Perspective Drawing*, to which the First Part is a good introduction.

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lect from every branch of knowledge what was necessary to be known by a well-informed man, and to give popular views of the more abstruse branches of learning and science, so that their readers might not be incommoded, and deprived of pleasure or improvement, by ignorance of facts or expressions occurring in books or conversation. Such a work, it is obvious, must be of great utility to every class of readers. It has been found so much so in Germany, that it is met with every where, among the learned, the lawyers, the military, artists, merchants, mechanics, and in short among men of all stations. The reader may judge how well it is adapted to its object, from the circumstance that though it now consists of twelve volumes, seven editions, comprising about one hundred thousand copies, have been printed in less than fifteen years. A French translation is now preparing in Brussels. Nowhere could a work of this kind be so well executed as in Germany, since its object requires that it should be cheap in price, and at the same time contain an immense amount and variety of information. One great advantage of this work is, that when any matter is treated, which has been the subject of dispute and animadversion, the article is written by an advocate of the point in question, and afterwards the various conflicting opinions are stated. In this way, a liberal and impartial character has been given to the work.

In regard to the translation, the public may rest assured that every means shall be used to make it as interesting and valuable to American and English readers, as the original is to readers in Germany. Such articles, as have little interest out of Germany, will be omitted, and their place supplied by others adapted to the wants of the American and English public. In all cases this information will be brought down to the present time, thus giving the work a very decided advantage over even the very extensive Encyclopædias heretofore published in this country. The great improvements that have taken place since the larger part of Rees's and the Edinburgh Encyclopædias was published, will render it desirable for those who possess those works.

There can be no doubt that a work like the *Conversations-Lexicon* will be found peculiarly useful in this country, where the wide diffusion of the blessings of education, and the constant intercourse of all classes, create a great demand for general information.

The translation, additions, and corrections, will be superintended by Dr. Francis Lieber, assisted by Edward Wigglesworth, Esq.

The Publishers feel satisfied, that, by the efforts of those gentlemen, the work will be so prepared for publication, as to justify in this country the reputation it has obtained in Europe. Dr. Lieber is connected with many of the principal men of letters in Germany; he has resided for a considerable period in England, and is possessed of the talents, knowledge, and industry, needful to carry on such a work with success. Mr. Wigglesworth is a gentleman of ability and acquirements, acquainted with the condition and wants of his own country, and with the literature of Europe; and the Publishers feel assured, he is fully competent to give all needful assistance in fitting the work to the present condition of the United States. But, while they feel confident that the task of translating and arranging the *Conversations-Lexicon* for publication in America, is in safe and suitable hands, they have not neglected, and will not

neglect, any other means, that may come within their power, to make it as complete as possible.

Many gentlemen of distinguished literary ability have already agreed to give their aid in the preparation of the original articles, and the additions to those which are to be translated; and no exertions shall be spared to secure the aid of all who can in any way contribute to render the work worthy of patronage.

The AMERICAN BIOGRAPHY—which must be extensive for a work of this nature—will be furnished by Mr. Walsh, who has long paid particular attention to that branch of our literature, and from materials, in the collection of which he has been engaged for some years. For obvious reasons, the notices of distinguished Americans will be confined to deceased individuals. The European Biography will contain notices of all distinguished living characters, as well as those of past times.

The publishers believe it will be admitted that this work must be one of the cheapest ever published in this country. They are desirous to render it worthy to have a place in the best libraries, while at the same time they make the price so low as to put it within the reach of all who read, trusting that they may, by an extensive sale, be compensated for the great expenditure necessary in its preparation.

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I. It will be completed in twelve volumes, of from six to seven hundred pages each, handsomely printed on good paper, and upon the same type as the pages annexed to this prospectus.

II. The first volume will appear in May, 1829; and a volume will be published every three months, until completed. The work will be so far advanced before the appearance of the first volume, that the publishers have it in their power to assure the subscribers, that no delay will take place.

III. The price will be two dollars and a half per volume, strongly done up in muslin.

*** Orders for this work will be received by the publishers, or by any of the agents in the annexed list.

Letter from George Ticknor, Esq. of Boston.

Boston, Nov. 25, 1827.

Sir,—I am not acquainted with any book in a foreign language, which, I think, may be translated into English and published in the United States, with the needful alterations, with so much success as the Conversations-Lexicon, of which so many editions have been published in Germany. It seems to me to be suited, in a particular manner, to the present condition and wants of this country, because it contains more of that information which is useful and interesting to well-educated persons of all classes, than any other work with which I am conversant. It has made the fortunes of its publishers in Germany. It is about to be adapted to the wants of the rest of the continent, in a French translation just undertaken at Brussels; and I do not doubt, a similar adaptation of it to the United States, would be as fortunate and as successful as was the original work; because, the class of persons to whom it would be interesting, is much greater in this country than it is in Germany.

GEORGE TICKNOR.

Dr. Francis Lieber.

Letter from Dr. Charles Follen, Instructor in German in Harvard University.

Cambridge, Nov. 23, 1827.

Sir,—My opinion with respect to the translation of the Dictionary for Conversation into English, as proposed by Dr. Lieber, coincides entirely with the views which this gentleman and several eminent literary men of this country have already expressed. The Dictionary for Conversation owes its excellence, as well as its signal success, principally to this circumstance, that in Germany every one who aims at distinction in any science or art, commonly devotes himself almost exclusively to his particular pursuit. This devotedness to a single object is apt to be attended with a very imperfect acquaintance with other branches of knowledge, and it is this defect which occasioned the edition of a work which brought within the reach of every one the most interesting results of all the different departments of learning and industry. On the other hand, the profound knowledge contained in the works of those who have made a particular pursuit the object of their life, has enabled the compilers of that Dictionary to present to the public, in a concise manner, a great number of articles which are generally interesting, without being superficial. It is satisfactory not only to the general reader and scholar, to the philosopher and the historian, but to those also who are engaged in any particular business or profession, as farmers, mechanics, merchants, physicians, lawyers or theologians. Those articles of the work which do not fully deserve this praise, will certainly be improved in usefulness and interest for this country, by the translator and those literary men who are expected to assist him in this useful and patriotic undertaking.

CHARLES FOLLEN.

Letter from George Bancroft, Esq. one of the Principals of Round-Hill Seminary, Northampton.

Northampton, Dec. 22, 1827.

Sir,—I am very glad to hear that you seriously propose to publish the Conversations-Lexicon among us. It is the most convenient book for general reference, with which I am acquainted; and as for its popularity, the sale of more than seventy or a hundred thousand copies of it in Germany, establishes that point. It is for the past, what a newspaper is designed to be for the present,—a general summary of the most interesting things known, stated on the best authority, to which access could readily be had. There is one circumstance which I think is much in its favour. We have had Encyclopædias, compiled in France and Great Britain, each containing the current views on matters of science and letters, prevailing respectively in those countries. In the German work we shall have the materials a little differently wrought. There has been nothing of the kind at once so popular and so trustworthy.

I remain, with best wishes and sincere regards,

Respectfully yours,

GEORGE BANCROFT.

From Edward Everett, Esq. Member of the House of Representatives of the United States.

Winter-Hill, Charlestown, Nov. 17, 1827.

I entirely concur in the opinion expressed in the foregoing pages, of the merit of the Lexicon for Conversation. It is somewhat of the nature of an Encyclopædia, intended, however, for convenient and popular use. Although, of the great number of articles contained in it, all are not equally well executed, no work, that I am acquainted with, contains such an amount and variety of information, in a form so accessible and commodious. The alterations proposed by Dr. Lieber, seem to me calculated to render it still more valuable in this country; and with them, it will be, in my opinion, the best work for convenient general reference, in the English language. So deeply impressed have I been with the merit of the work, that, without having heard of Dr. Lieber's proposal to undertake a translation, I had determined to recommend to some of the principal booksellers to endeavour to procure a translator of it.

EDWARD EVERETT.

Extract from a letter from Joseph Story, Esq. one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States.

Salem, April 26, 1828.

Dear Sir,—I wish every success to your excellent undertaking. It will supply a desideratum in our libraries, which I have almost despaired of seeing supplied in my day. Please to consider me a subscriber to the work.

Dr. Francis Lieber.

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MACCHIAVELLI [NICCOLÒ.]

It is not easy to determine a man's disposition and character from his writings. When, however, as was the case in the governments of antiquity and the Italian republics of the middle ages, a man's writings are more the offspring of his political situation than mere exercises of his intellect; and more especially if they coincide with his conduct, they afford fair grounds for judging of the author's character.

This is the case with Niccolò Macchiavelli, the famous Florentine Secretary. The prejudices against this man, arising from an incorrect understanding of his treatise called Il Principe (The Prince,) have caused him to be regarded as the inventor of a detestable line of policy, called from him Macchiavellism, which teaches despotism the art of perpetuating its existence by fraud and violence.

He was born at Florence in the year 1469, of a noble family, whose members had enjoyed the highest dignities in the republic. Little is known of his youth, and nothing of his education, except that he studied under Marcellus Virgilius. On account of his distinguished talents, he was very early appointed Chancellor of the Florentine republic, and not long afterwards he was advanced to the post of Secretary of State, for which reason he is most commonly called Segretario Florentino. When Florence had recovered her liberty by the expulsion of the Medici, (see Medici,) and from fear of the exiled family had become involved in the ambitious wars and intrigues of Charles VIII., at a time when great political adroitness and a spirit of genuine republicanism were required in her envoys, Macchiavelli was several times charged with important embassies. He was four times plenipotentiary at the French court, twice at that of the Pope, and twice also at that of the emperor Maximilian. The republic acknowledged the great services of Macchiavelli, but rewarded them sparingly, so that he was sometimes obliged to pray the Signoria (supreme authority of the State) relative to his poverty. His advice was of great use to the commonwealth, at the time of the insurrection of Val di Chiana. The leading principles of his counsels, at this juncture, may be deduced from his numerous letters preserved in the Florentine archives. They were to maintain a peaceful and friendly spirit in the settlement of difficulties, to provide for an upright and strict administration of justice, to make the burden of taxes as light as possible, and to keep a watchful eye on the smallest circumstances that had relation to public concerns.

Even in regard to military affairs, the State was so convinced of the sagacity of his views, that they preferred his counsel to any other. Among other things, a Tuscan legion was established by his advice. This band at a later period distinguished itself remarkably under the command of Giovanni de Medici. When Pope Julius II. had succeeded in establishing a league in Italy against the overwhelming power of the French, Louis XII. to revenge himself and wound the dignity of the Pope in the tenderest point, attempted to assemble a council in Italy, and requested the Florentines to allow Pisa, which had become again subject to them, to be the place of meeting. Macchiavelli feared the papal thunders, and advised his countrymen to evade the proposal. He went with this view as envoy to the king, but the king would not be refused. After his return, he was sent to Pisa, to watch the proceedings of the council, and to labour for its dissolution. Nevertheless, the Pope was so indignant against the Florentines, that he formed an alliance with Ferdinand of Arragon to deprive them of their freedom, and by their means the power of the Medici was re-established. As Macchiavelli had laboured incessantly for the good of the republic, Lorenzo de Medici, now Dictator of Florence, seized the opportunity, in spite of a public decree, to strip him of his dignities. He was afterwards accused of participating in the conspiracy of Boscoli and Capponi against the cardinal Giovanni de Medici, imprisoned, put to the torture, and finally banished; all which he endured with a firmness approaching to indifference. After the cardinal became Pope, his punishment was remitted. He returned to his native country, and wrote his discourses on the ten first books of Livy; also his "Prince," which he dedicated to Lorenzo de Medici. Upon this he was received again into favour by this powerful family; and cardinal Julius, who ruled Florence in the name of Leo X., and earnestly desired to reform the condition of the place, availed himself of the advice of Macchiavelli in extinguishing various civil commotions. He was suspected of

being concerned in a new conspiracy against the Medici, but the only consequence was, that he was obliged to return to private life and to indigence.

When Julius, under the name of Clement VII., ascended the papal chair, Macchiavelli was again employed in public business; in particular, he was sent to aid the allied forces of the Pope and the Florentines in the defence of Tuscany against the army of Charles V. The confidence now reposed in him by the Medici, alienated from him the affections of the Florentines; and after his return to that place, he died on the twenty-second of June 1527, neglected and poor. It appears from the letters of his son Pietro to Francisco Nelli, that he manifested on his death-bed the feelings of a Christian. The account of the inaccurate Paulo Giovio that he died a suicide and an atheist, is not to be depended on.

The writings of the immortal Florentine may be arranged under four heads: history, politics, belles-lettres, and military treatises. His eight books on the history of Florence, written at the command of Clement VII., begin with the year 1215, and end with Lorenzo de Medici in the year 1492. They are among the first historical works of modern times, which deserve to be placed side by side with the beautiful remains of antiquity. Macchiavelli was probably prevented by death from completing this work, and is said to have left his collection of materials to Guicciardini. The history is distinguished for its pure, elegant, and flowing style; its impartiality is doubtful. The Life of Castruccio Castrucani, lord of Lucca, is more properly a romance than a biography. The hero, who is as great a villain as Cesar Borgia, is continually quoting apophthegms from Plutarch. Under the head of politics are included his two most important works, "The Prince," of which more will be said hereafter, and "The Discourses upon the ten first books of Livy." His purpose, in these last, is to show how a republic may be supported, and how it is exposed to ruin. The work breathes throughout a warm love of freedom. Filippo Nerli relates in his Commentaries, that Macchiavelli was induced to write these discourses, and those on the Art of War, by a number of young men who were accustomed to assemble with him in a garden in Florence, and had been made republicans by the perusal of the ancients. Montesquieu and Rousseau have both drawn freely from these works. In a treatise composed in the year 1519, upon a reformation in the state of Florence, he advises the Pope Leo X. to restore the republican form of government to this city, although he pretends to have the aggrandizement of the Medici in view.

His object in the seven books on the Art of War, was to show the Italians that they were able to recover their freedom without the assistance of the foreign mercenaries so generally employed in the states of Italy; and he shows himself fully sensible of the great importance of infantry, then little valued. Frederick the Great knew and esteemed this treatise. For the restoration of the comic drama also, the world is indebted to the Florentine secretary. His comedies La Mandragola and La Clizia, are the first regular dramas written since the time of the Romans. Voltaire preferred the first to any of the plays of Aristophanes. His other poems are full of thought. The novel entitled Belfagor is very fine, and has been versified by La Fontaine. His description of the pestilence which raged in Florence in the years 1522–3, may be compared with the similar account in Thucydides. He has written also many other treatises, all of which show the great man, besides several poems. Amongst his papers is a constitution for the regulation of a gay company, called Compagnia di Piacere.

"The Prince" has been often translated. The opinions of this work are very various, and may be divided into four classes. Some persons condemn it as intended to instruct tyrants in the art of oppression. This idea originated with the archbishop of Consa, Ambrosio Catarino, long after the book was given to the world. Bayle in his famous dictionary, and Frederick the Great in his Anti-Macchiavelli, which was translated, together with "The Prince," by the order of Mustapha III., are of the same opinion. But they mistake Macchiavelli's meaning, for his other writings as well as his life prove, that he loved liberty as ardently as the best spirits of any age.

Others consider "The Prince" as a satire, but this is improbable: the tone of the work is most serious throughout. Others still think it a work full of valuable counsel for princes, but infected with a looseness of morals which prevailed in the age of the writer; but Macchiavelli hated Alexander VI., Cesar Borgia, and all tyrants of his age. The correct opinion seems to be, that Macchiavelli was actu-

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NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

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OCTOBER, 1828.

ART. I.—*Danmarks og Hertugdommenes Statsret med stadigt Hensyn til dens ældere horfatning ved* JOH. FRED. WILHELM SCHLEGEL, &c.

The Present Public Law of Denmark, and of the Duchies, in Connexion with its Past State. By J. F. W. SCHLEGEL, Counsellor of Conferences, Doctor and Professor of Law in the Royal University of Copenhagen, Assessor to the Supreme Court, Knight of Dannebrog, &c. Vol. I. pp. 498. Copenhagen, 1827.

THE countries which compose the present dominions of the Danish monarchy, are an interesting object of attention in many points of view. This is a part of the northern hive, from whence issued forth those swarms of barbarians that subverted the Roman empire, and infused a fresh portion of vigor into the exhausted races of the South. Here are emphatically *gentis cunabula nostræ*. From these regions came the Anglo-Saxons, the Danes, and the Normans, by whom England was successively conquered, and repeopled after the extirpation of the original inhabitants, and from whom we derive our language, our laws, and whatever it is that peculiarly distinguishes us from other races of men.

The various fortunes of the different states of modern Europe which were built up on the ruins of the Roman empire form a singularly attractive subject of speculation to the political inquirer. They were all free in their primitive institutions and manners, and it is a wonder how such brave men were gradu-

ally fashioned to bow their necks to the double yoke of feudal and ecclesiastical tyranny. But the various mutations through which they have passed, until they have reached that condition of society in which we see the present kingdoms of Europe, deserve a still more scrutinizing examination. In some, the aristocracy triumphed over both the crown and the people. In others, the rights of every order were absorbed in the dazzling brilliance of the crown; whilst few had the wisdom or the good fortune to find refuge under the shadow of constitutional freedom. Take again that remarkable state which was founded, not by the rude invaders of the North, but by fugitives from the catastrophe of the falling Empire, on the sand-banks formed in the lagunes at the mouths of the Po, whence the proud mistress of the Adriatic raised her lofty turrets, and survived for so many ages every other dominion. For three centuries she retained her democratical form of government. The Doges, with almost sovereign authority, succeeded, and these again were stripped of almost all but nominal power, by an aristocracy the most jealous, crafty, cruel, and despotic that the world has yet seen.

The political revolutions of Denmark may be said to have taken an opposite direction. Like the other Scandinavian and Gothic kingdoms of Europe, the monarchy was originally elective, or rather the hereditary principle was so imperfectly established, that it may be said rather to have had reference to a dynasty, than to have indicated by any constant rule the individual who was to succeed to the vacant throne.* Four orders of the state were gradually formed, in the progress of society, with distinct political rights; the clergy, the nobility, the burghers of the towns, and the peasantry. Each of these orders had a right to be represented in the States General of the kingdom. Written constitution there was none; but on the accession to the throne of Christopher the Second, whose despotic inclinations were suspected by his subjects, the first capitulation was drawn up in 1320, to the faithful observance of which

* This elective quality of the crown, as well as its independence of the Papal See, is expressed with some energy by king Waldemar the Third, in his answer to the Pope's nuncio, who claimed an authority over him, according to the extravagant pretensions of the church of Rome in that age. 'Naturam habemus a Deo, regnum a subditis, religionem a Romanâ ecclesiâ; *quam si nobis invides, renuntiamus per præsentes.*'

his successors were compelled to take a solemn oath, before they were crowned, or acknowledged as kings. The last capitulation was that signed by Frederic the Third, in 1648, which provided that the crown should for ever be elective, and restrained the royal prerogative within still narrower bounds. As the clergy and the nobility, who possessed all the little learning of the age, drew up these capitulations, they were naturally more careful to insert such conditions as favored their own pretensions, than mindful of the rights and privileges of the other orders. The Reformation came, and with it a correspondent depression of ecclesiastical influence. The Protestant religion was declared to be the established religion of the state, but the clergy, no longer supported by the power of Rome, fell back into the second rank among the orders of the kingdom. The nobles, who now occupied the first rank, greedily seized upon the property of the church, which according to a resolution of the diet of Copenhagen ought to have been annexed to the domains of the crown, excepting so much as might be required for the support of the Protestant worship, of the public schools, and other charitable institutions. The peasants had already been deprived of their personal liberty in Zealand, and the adjacent islands. The nobles compelled the greater part of those in Jutland and Fionia to surrender their proprietary interests and consent to become their vassals and tenants. Thus they revenged upon this oppressed class the share it had taken in the insurrection in favor of the dethroned king Christian the Second, and abused for this purpose their power as intendants of the bailiwicks and administrators of the royal domains. The diets of the kingdom were rarely convoked, and the peasantry still more rarely summoned to attend them, though their right to be represented in these national assemblies was never formally questioned. Instead of the regular diets, were substituted convocations of the senators and nobility called *Herredage*. The calamitous wars of Frederic the Third had fully exposed those defects in the constitution of the government, which the heroic character and splendid abilities of Christian the Fourth had, to a certain degree, concealed from view. In fact, the nobility gradually encroached both upon the crown and the commons, until the state became an unmitigated aristocracy, under the name of a kingdom, and with the forms of a monarchy, as Venice was, under the name and with the forms of a republic. The resentment and despair of the clergy and the commons, which

were aggravated by the refusal of the nobility to bear their due proportion of the burthen of the new taxes required by the necessities of the state, found no other resource than the extreme one of rendering the government hereditary, and of conferring on the king the absolute powers of sovereignty. Lord Molesworth reproaches the Danes with the levity, which thus threw away, in a single day, the liberties of themselves and their posterity; and with that bitter spirit of sarcasm which pervades his work, he compares them to the Cappadocians of old. And the authors of the 'Voyage de Deux Français,' consider the *Lex Regia* as the very essence of despotism, and yet they very sagely conclude that the Danes have never had occasion to repent this surrender of their liberties! The truth is, they had no liberties to surrender; the burghers and the clergy were both oppressed by the nobles, and the peasantry were abject slaves, *glebæ adscripti;* it was only the feudal aristocracy who lost by the revolution of 1660.

Although the Danish literature is rich in treatises on the civil and criminal jurisprudence of the country, a work upon the public law of Denmark was still wanting. Foreign inquirers who sought for information respecting the political institutions of this kingdom, had recourse to the work of Lord Molesworth, entitled 'An Account of Denmark as it was in the Year 1692,' which bears too many marks of prejudice and passion, to be entitled to implicit confidence. Professor Schlegel has convicted his Lordship of gross inadvertence, at least, in very generously conferring upon the crown of Denmark the sovereignty of the Shetland islands, although they had been in possession of the Scottish king about a century and a half before he wrote. It is true they did once belong to Norway, and were pledged to Scotland; and the Danish government has often sought in vain to redeem them. Professor Schlegel concludes, that a writer so ignorant of the geography and history of his own country, or so careless as to his facts, cannot be entitled to much weight when he speaks of a foreign country. Yet a writer in the English Critical Review for 1826 (pp. 364–367), relies upon Lord Molesworth as an authentic and conclusive authority upon the subject of Denmark, praises his sagacity and information, and crowns his eulogium by vaunting the impartiality of the noble author, which a Dane very naturally takes for irony.

Professor Schlegel, the author of the work now before us,

is already known to the literary and political world by his controversy with Dr Croke, relating to the celebrated judgment of Sir William Scott in 1799, on the case of the Swedish convoy. He is also the author of several treatises on the municipal law and legal antiquities of his own country, and on subjects of general legislation, which, as they were published in German and Danish, are comparatively unknown except in the north of Europe. He has rendered an essential service to the public, by the present work, which contains a valuable body of information respecting the political law of Denmark, a subject very little understood in other countries. He has thrown upon it all the lights which could be derived from history, and has been careful to connect the present with the past by reverting to the primitive origin of institutions which have been gradually modified by time and circumstances, and which are much more complicated in their structure than is generally imagined.

The two first chapters of this volume treat of the Danish state in general, and of its civil and ecclesiastical independence. The author shows that the political maxim of the unity and indivisibility of the monarchy had been adopted as a part of the fundamental laws of the kingdom, as early as the reign of Gorm the Old in the tenth century. He strongly maintains the doctrine of its perpetual independence of the empire, and of the papal see. The territories now belonging to the Danish crown are, the kingdom of Denmark, and the Duchies of Sleswig, Holstein, and Lauenburg; Iceland, Greenland, and the Ferroe Isles; St Croix and St Thomas in the West Indies, and Tranquebar, with some other small possessions, in the East Indies. The *Duchies* are held in a different capacity from the crown of Denmark. They were fiefs of the empire, and each has its own peculiar constitution and system of internal administration. The duchy of Lauenburg is a recent acquisition. It belonged to Hanover, by whom it was ceded to Prussia, in exchange for other territories on the left bank of the Elbe, and again ceded by Prussia to Denmark in exchange for Swedish Pomerania, which Denmark had received from Sweden, as a partial compensation for the loss of Norway. In his quality of Duke of Holstein, the king of Denmark had a seat in the college of princes of the empire, and in the assemblies of the circle of Lower Saxony; is a member of the present Germanic confederation; has one of the seventeen votes in the smaller chamber of the diet at Frankfort; and contributes a contingent of 3,600 troops to the army of the confederation.

The fourth chapter treats of the ancient form of government in Denmark, and contains a historical deduction, showing how it was gradually modified by the increasing power and influence of the superior orders of the state, the clergy and nobility; and by such striking events as the introduction of Christianity, the organization and endowment of the church, the union of the three crowns of the North at Calmar in 1397, under Queen Margaret, and the Reformation in 1536. The kingdom was partly hereditary and partly elective, as was shown at the accession of a new dynasty, when Sveno, the son of a sister of Canute the Great, who as a collateral had no hereditary right, mounted the throne by the free choice of the people; and again when Christian the First was elected by the diet in 1448, and commenced the present reigning dynasty of the house of Oldenburg. Mr Schlegel examines the circumstances of the revolution of 1660–61, and shows that the government was rendered hereditary by an act of the diet of the thirteenth of October, 1660, and the king rendered absolute by another act of the tenth of January, 1661, although those who have undertaken to write this passage of history have confounded the two transactions. As there were some partisans of the crown among the senators and the nobility, the resistance of the aristocracy was much more feeble than it would have been, if they had not been thus divided. He insists that the people were great gainers by this revolution, which effectually bridled the aristocracy by whom they had been so long oppressed. A council of state was formed, composed of the most enlightened members of the community without regard to distinctions of birth, which was unfortunately abolished in 1670, in consequence of the jealousy of that all powerful minister, Chancellor Griffenfeld. The supreme tribunal and the administrative boards were filled by an equal number of nobles and commoners. The privileges which the *tiers état* secured by his change, by their being rendered capable of holding public employments, by the impartial and public administration of justice, and the establishment of a more equal system of taxation, confirmed the stability of the new order of things. He thinks that if this revolution had been, as some pretend, the effect of a mere court intrigue, it would not have been permanent. A similar change in the form of government which took place in Sweden twenty years afterwards, under Charles the Eleventh, did not cause the same astonishment, probably because it was not so enduring, which may

however be attributed to the extravagant abuse of his absolute power by Charles the Twelfth, and to the sudden demise of that monarch. The revolution under Gustavus the Third was effected with great facility, and the change of government might have become permanent, had it not been for the innumerable errors committed by his son. The author concludes that a people who regard their own interests will always prefer even an absolute monarch who may rule with moderation, to an aristocracy which must inevitably be oppressive.

However this may be, it is certain that the Danish people believed themselves reduced at this period to the desperate alternative of choosing between these two extremes. The aristocracy had acquired a complete ascendency over the other classes of the nation. They exercised their dominion with insolence and oppression. They cast all the burthens of the state upon the other orders, and monopolized to themselves all its privileges. They extorted from Frederic the Third, on his accession to the throne a capitulation, in which he not only acknowledged that he held his crown from their choice, but bound himself to act in subordination to the senate in the administration of the government, and to appoint to office from their recommendation. The peasantry were, as we have seen, in the lowest state of vassalage. The depressed and despised burghers had just saved the kingdom from foreign conquest, by their courageous defence of Copenhagen against the attack of the Swedes in the memorable seige of 1659. Under these circumstances, the diet was assembled, consisting of the nobles, the delegates of the clergy, and the deputies of the towns, the wretched peasantry being entirely omitted in the convention. The finances of the kingdom, exhausted by a disastrous war, required fresh supplies. The nobles irritated the other orders by insisting upon their ancient privilege of exemption from an equal participation in the burthens of taxation. Scenes ensued similar to those which marked the first meeting of the States General in France in 1789, but with actors of another stamp, and with a far different result. In a more enlightened age, this opportunity might perhaps have been improved to establish a limited monarchy with constitutional securities. But the clergy and the burghers, irritated at the insolent pretensions of the nobility, and aided by a party among the latter, released Frederic from the obligations of the capitulation which he had signed on his accession to the throne, declared the government hereditary in the house

of Oldenburg, and summoned the deputies of the peasantry to attend the diet. The revolution was completed by the act of the tenth of January, 1661, which conferred on the monarch the absolute authority of the nation.

At this distance of time, and with the imperfect means which we have of forming a judgment concerning a transaction which has been so much discolored by opposite passions and prejudices, it is difficult to form an impartial estimate of the characters and conduct of the authors of this revolution. Among the principal actors were Svane, bishop of Zealand (afterwards archbishop), and a leader of the ecclesiastical order; Annibal Sehested of the nobility; and Nansen, a burgomaster of Copenhagen, and prolocutor of the commons. The portrait of the first of these has been drawn by Professor Jens Möller in his biographical sketch of Archbishop Svane, inserted in a Danish publication called the Historical Calendar, and seems to lend some verisimilitude to the sombre coloring of Lord Molesworth's picture of this remarkable event. After all, whatever might have been the secret wishes of the court, and the designs of the leaders who favored its pretensions, it is not probable, even according to Lord Molesworth, that the revolution would have taken such a turn, had it not been for the folly and insolence of the nobility, who spurned the just claims of the other orders, and treated with contempt the sound and reasonable arguments by which they were maintained. To borrow his own words,

'This manner of arguing was very displeasing to the nobles, and begat much heat, and many bitter replies on both sides. At length, a principal senator called *Otto Craeg*, stood up, and in great anger, told the president of the city, that the commons neither understood nor considered the privileges of the nobility, who at all times had been exempted from taxes, nor the true condition of themselves, who were no other than slaves (the word in the Danish is *unfree*); so that their best way was to keep within their own bounds, and acquiesce in such measures as ancient practice has warranted, and which they were resolved to maintain. This word *slaves*, put all the burghers and clergy in disorder, causing a loud murmur in the hall; which *Nansen*, the president of the city of *Copenhagen*, and speaker of the House of Commons, perceiving, and finding a fit occasion of putting in practice a design before concerted (though but weakly) between him and the bishop, in great choler rose out of his seat, and swore an oath, *that the Commons were no slaves, nor would from thenceforth be*

called so by the nobility, which they should soon prove to their cost. And thereupon breaking up the assembly in disorder, and departing out of the hall, was followed by all the clergy and burghers. The nobles being left alone to consult among themselves at their leisure, after a little while adjourned to a private house near the court. In the mean time the commons, being provoked to the highest degree, and resolving to put their threats in execution, marched processionally by couples, a clergyman and a commoner, from the great hall or parliament-house to the Brewers' Hall, which was the convenientest place they could pitch upon to sit apart from the nobles, the bishop of Copenhagen and the president of the city leading them. It was there thought necessary to consider speedily of the most effectual means to suppress the intolerable pride of the nobility, and how to mend their own condition; after many debates, they concluded, that they should immediately wait upon the king, and offer him their votes and assistance to be absolute monarch of the realm, as also that the crown should descend by inheritance to his family, which hitherto had gone by election. They promised themselves the king would have so great obligations to them for this piece of service, that he would grant and confirm such privileges, as should put them above the degree of slaves. They knew he had hitherto been curbed by the nobility to a great measure; and now saw their own force, being able (since they had arms in their hands, and the concurrence of the soldiers) to perform what they undertook. At the worst, they supposed they should only change many masters for one, and could better bear hardships from a king, than from inferior persons. Or, if their case were not bettered, at least they thought it some comfort to have more company in it; besides the satisfaction of revenge on those that had hitherto not only used them ill, but insulted over them so lately. They knew the king, and had seen him bear with an admirable patience and constancy all his calamities; were persuaded that he was a valiant prince, who had often exposed his person for the sake of the public, and therefore thought they never could do enough to show their gratitude; which is the usual temper of the people upon any benefit received from their prince.'

Professor Schlegel proceeds to explain the history of the *Lex regia* of 1665, the causes which retarded its publication until the reign of Frederic the Fourth, and the contents of this fundamental law of the Danish monarchy. The edict called the law of *Indigenat*, promulgated under the late king Christian the Seventh, on the twenty-ninth of January, 1776, was also intended as a second fundamental law. It excluded foreigners, with a few exceptions, from public offices and employments. But the Danish publicists consider it as a maxim that the king

cannot part with any portion of the royal prerogative as fixed by the *Lex regia*. They therefore regard the edict of 1776 as merely directory, and not as furnishing a positive rule for the exercise of the royal prerogative. In fact it has been departed from in several rescripts and ordinances. The *Lex regia* regulates the succession to the throne, and confers on the king the whole legislative and executive power. It gives him the sole authority of making, repealing, amending, and interpreting the laws; of appointing to all offices civil and military; of commanding the forces and fortified places of the kingdom; of making peace and war; of levying taxes and duties; of exercising supreme jurisdiction over the ecclesiastics and ecclesiastical affairs.* This is a sufficiently compendious and comprehensive code of despotism. But in order to estimate the real nature and constitution of the government and its actual practice, it would be necessary to consider how far it has been modified by manners, usages, and institutions which have supervened, and which, though apparently inconsistent with the letter of this fundamental law, have very much mitigated its harsh and repulsive features. The increased and constantly increasing force of public opinion, the example of neighboring countries, the growth of European civilization, and the general diffusion of knowledge, have all had their influence.† Charters, parchments, seals, and other forms, are comparatively inefficacious; and as in a free government, so in one which is arbitrary in theory, more depends upon the general sense of mankind and the spirit of the people, upon that law which is written upon the hearts of men, than upon these mere instruments and conventional forms. Hence it happens that there are many things which a king of Denmark cannot venture to do in this age, which he might have done with impunity in those unsettled and barbar-

* The *Lex regia* does not extend to the duchies of Sleswig, Holstein, and Lauenburg, which are governed by their own peculiar constitutions and laws.

† Much pains has been taken during the present reign to promote the means of elementary education, and Lancasterian schools have been generally established throughout the country. We have now before us the Report made to the king by the Chevalier Abrahamson, of the progress, prospects, and present state of the schools for mutual instruction in Denmark, to the 28th of January, 1828, by which it appears, that 2371 schools for mutual instruction have been established, and are in full progress, in the different districts of the kingdom and in the army.

ous times when his nominal authority was much less than it is now, and has been ever since the revolution to which we have adverted. Hence it happens, that the government of Denmark, though in theory an unqualified despotism, has been of late years administered with mildness and forbearance. Among the circumstances of improvement in the internal administration which deserve to be noticed, is the entire emancipation of the peasants, who were formerly in a state of the most abject slavery, not only oppressed by their masters, but exposed to the grossest abuses in the exercise of the prerogative of purveyance in the royal progresses through the country. Their complete liberation was finally accomplished on the first of January, 1800, in consequence of the provisions of an edict issued in 1788 under the administration of the present king, then crown prince. Count A. Bernstorff, the celebrated prime minister of Denmark, who set the example by freeing his own peasants, and Count Raventloz, late minister of state, by their persevering efforts overcame the obstacles which this humane and liberal measure encountered from a portion of the aristocracy. This revolution is commemorated by a chaste monument erected by public subscription, on the high road near the western gate of Copenhagen, in 1792. It is a simple obelisk, of reddish freestone, standing on a pedestal of Norwegian marble, the base of which is adorned with classic bas-reliefs, representing the Roman ceremonies of emancipation, and four statues of Italian marble standing around it, emblematic of Fidelity, rural Industry, Courage, and Patriotism. The crown Prince himself laid the corner stone of this monument, the inscriptions on which (in Danish) express the public gratitude to 'the son of the king and friend of the people,' and recite that

'The king, being aware that civil liberty, regulated by just and equal laws, inspires the love of country, and courage in its defence, the desire of knowledge, love of labor, and hope of happiness, has therefore ordained, that servitude should henceforth cease; so that order and diligence may preside in the execution of the rural code, and that the husbandman, free, bold, enlightened, industrious, and good, may become an estimable and worthy citizen.'

This beneficent measure does great credit to the administration under which it was conceived and executed. It was very naturally followed by an edict of the sixteenth of March, 1792, prohibiting the African slave trade to be carried on by Danish subjects from and after the beginning of the year 1803, and in-

terdicting the importation of slaves into the Danish colonies after that period. It also established some regulations for the improvement of the mind, morals, and general condition of the black slaves in the Danish West India islands. This law has not, like the interdictions of some other countries, been suffered to remain a dead letter, but has been executed with good faith and constant vigilance.*

Among the political institutions of Denmark, which, in addition to the influence of other circumstances, have contributed to limit and restrain the theoretical despotism of the government, is that of the supreme tribunal, *Hoieste Rett.* By the text of the *Lex regia*, the faculty of interpreting the law is attributed to the monarch, and in fact justice is administered in his name in all the tribunals, but in general with great purity and independence. This is especially the case with the *Hoieste Rett*, which was instituted by Frederic the Third, in 1660, and ordinarily consists of fifteen judges, who hold their offices *quamdiu sese bene gesserint.* It is the court of the last resort in the kingdom, and the only one where the proceedings are entirely public, and the pleadings oral. In the inferior tribunals, the proceedings are private, and the pleadings in writing. An appeal lies to it from the highest tribunals in Iceland, the Ferroe Isles, and the Danish colonies in the East and West Indies. But the duchies of Sleswig, Holstein, and Lauenburg have their own peculiar systems of jurisprudence, and local tribunals of the last resort. The session of the supreme tribunal of the kingdom is opened on the first Thursday of March annually by the king in person, attended by the great officers of state, with great pomp and ceremony. It is held on that occasion in the palace of Rosenburg, a venerable building in the modern Gothic style, erected in 1604, by Christian the Fourth, from the designs of Inigo Jones. The great hall in which it assembles is peculiarly adapted to make a striking impression on such an occasion. It is hung with very beautiful old tapestries representing the wars and victories of Christian the Fifth, with appropriate inscriptions in German; the ceiling is enriched with historical paintings in oil, by the Danish artist Krogk; and the entablature filled with representations in stucco of several memorable events in the reign of Frederic the Fourth, in high relief, the

* Walsh's 'Appeal from the Judgments of Great Britain respecting the United States,' p. 320.

whole of which produces an impression not unworthy of the temple of national justice. The king is seated on his throne, at the foot of which are three massive lions of silver; and a cause is pleaded and decided before him *pro formâ*. On all other occasions, he is addressed, as if he were actually present, by the advocates, who turn towards the vacant throne, which stands between two long tables, at which the judges are seated, clothed in a costume copied from that of the parliament of Paris.

The fifth chapter of the author's work treats of the king's titles, and of the arms of the kingdom; and this subject is naturally connected with the history of the Danish orders of knighthood. These are only two, that of the *Elephant* and of *Dannebrog*. The former is said by some to have been founded by Canute the Sixth, who warred in the Holy Land, and restored Ptolemais, or St Jean d'Acre, to the Christians. But others assign it a much more modern date. The legend respecting the order of Dannebrog is, that king Waldemar the Second made war against the Pagans in Livonia, and the Danes having lost their standard in battle, a panic seized them, which was dissipated by the descent of a new standard from the sky, marked with a cross, upon which they rallied and defeated the enemy with great slaughter. Whereupon the king instituted the order of the knights of Dannebrog, or the national standard. This *oriflamme* was lost in battle in after ages, and the order itself fell into oblivion, until it was revived by Christian the Fifth in 1671.*

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* The praises of this national standard have been chanted by the Danish poet Ingemann. The following is a specimen of the spirit of his patriotic stanzas.

'Wave, crimson Dannebrog! on high,
And let thy white cross gleam afar,
Athwart the ocean as a star,
To guide thy sons to victory.

'Ensign proud, and banner fair,
Stream like a meteor to the air,
E'en in the midst of darkness, bright;—
Thee ne'er shall tempest scathe or blight.

* * * * *

'The tempest's voice, the surge's roar,
Shall waft thy fame from shore to shore,
And bear it to the blest abodes
Where sit thy heroes like to gods!

The sixth chapter of Mr Schlegel's work treats of a subject in which foreign nations have a deep interest;—the superiority claimed by the king of Denmark over the neighboring seas, and especially the Sound, and the two Belts, together with the consequent right of levying duties upon the commerce of other nations for the passage of these straits into the Baltic sea. It contains a very full historical deduction of the ancient Danish claim to an exclusive sovereignty over these seas, which was the origin of the Sound duties, and a detail of the different treaties and regulations now existing, by which they are levied and collected. His seventh chapter treats of the *regalian* right of coining money, and, in connexion with that subject, of the bank of Copenhagen, and its paper currency. The notes of the bank, which became extremely depreciated during the late war with England, have been redeemed and taken out of circulation, and the paper is almost at par under the present excellent administration of the bank. The eighth chapter treats of the royal posts, and their present organization. The Danish posts were established by Christian the Fourth, a monarch of whom the Danes are justly proud. Christian the Fifth granted them to his illegitimate son, Count Christian de Gyldenlowe, in the form of a fief of the crown, and the Norwegian posts to another of his sons. But they were reünited to the royal domain under Frederic the Fourth, who appropriated their revenues to pension the retired servants of the crown, their widows and children. The ninth chapter treats of the island of Bornholm, and the peculiar privileges enjoyed by its inhabitants. This island, which was ceded to Sweden by the treaty of Reeskilde in 1658, shook off the Swedish yoke by its own exertions in the following war, and surrendered itself to Frederic the Third, upon

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'Oh! oft hast thou inspired of old,
In battle-field our fathers bold;
And still shalt lead our children brave
To death or conquest on the wave.

'See where thy sons to combat rush,
To guard their land, their foes to crush,—
Ready their dearest blood to shed,
And emulate the glorious dead.

'Yes! proudly shalt thou wave on high,
O'er every sea, in every clime,
Till come the latest hour of time,—
Till thy Dania's spirit die.'

Wilson's Travels in Norway, &c. p. 459.

certain stipulated conditions, which are still observed. The inhabitants are enrolled in a local militia, well organized, and commanded by their own officers, and are exempt from the conscription for the army to which all other Danish subjects are liable.

The second volume of the present work will be soon published, and will give an account of the public law of the duchies of Sleswig, Holstein, and Lauenburg, and of the local organization of Iceland, the Ferroe Islands, and the Danish colonies in the East and West Indies. We propose to notice it when it shall appear, and also to give our readers some account of the civil and criminal codes of Denmark, and of its judicial institutions. Although we cannot quite agree with Lord Molesworth (who on this occasion seems determined to make amends for blackening the other features of the nation by painting every thing in respect to the Danish laws *en beau*), 'that for justice, brevity, and perspicuity, they exceed all that I know in the world,' yet there are doubtless some things in the legal institutions of this country which are worth examination. Among these are the Conciliation or Arbitration Courts *(Forligelses-Commission)*, which did not exist in Lord Molesworth's time, but were established by the present reigning monarch, and which experience has shown to be very useful in checking the spirit of litigation. The science of the legal antiquities of the country has also been diligently cultivated, and these, it is well known, are connected with our own *fontes originis juris*. The laws of Canute the Great have been studied and commented on by Professors Nyerup, Schlegel, and Kolderup-Rosenvinge; and though we regard these inquiries into the barbarous and antiquated jurisprudence of our remote ancestors as rather valuable for a history of manners than of laws, yet they may not be wholly without their use in the latter point of view. Mr N. Falck, one of the professors of jurisprudence in the university of Kiel, in Holstein, in the preface to a German translation of Blackstone's Commentaries, which he has recently published, has much insisted upon the importance of these analogical studies as throwing light upon German jurisprudence; and it is possible that this may reflect some in return upon the history and principles of the common law of England.

ART. II.—*The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England, to which is added an Historical View of the Affairs of Ireland.* By EDWARD EARL OF CLARENDON. A new Edition, exhibiting a faithful Collation of the original MS.; with all the suppressed Passages; also the unpublished Notes of Bishop Warburton. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press. Reprinted by Wells & Lilly, Boston.

WE shall make no apology for the few remarks we have to offer, on the appearance of the first American edition of 'The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars.' The demand for books of this description is one of the best proofs of the progress of good taste, and the spirit of inquiry. It is in the works of contemporary writers that true history is to be found; and this of Lord Clarendon is most valuable of its kind; whether we consider the importance of the events treated of, their peculiar relation to the early history of our own country, or the character and talents of the historian. That it has great faults is admitted; but in the very admission is implied no small compliment to the author, since, in spite of them, it is universally acknowledged to be one of the noblest works in our language.

'His diction,' says Johnson, 'is neither exact, nor in itself suited to the purpose of history. It is the effusion of a mind crowded with ideas, and desirous of imparting them; and therefore always accumulating words, and involving one clause and sentence in another. But there is in his negligence a rude, inartificial majesty, which, without the nicety of labored elegance, swells the mind by its plenitude and diffusion. His narration is not perhaps sufficiently rapid, being stopped too frequently by particularities, which, though they might strike the author who was present at the transactions, will not equally detain the attention of posterity. But his ignorance or carelessness of the art of writing, is amply compensated by his knowledge of nature and of policy; the wisdom of his maxims, the justness of his reasonings, and the variety, distinctness, and strength of his characters.'

However we may be disposed to agree in the truth of these remarks, there are serious defects in Lord Clarendon's History, as we shall presently show, which the political bias of Johnson led him to overlook. The 'particularities,' which he thinks objectionable, do not appear so to us, excepting perhaps in a few instances. On the contrary, one of the great charms of the

history, consists in the vivacity, and even humor, with which this great man dilates on the personal adventures of himself and his friends. 'The object of history,' says Voltaire, 'is the human mind;' and if the work before us be examined by this standard, it will be found that these episodes are full of the most useful as well as delightful matter. We see in them, not only the hearts of other men, but that of the historian himself, laid open to our view. What true lover of history would willingly give up any part of the spirited account of the surrender of Colchester, or of the truly romantic siege and capture of Pontefract Castle, or the curious details of the exiled Charles's little court, where many a politician may read his own character, and many a family its own history? Still more highly do we value those effusions of tenderness which the author pours out, whenever he has occasion to deplore the loss of a friend in the contests of that dreadful period. His description of the character and death of Lord Falkland is not surpassed in any language. Never did a friend more faithfully fulfil the duties of friendship, and never was a character more deserving of such devotion. Led on by his feelings, the historian runs out into many little details and anecdotes, which at once illustrate the character he is describing, and do honor to the goodness of his own heart. The reader, yielding to the irresistible force of genius, is carried back to the time and place of action. He sees Lord Falkland in the House of Commons, urging with all the eloquence of conviction the cause of conciliation. When it is resolved to decide the contest by arms, he seems to watch his manly form, wasting with anxiety and distress for the fate of his country; he hears his perpetual and mournful ejaculation of 'Peace, Peace.' He marks the alacrity with which he prepares for the fatal battle, goes with him to the field, sees him fall before his eyes; and for the moment forgets, even the cause he espoused, in sympathy with his fate.

It may be worth while to stop for a moment to compare this character with that of Hambden, an equally great and virtuous man of the opposite party, as drawn by the same hand. It is curious in this latter character, to observe the force of prejudice contending in the mind of the historian with a sense of justice and the love of truth. Dr Warburton truly observes, in a note on the character of Hambden, that while the author applies to him in conclusion what was said of Cinna, 'that he had a head to contrive, a tongue to persuade, and a hand to execute any

mischief,' every line shows that the historian believed him to be a man of honor and virtue, acting on wrong principles. There is a singular train of resemblance running through the fortunes and characters of these two interesting and ill-fated individuals. They were both distinguished by birth and fortune; Lord Falkland being allied to the greatest names in the kingdom; and Hambden, as Lord Clarendon tells us, 'of an ancient family and fair estate in the county of Buckingham.' They were both men of great bravery and accomplishments, distinguished talents, and most winning address. They were both remarkable for a certain frankness and openness of demeanor, as well towards those they despised, as those they esteemed. What is said of Lord Falkland in this particular, is also true of Hambden, as appears from his well known course of conduct. Of the former the following characteristic anecdote is related by lord Clarendon.

'The truth is, as he was of a most incomparable gentleness, application, and even a demissness and submission to good, and worthy, and entire men; so he was naturally (which could not but be more evident in his place, which objected him to another conversation and intermixture than his own election had done) *adversus malos injucundus;* and was so ill a dissembler of his dislike and disinclination to ill men, that it was not possible for such not to discern it. There was once, in the House of Commons, such a declared acceptation of the good service an eminent member had done to them, and, as it was said, to the whole kingdom, that it was moved, he being present, "that the speaker might, in the name of the whole House, give him thanks;" "and then, that every member might, as a testimony of his particular acknowledgment, stir or move his hat towards him;" the which (though not ordered) when very many did, the Lord Falkland (who believed the service itself not to be of that moment, and that an honorable and generous person could not have stooped to it for any recompense), instead of moving his hat, stretched both his arms out, and clasped his hands together upon the crown of his hat, and held it close down to his head; that all men might see how odious that flattery was to him, and the very approbation of the person, though at that time most popular.'

To pursue the comparison; the difference between them in political opinions is by no means so great, as the circumstance of their both meeting death, the one in the king's army, the other in that of the parliament, would seem to indicate. In this, as in every other revolution, the shades of difference in

opinion are as various as the characters of individuals. In the early part of the long parliament, as in the preceding one, Hambden was remarkable for mildness and moderation. This, of course, is imputed by different writers to different motives. That he was sincere, may be inferred from the evidence of Lord Clarendon himself, who says, 'that after he was among those members accused by the king of high treason, he was much altered, his nature and carriage seeming much fiercer than it did before.' This the historian sets down to deliberate design, and his former dispassionate conduct, to 'observation that the season was not ripe, rather than that he approved the moderation.' An unprejudiced writer would have adopted the obvious solution, that the absurd conduct of the king in the impeachment of the five members, satisfied Hambden, as well as every other clear-sighted man, that the die was cast, and that either the king or themselves must be reduced by force. As Hambden in the first stages of the dispute, excited the distrust of his party by attempting, to use lord Clarendon's expression, 'to moderate and soften the violent and distempered humors,' so the Lord Falkland, as the same historian tells us, 'by some sharp expressions he used against the archbishop of Canterbury, and his concurring in the first bill to take away the votes of the bishops in the House of Peers, gave occasion to some to believe, and opportunity to others to conclude, that he was no friend to the church and the established government.' He further says, 'The great opinion he had of the uprightness and integrity of those persons who appeared most active, especially of Hambden, kept him from suspecting any design against the peace of the kingdom, and though he differed from them commonly in conclusion, he believed long their purposes were honest.' It is worth observing upon how slight a difference in the outset these two disinterested lovers of their country were driven to take arms against each other; and to complete the parallel between them, if any thing were wanting to add to the horrors of civil war, it is the reflection that two such men, formed to esteem and respect each other, to walk hand in hand in a noble emulation for the good of their country and the happiness of mankind, should each have fallen in arms against his own countrymen, in a petty skirmish, and by an unknown hand. The fate of Hambden is thus related by lord Clarendon in describing the engagement of Chalgrave Field.

'And one of the prisoners who had been taken in the action said,

" he was confident Mr Hambden was hurt, for he saw him ride off the field before the action was done, which he never used to do, and with his head hanging down, and resting his hands upon the neck of his horse ;" by which he concluded he was hurt. But the news of the next day made the victory much more important than it was thought to have been. There was full information brought of the great loss the enemy had sustained in their quarters, by which three or four regiments were utterly broken and lost. The names of many officers, of the best account, were known, who were either killed upon the place, or so hurt as there remained little hope of their recovery; of which Mr Hambden was one, who would not stay that morning till his own regiment came up, but put himself a volunteer in the head of those troops who were upon their march, and was the principal cause of their precipitation, contrary to his natural temper, which, though full of courage, was usually very wary; but now carried on by his fate, he would by no means expect the general's coming up; and he was of that universal authority, that no officer paused in obeying him. And so, in the first charge, he received a pistol shot in the shoulder, which broke the bone, and put him to great torture; and after he had endured it about three weeks or less time, he died to the most universal grief of parliament that they could have received from any accident.'

The death of Lord Falkland, in an action near Glocester, occurred shortly afterwards, in the same year.

'In the morning before the battle,' says Lord Clarendon, 'as always upon action, he was very cheerful, and put himself in the first rank of the Lord Byron's regiment, who was then advancing upon the enemy, who had lined the hedges on both sides with musketeers; from whence he was shot with a musket in the lower part of the belly, and in the instant falling from his horse, his body was not found till the next morning, till when there was some hope he might have been a prisoner; though his nearest friends, who knew his temper, received small comfort from that imagination. Thus fell that incomparable young man, in the four and thirtieth year of his age, having so much despatched the business of life, that the oldest rarely attain to that immense knowledge, and the youngest enter not into the world with more innocence. Whosoever leads such a life, need not care upon how short warning it be taken from him.'

Our regret at the untimely fall of Falkland and Hambden is lessened, when we call to mind, that the former was spared the disgrace and ruin which overwhelmed his party; while the latter was taken away before those clouds arose, which soon after veiled the hopes of the friends of liberty. What effects

their influence might have produced on succeeding events, it is useless now to conjecture. We have been the more minute in following out this parallel, as it illustrates not only the characters of the two individuals, but the progress of public opinion in the course of the dispute between the king and the parliament. At the opening of the long parliament, the discontent caused by the arbitrary and illegal conduct of the king and his ministers was universal. The impeachment of the Earl of Strafford, which may be considered as the declaration of hostilities, was carried in the House of Commons by an unanimous vote. No fact can more clearly speak out the state of public feeling. A most able and powerful minister, possessing, besides his great personal accomplishments, the highest favor with his sovereign, and the fullest assurance of his protection, is impeached in an unusually full house, without one dissenting voice. 'Save only,' says Clarendon, 'that the Lord Falkland (who was well known to be far from having any kindness for him), when the proposition was made for the present accusing him of high treason, modestly desired the house to consider, "whether it would not suit better with the gravity of their proceedings, first to digest many of those particulars which had been mentioned by a committee; (declaring himself abundantly satisfied that there was enough to charge him;) before they sent up to accuse him."' To this a decisive answer was given by Mr Pym, that the delay would be fatal, as the earl would either persuade the king to dissolve the parliament, or make his escape, and thus frustrate their design. Even Mr Hume, in speaking of the state of opinions at this juncture, has the following remarks.

'So little apology would be received for past measures, so contagious the general spirit of discontent, that even men of the most moderate tempers, and the most attached to the *church* and monarchy, exerted themselves with the utmost vigor in the redress of grievances, and in prosecuting the author of them. The lively and animated Digby displayed his eloquence on this occasion, the firm and undaunted Capel, the modest and candid Palmer. In this list, too, of patriot royalists, are found the virtuous names of Hyde [Lord Clarendon] and Falkland. Though, in their ultimate views and intentions, these men differed widely from the former [Pym, Hambden, and others], in their present actions and discourses an entire concurrence and unanimity was observed.'

A little further on the same writer adds;

'Every meeting of the Commons produced some vehement

harangue against the usurpations of the bishops, against the high commission, against the late convocation, against the new canons. So disgusted were *all lovers of civil liberty*, at the *doctrines promoted* by the clergy, that these invectives were received without control; and no distinction at first appeared between such as desired only to repress the disorders of the hierarchy, and such as pretended totally to abolish episcopal jurisdiction.'

After some farther observations, Mr Hume, with what seems to us strange inconsistency, closes his remarks on the subject of religious disputes with the following paragraph.

'It may be worth observing, that all historians, who lived near that age, or what perhaps is more decisive, all authors, who have casually made mention of those transactions, still represent the civil disorders and convulsions as proceeding from religious controversy, and consider the political disputes about power and liberty, as entirely subordinate to the other. It is true, had the king been able to support government, and, at the same time, to abstain from all invasion of national privileges, it seems not probable that the Puritans ever could have acquired such authority as to have overturned the whole constitution. Yet so entire was the subjection into which Charles was now fallen, that had not the wound been poisoned by the infusion of theological hatred, it must have admitted of an easy remedy. Disuse of parliaments, imprisonments and prosecutions of members, ship money, an arbitrary administration; these were loudly complained of; but the grievances which tended chiefly to inflame the parliament and nation, especially the latter, were the surplice, the rails placed about the altar, the bows exacted on approaching it, the breach of the Sabbath, embroidered copes, lawn sleeves, the use of the ring in marriage, and of the cross in baptism. On account of these were the popular leaders content to throw the government into such violent convulsions; and to the disgrace of that age, and of this island, it must be acknowledged that the disorders of Scotland, entirely, and those in England mostly, proceeded from so mean and contemptible an origin.'

How this last quotation is to be reconciled with the fact stated in the foregoing, that the friends of the church in the outset were as eager for redress of grievances in general, as the most rigid of the Puritans, we leave to others to determine. We shall not undertake to expose minutely the sophistry and misrepresentations of Mr Hume in relation to this portion of English history. That task has already been thoroughly performed by several writers, particularly by Mr Brodie in his 'History of the British Empire from the Accession of Charles the First, to the Restoration,' a work which wants nothing but the spirit and

elegance of Mr Hume, to be one of the most entertaining, as it is one of the most valuable productions of the present day.

With regard, however, to the particular class of grievances on which Mr Hume is so sarcastic, we have a few remarks to make. We agree entirely with that historian, that all writers who have made mention of the transactions of that age, have attached great importance to the religious controversies which then agitated the nation. The violent and oppressive proceedings of the High Commissioners had swelled up a dispute, in its origin trivial and unimportant, into a grave question, involving the liberties and lives of a considerable portion of the community. In this point of view it is immaterial whether the act of oppression is one which affects mind, body, or estate. If the rights of either are invaded, resistance is as justifiable in the one case as the other. We cannot, therefore, perceive the propriety of Mr Hume's distinction between this class of grievances and the other encroachments on the liberty of the subject. Whatever the extent of the evil may have been, it formed a perfectly just ground of remonstrance; although we have been unable to discover the authority on which Mr Hume asserts, that it was the dispute about religious ceremonies which chiefly tended to inflame the parliament and people. Lord Clarendon, who is of the same party, in describing the state of feeling on the opening of the long parliament, gives a very different account, so far as regards that body.

'In truth,' says this historian, 'in the House of Peers, there were only at that time taken notice of, the lords Say and Brooke, and they believed to be positive enemies to the whole fabric of the church, and to desire a dissolution; the Earl of Warwick himself having never discovered any aversion to episcopacy and much professed the contrary. In the House of Commons, though of the chief leaders, Nathaniel Fiennes, and young Sir Harry Vane, and shortly after Mr Hambden (who had not before owned it) were believed to be for root and branch, which grew shortly after a common expression and discovery of the several tempers; yet Mr Pym was not of that mind, nor Mr Hollis, nor any of the northern men, or those lawyers who drove on most furiously with them; *all who were pleased with the government itself of the church.*'

Among the leaders of the same party were John Selden and Algernon Sydney. The author of *Table Talk* will not be charged with fanaticism, and Sydney is thought to have been a

free-thinker. Whatever causes of exasperation may have arisen afterwards, it is certain that the evils growing out of the aggressions of the church, were not then looked upon as of paramount importance. To make this appear, we shall in the first place point out some of the leading causes of discontent, independent of religion, and afterwards endeavor to show, that whatever may have been the origin of the theological controversy, it had come, in the year 1640, to involve something more than the rails at the altar, the ring, the cope, and the lawn sleeves. It will require an authority greater even than Mr Hume, to convince the world in our time, that the degree of exasperation which is admitted on all hands to have then pervaded the British empire, is to be attributed to matters of this sort. It is an anomaly which is contradicted by all experience. We will now take a nearer view of the state of England at the period in question, and see what were the causes of uneasiness, as they are gathered from public documents and the testimony of historians of all parties. We shall thus be able to form our own judgment as to the importance of those political disputes about *power and liberty*, which Mr Hume would have us believe were entirely subordinate to *religious controversy*.

First on the list, we shall place *monopolies*, because they constitute the most obnoxious and impolitic of all grievances. It hardly need be stated, that it had been the habit of English sovereigns to provide for a rapacious favorite, or raise a sum of money on any sudden emergency, by granting to individuals or companies the exclusive right of making and selling certain articles, without the least regard to the claims of those who had gained their livelihood by the same means. This abuse had by degrees become so intolerable, that in the reign of James the First, monopolies were declared illegal by act of parliament. Charles, however, in his necessities, not only revived them, but went beyond any of his predecessors in this odious species of exaction. To show the effect of this one item in its full force, it may not be amiss to give the articles thus granted to monopolists in the time of Queen Elizabeth, to which *soap* and *linen rags* were added by king Charles. The following is the list of them, as enumerated by Mr Hume.

'Currants, salt, iron, powder, cards, calfskins, felts, pouldavies, ox-shin-bones, train oil, lists of cloth, potashes, aniseeds, vinegar, sea-coals, steel, aquavitæ, brushes, pots, bottles, saltpetre, lead, accidence, oil, calamine stone, oil of blubber, glasses, paper,

starch, tin, sulphur, new drapery, dried pilchards, transportation of iron ordnance, of beer, of horn, of leather, importation of Spanish wool, of Irish yarn.' 'These monopolists were so exorbitant in their demands,' continues Mr Hume, 'that in some places they raised the price of salt from sixteen pence a bushel to fourteen or fifteen shillings.' 'In order to secure themselves against incroachments, the patentees were armed with high and arbitrary powers, from the council, by which they were enabled to oppress the people at pleasure, and to exact money from such as they thought proper to accuse of interfering with their patent.' 'And while all domestic intercourse was thus restrained, lest any scope should remain for industry, almost every species of foreign commerce was confined to exclusive companies, who bought and sold at any price that they themselves thought proper to offer or exact.'

Besides all this, King Charles's privy council, without consent of parliament, had not only continued the rude species of impost, called tonnage and poundage, but, by its own authority, added fifteen *per centum* to the *Tariff*, or Book of Rates. In addition to these burdens, the city of London had been, in the most arbitrary manner, deprived of its charter, which it was obliged to repurchase by the payment of a heavy fine. If these were vexatious impositions on the trading and commercial classes, we shall find that the other orders of citizens were by no means exempted. One of the well known expedients of this monarch to supply his necessities, was that of *forced loans*, by which every subject in the kingdom was *doomed* to pay any sum the privy council should think proper to exact. At the period in question, many of the first men in England were lying in prison for having refused to submit to this oppression. Ship money too had been introduced, under pretence of public danger, in time of profound peace, and each county was assessed a given sum to provide the king a ship. The nobility and gentry were vexed with the obsolete demands of knight's fees and wardships; the landlords generally were in a state of alarm, in consequence of the seizure of large tracts of country to make additions to the king's forests; while the tenantry were equally exasperated, by the billeting of soldiers upon them without consent or remuneration. To complete the general disgust, commissions had been issued in the several counties with authority to supersede the established tribunals, and to try and punish offences by martial law. When it is considered that most or all the foregoing were matters cognizable in the Court of Star Chamber, and that the king by consenting to the petition of

right in 1628, twelve years before, had expressly abolished them; it cannot but strike every man of reflection with surprise, that Mr Hume should so far have lost sight of the duty of an historian, as to throw these circumstances into the shade. It was the obvious design of this accomplished writer to justify the Stuarts, particularly Charles the First, by seeking precedents in the preceding reigns for all the odious measures of that unhappy and misguided prince. In order to bring about this object, he is obliged to resort to some unworthy expedients. All the enormities of Queen Elizabeth's government are enumerated by him with great exactness, and condemned in the broadest terms, while the instances in which the Stuarts went beyond that princess in the exercise of the prerogative, are either palliated, or passed wholly by. We shall cite one instance out of many. It is that of *ship money*. In relating the events of the year 1626, the second of King Charles's reign, Mr Hume says,

'In order to equip a fleet, a distribution by order of the council was made to all the maritime towns; and each of them was required, with the assistance of the adjacent counties, to arm so many vessels as were appointed them. The city of London was rated at twenty ships. This is the first appearance, in Charles's reign, of ship money; a taxation which had once been imposed by Queen Elizabeth, but which afterwards, when carried *a few steps farther* by Charles, created such violent discontents.'

Here is a statement which is not absolutely untrue, and yet it is not difficult to prove, that Charles is the first English monarch who ever exacted ship *money* of his subjects as a source of revenue. A faint resemblance to this tax is found in the ancient Dane-gelt, a primitive kind of tax, resorted to when the kingdom was threatened with an incursion of the Danes; the proprietor of a given number of acres being called on to provide a horseman, those of a greater amount to furnish a ship. This had, however, been long disused, and no precedent can be found later than the reign of Edward the Third, for anything resembling it. Even the writs of that period merely authorized the crown to impress ships in the seaports on any sudden emergency, to be paid for by the public. The only precedent then was to be found, according to Mr Hume, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth; and what was it? That most dreadful exigency, the invasion of England by the Spaniards; one of those emergencies when all laws are suspended,—when the lives and properties of all are surrendered up for the general defence.

That great princess, in this appalling crisis, did no more than second the zeal of her subjects, every class of whom was called on to contribute its share to the public service. The only question was, how it could be most effectually employed, all men seeing that their liberties and property were at stake.

'At this time,' says Mr Hume, 'the royal navy consisted only of twenty-eight sail, many of which were of small size, while the Spanish fleet amounted to one hundred and thirty galleons. All the commercial towns in England were required to furnish ships to reënforce this small navy; and they discovered, on the present occasion, great alacrity in defending their liberty and religion, against the imminent perils with which they were menaced. The citizens of London, in order to show their zeal in the *common cause*, instead of fifteen vessels which they were commanded to equip, *voluntarily* fitted out double the number. The gentry and nobility hired, and armed, and manned, forty-three ships at their own charge; and all the loans of money which the queen demanded were frankly granted by the persons applied to.'

This is Mr Hume's precedent; which, it may be observed, extends equally to forced loans, as to ship money, the former of which, he himself expressly states, was once recommended by Lord Burleigh to Queen Elizabeth, but never carried into effect. This is a most extraordinary authority to bring forward for a tax of any sort. Upon the same principle, the military associations formed throughout the kingdom, when threatened with invasion by Bonaparte, would at any time be a sufficient precedent for a *levy en masse*. But allowing Mr Hume the advantage of it as far as it will serve him, we will proceed to examine the *few steps* taken by King Charles in advance of Queen Elizabeth, in this species of taxation. The first and by no means a trifling one, as will be seen by and by, is not thought worth mentioning at all by the historian; namely, the altering of the patents by which the judges held their offices, from the tenure of good behavior, to that of the king's pleasure. Another very important step, was demanding this tax at a time when no immediate danger existed, which certainly could not be said in the case of Queen Elizabeth. The first writs in the reign of Charles were directed to the seaport towns only, demanding, not ship *money*, but a given number of vessels. The next step was in 1634, to levy ship money upon the whole kingdom; each county being rated at a particular sum, which was afterwards assessed upon the individuals. This caused universal

discontent; insomuch that the king, in order to discourage all opposition, proposed this question to the judges; 'Whether in case of necessity, for the defence of the kingdom, he might not impose this taxation; and whether he were not the sole judge of the necessity?' 'These guardians of the law and liberty,' says Mr Hume, 'replied with great complaisance, "that in a case of necessity, he might impose that taxation, and that he was the *sole judge of the necessity.*"' Here was a stride which at once overstepped all the boundaries of law, and left the subject completely at the mercy of the crown. In this stage of the question it was, that Mr Hambden resolved, rather than tamely submit to so illegal an imposition, to stand a prosecution, and expose himself to all the indignation of the court. The case was argued twelve days in the exchequer chamber before the twelve judges, who gave judgment for the crown, four of them dissenting. The observations of Lord Clarendon on this decision, and on the characters of Noy and Finch, principally in reference to the matter of the ship money, although too long to be here inserted, discover a candor and sincerity we in vain look for in Mr Hume, and are enough of themselves to refute the proposition of the latter, in regard to the main origin of the civil wars.

We will now proceed to take a very general view of the progress of this controversy, and the actual state of the question, when the long parliament was convened; by which we think it will appear, that so far from being the puerile affair Mr Hume would be glad to represent it, the narrow policy of King Charles and his predecessors had raised up, from a small beginning, a system of persecution, which was only equalled by the enormities already enumerated. The complaint of the nonconformists, from the accession of Queen Elizabeth, had always been, the *compelling by law*, the use of habits and ceremonies in themselves indifferent. When the Protestant religion was reëstablished, on the accession of that princess, very little difference of opinion existed among the members of the English church in regard to articles of belief. A large body, however, both of the clergy and laity, were disposed to follow the example of their neighbors, the Scotch, and the reformed churches on the continent, in laying aside, not only the faith, but the vestments and ceremonies of the Romish church. A very strong party was equally bent on retaining them, among whom was the queen herself, who so far forgot her usual good sense, as to enter

warmly into the controversy. In the first year of her reign were passed the acts of supremacy and uniformity, by the former of which the queen was authorized to establish a Court of High Commission, 'with full power in ecclesiastical matters, to visit, reform, redress, order, correct, and amend all errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, contempts, offences, and enormities whatsoever.' By virtue of this act, a Court of High Commission was soon raised, and not long after, the clergy were assembled in convocation, to settle the articles of belief, as well as the rites and ceremonies of the church. The vote for retaining the ceremonies passed the lower house of convocation by a single voice. The parochial clergy, however, were not very rigid in their adherence to all the forms prescribed, which gave so great offence to some of the bishops, that the matter was laid before the queen. Among other things equally momentous, it was represented to her majesty, 'that some administer the communion with surplice and cope; some with surplice alone; others with none; some with chalice, others with a communion cup; others with a common cup; some with unleavened bread, and some with leavened. That some receive kneeling, others standing, others sitting; some baptize in a font, some in a bason, some sign with the sign of the cross, others sign not; some minister in a surplice, others, without; some with a square cap, some with a round cap, some with a button cap, some with a hat; some in scholars' clothes, some in others.' The queen was highly displeased with this report, and gave orders that all ministers who did not comply with the act of uniformity, should be deprived of their livings, or otherwise dealt with, as the Court of High Commission should direct. Here was a door opened for the most serious disputes, both parties as usual being tenacious and intolerant, just in proportion as the matter in question was futile and insignificant. The nonconforming ministers were hunted and vexed, until they began, to use Mr Neal's expression, 'to break off from the public churches, and to assemble as they had opportunity, in private houses, or elsewhere, to worship God in a manner that might not offend against the light of their consciences.' 'Here,' he adds, 'was the era or date of the *separation*,' the inevitable consequence of the previous coercive measures. Thus matters went on for nearly twenty years, until the vexations of the nonconformists were become so intolerable, that notwithstanding the well known prejudice of the queen, in the year 1593, the subject was brought before parliament.

'Morrice, chancellor of the dutchy, and attorney of the court of wards, made a motion for redressing the abuses in the bishops' courts, but above all in the High Commission; where subscriptions, he said, were exacted to articles at the pleasure of the prelates; where oaths were imposed, obliging persons to answer to all questions without distinction, even though they should tend to their own condemnation; and where every one, who refused entire satisfaction to the commissioners, was imprisoned without relief or remedy.' This step threw her majesty into a great rage; 'she charged the speaker,' says Mr Hume, 'on his allegiance, if any such bills were offered, absolutely to refuse them a reading, and not so much as to permit them to be debated. This command of the queen was submitted to without further question. Morrice was seized in the house itself, by a sergeant at arms, discharged from his office of chancellor of the dutchy, incapacitated from any practice in his profession as a common lawyer, and kept some years prisoner in Tilbury Castle.' 'The queen,' continues the same historian, 'having thus expressly pointed out both what the house should and should not do, the commons were as obsequious to the one as to the other of her injunctions. They passed a law against recusants; such a law as was suited to the severe character of Elizabeth, and to the persecuting spirit of that age. It was entitled, *An act to restrain her majesty's subjects in their due obedience;* and was meant, as the preamble declares, to obviate such inconveniences and perils, as might grow from the wicked practices of seditious sectarians and disloyal persons; for these two species of criminals were always at that time confounded together, as equally dangerous to the peace of society. It was enacted, that any person, above sixteen years of age, who obstinately refused, during the space of a month, to attend public worship, should be committed to prison; that if, after being condemned for this offence, he persist three months in his refusal, he must abjure the realm; and that, if he either refuse this condition, or return after banishment, he is to suffer *capitally as a felon,* without benefit of clergy.'

This act should have been entitled, 'An act for the encouragement and propagation of heresy and nonconformity.'

It is unnecessary to recite the instances of suffering and injustice during the remainder of this, and a part of the subsequent reign, resulting from this law; but it should never be forgotten, that it was shortly after the passing of it, that the migration to Holland took place, which more than twenty years afterwards led to the settlement of New England. We have just seen Mr Hume's opinion on this subject in the reign of Elizabeth. In that of Charles, he thinks resistance to such meas-

ures reflects disgrace upon the age; an age in which the very paragraph just cited might have cost the free-thinking historian his head. King James, with all his faults, was not of a persecuting temper, and happily, not long after his accession, on the death of Dr Bancroft, the primacy fell into the hands of Dr Abbott. During the life of this mild and judicious prelate, the church enjoyed a state of comparative peace. In the year 1633, the bigoted and intolerant Laud succeeded Abbott in the primacy, and, as if the unhappy Charles was doomed to inevitable destruction, rekindled the slumbering fires of religious persecution. This haughty prelate went beyond any of his predecessors in his zeal for conformity, insomuch that great numbers of the Puritans were driven to seek relief in exile. Even this, which was permitted by the act of Elizabeth, was denied them at last, and nothing was left for them, but to wait with patience for some favorable turn of affairs.

This was the state of things with regard to religion, in 1640, when the long parliament met. Now, that the origin of this controversy was altogether trivial, we readily grant. The omitting to wear a cope or a surplice, is certainly a small matter; what then are we to think of a government, which punishes such an offence with fine, pillory, and imprisonment? The more insignificant the question, the more atrocious the oppression. If anything marks the utmost refinement in despotism, it is the interference of the state in the common concerns of life, and punishing as crimes, actions in themselves innocent. We have seen in our own days an example of this species of legislation. The late Emperor Paul the First carried his paternal care of his subjects so far, as to regulate the most minute article of dress by an imperial decree. Instances occurred during his reign, of persons of the first rank being executed or sent to Siberia, for appearing in the streets with a shoe-tie of an illegal shape, or with the cock of the hat a little out of the line of the nose. Upon Mr Hume's principle, what had the gentlemen to complain of? They knew the law, or might have known it, and had nothing to do but wear their clothes agreeably to statute. Yet can there be the least question, if we may suppose such a thing as a Russian House of Commons, that these would there have been insisted on, and justly, as the worst of all grievances? Would not the minister who recommended, and the officers who enforced them, have been the first objects of popular vengeance? No man can doubt it; and yet some Russian Hume one hundred years

afterwards, might with great plausibility, after enumerating some of the grosser measures of the government of that day, observe, that 'these were loudly complained of; but the grievances which tended chiefly to inflame the nation, were shoestrings, and cocked hats.'

This state of affairs in policy and religion may well account for the unanimity which prevailed at the opening of the long parliament. Beyond that period we have not room to extend our remarks. From what has already been said, it will be seen that Mr Hume's account of this epoch in English history, is to be received with great caution. Lord Clarendon, with all his bigotry, is a much safer authority. He avows his object to be the defence of the royal cause. Mr Hume, with equal prejudice and partiality, has a great show of fairness and candor. The former supports his side of the question after the fashion of his day, upon the basis of divine right. He advances his creed with an honest bluntness which puts the reader at his ease. He confesses many things of his party, without any expression of disapprobation, which no party at the present time would have the effrontery to acknowledge. Accordingly we find that Mr Hume makes but little use of Lord Clarendon in the early stages of the dispute. He prefers to cite the popular historians even for undisputed facts. The change which had taken place in public opinion when Mr Hume's work appeared, will easily account for this circumstance. That sagacious writer well knew, that the Stuarts were not to be defended at that time of day, by the doctrines of Sir Robert Filmer. The most he could hope for was to palliate and gloss over, what he had not the hardihood to defend, a task which he has accomplished with an address worthy of a better end. The train by which the reader is led on, is laid so far back, and followed up with such adroitness, that, before he is aware, the wily historian has him in his toils. When the mind has been thus deluded, the sympathies are artfully plied with the sufferings, in themselves sufficiently moving, of the individuals who fell a sacrifice to popular vengeance. The fates of Strafford, of Laud, and of Charles himself, are placed before us, by the partial historian, in so moving a way as to disarm our resentment at enormities which, if presented in their proper colors, would make even the 'True blue Club' turn pale in their seats.

It must not be inferred from these remarks, that we are insensible to the merits of Mr Hume as an historian. His exqui-

site skill in unravelling the labyrinth of early British history; the masterly discrimination with which he has exposed the absurdities of monkish invention; his clear and lucid view of the progress of the English constitution; his able developement of the foreign policy of Great Britain; and the pure and elegant language in which he has clothed his ideas, entitle him to be classed among the best writers of ancient or modern times. His authority, on most points, may be relied on until we come down to the rise of the party distinctions, which have existed in England under various modifications for more than two hundred years; since which time, it is but justice to Mr Hume to say, that an impartial English history is not to be found. We should be glad to pursue the subject still further, and to trace the progress of opinion during the stormy period which succeeded the assembling of the long parliament; the events of which are feelingly and minutely described by Lord Clarendon. We have, however, only room to add, that the American impression of Lord Clarendon's history is a reprint of the late Oxford edition, excepting that the passages in the original manuscript, which were suppressed in former editions, are, in the American copy, incorporated with the text. This we think an improvement upon the English edition, in which these passages are placed by themselves in the margin. The notes of Bishop Warburton are inserted at the foot of each page, instead of being collected at the end of the volume, as in the English copy. These notes seem not to have been intended for publication. We should suppose them to be cursory observations, noted down, as they suggested themselves, in the margin of the book. They are for the most part of no great value, excepting as they discover a degree of liberality, which the general tenor of the Bishop's writings would hardly lead one to expect.

Art. III.—*A Tour in Germany, and some of the Southern Provinces of the Austrian Empire, in the years* 1820, 1821, 1822. By John Russell, Esq. Reprinted from the Second Edinburgh Edition. Boston, 1825. 8vo. pp. 469.

At the close of our article on the subject of Universities, in the last number of the North American Review, we expressed

the intention of following up the general observations, contained in that article, with a more particular account of the course of studies, pursued in some one of the distinguished German institutions. This purpose we now proceed to execute; although, for the most part, speaking in general terms, we have reference to *one* of the universities, as the principal object of our description, in order that we may be able to convey as correct and as distinct an idea as possible of the nature of these institutions. Besides, the limits of our observations exclude the minute diversities and peculiarities, that might be pointed out in the various academic institutions of the several German states. The name of the University of Göttingen has, of late, become familiar to American ears; and, for this reason, a delineation of it, drawn from direct and authentic sources, may be acceptable to some of our readers. It is this institution, of which Napoleon observed, that it did not belong to any particular state, nor to Germany alone, but to the whole of Europe.

The public funds for the maintenance and increase of the university of Göttingen are in the hands of a board of overseers *(curatorium)*, who constitute a branch of the state government. They are the depository of the statutes and laws; and make additions and alterations, whenever the academic body recommends it as expedient in the minute reports which are regularly communicated to the government. The academic body is consulted on any question respecting their own laws; and their opinion is adopted and executed by the overseers. Professors and other officers are appointed on the same principle of mutual conference. The senate of the university consists of two counsellors and a secretary, who must be lawyers of great practical ability, appointed by the *curatorium;* and of eighteen members, taken from the academic body, three from the theological, four from the legal, three from the medical, and eight from the philosophical faculty. In extraordinary circumstances, the number of the members is sometimes increased. The prorector or rector (president) presides in the senate, which he has authority to convoke. Common affairs are transacted by circular letters. The administration of justice, which extends over all the instructers, students, pastors, and other academic officers, is committed to the vigilance of deputies appointed from the body of the senate, namely, the prorector, the four deans of the four faculties, and the two counsellors. If the prorector is not a lawyer, the ex-dean of the legal faculty

assists him. The nature and importance of the business to be transacted determine the number of meetings held by these deputies. Common cases, as those referring to discipline, are decided in the academic court, which is in session twice a week, and consists of the prorector, the two counsellors, and the secretary, whose laborious task it is to keep a minute record of the proceedings of the court. The laws of the police, which, however, do not refer to the students, are superintended by three professors, and four magistrates of the city, which contains about nine thousand inhabitants.

The deans of the four faculties, namely, of divinity, law, medicine, and philosophy, (who are annually appointed by rotation from that portion of the professors who have a seat in the senate) preside at the examinations and public disputations, confer the academic honors on the candidates, and conduct all the concerns of their respective faculties. The charge of the prorector is semiannual, or annual, under the repeated sanction of the government. The time of his office may, however, be prolonged whenever circumstances require it. The prorector may also be dean of his faculty, if the duties of both stations should devolve by rotation on the same member of the senate, according to the established rank of the four faculties. The new prorector is appointed six weeks before he enters upon his actual duties; but is, from the hour of his appointment, entitled to a seat in the court of justice. The complicated nature of his duties requires the quickest perception, great versatility of mind, a thorough knowledge of the world, and a sober judgment, sharpened by long experience. Intimate acquaintance with the established laws of the country, and the strictest integrity and firmness of character, are sufficient for the judge of any other tribunal; but the qualifications necessary to render a prorector equal to the importance of his station are much more comprehensive. He regulates and superintends all the motions of the powerful engine; without his direction, the machinery either stops, or is in disorder. One rash decision, one indiscreet expression of the prorector, may, notwithstanding the honest exertions of the senate, or even of the state-government, produce the most pernicious consequences, with regard to the discipline and safety of the university. By virtue of his executive power, he pronounces sentence in questions previously discussed by the two counsellors, whose office is permanent, and whose coöperation in deciding law questions is of paramount

importance to him ; and, besides, he has to perform the duties of a public instructer. The causes that render the administration of justice in the German universities one of the most difficult tasks, arise, principally, from the circumstance, that the students have been educated in different institutions and under different forms of government, from which different associations and different national prejudices are inseparable. A large majority (generally two thirds) of the literary population of Göttingen, are foreigners, that is, such as do not belong to the states of Hanover, Brunswick, and Nassau. Pride of ancestry, high rank, national boast, national descent, and other like distinctions, must submit to the same laws of fair equality, which bind the middling classes. Hence frequent jealousies and a conflict of passions arise, which easily prompt the fervor of youth to rash deeds. The great number of the students also contributes to increase the difficulties. For although the government acts upon the sound principle, that academic prosperity depends rather on the industry and moral habits, than on the number of the students, yet this often exceeds fifteen hundred. If the decisions of the prorector bear the slightest mark of partiality, or if any weakness be discovered in his character, this motley community becomes unmanageable. The dignity of a magistrate and the authority of a parent must constantly combine to sanctify his authority.

The law respecting matriculation requires of home students a certificate of their attainments and moral character. Foreigners are only required to exhibit their passport. Examinations for admission and divisions into classes are unknown. Recitations from text-books are very unpopular. Frederic the Great once persuaded the professor of philosophy at Halle to cause his hearers to recite from Locke's 'Essay concerning Human Understanding.' This singular attempt produced as singular an effect. The students unanimously deserted the professor, on the ground that for such purpose they needed no instructer. The government, in order to keep the spirit of diligence ever active, obliges every home student to transmit a separate certificate of each course of lectures, furnished by the respective instructers, and signed by the president and secretary in the name of the senate. Farther to stimulate ambition, annual prizes are offered for the best dissertations written on difficult questions, relating to subjects within the departments of the four faculties, and also for the best sermon on a certain text. The proclamation of the victors in these intellectual games occasions the only public

solemnity celebrated by the whole university, there being neither annual commencements, nor exhibitions of any kind. Every one pursues that course of studies which he or his friends may deem best adapted to his particular purposes.

The academic year is divided into two equal terms, at the close of each of which a catalogue of lectures to be delivered during the ensuing season is published. The lectures are either public (which are gratuitous), or private (for certain fees), or *privatissima*, at the private request of a limited number of students. Public lectures are given by public professors, *ex officio*, once or twice a week, but they have, of late, fallen almost into disuse. A regular course of private lectures is generally confined to one term, five or six being delivered in a week. Lectures, however, on the Pandects, on anatomy, ecclesiastical history, and some other subjects, are delivered two and sometimes three times a day, or are continued through more than one term. The average number of courses of lectures on all branches of science and art is one hundred, in addition to those delivered by private instructers. Most lectures are accompanied by manuals, for the double purpose of facilitating, by a general synopsis of the subject, the private studies of the hearer, and of sparing him the trouble of taking copious notes; a practice of which the benefit is unquestionable in regard to some sciences, but problematical in regard to others. The great value of such manuals may be conceived from Mr Bancroft's faithful English version of Heeren's *History of the States of Antiquity*, a fair specimen of this rich department of German academic literature.

Another extensive branch of lectures, also, is formed by the *Encyclopædias* of the various sciences. Encyclopædia (*ἐν κύκλῳ παιδεία* or *ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία*) originally implied the complete course or circle of a liberal education in science and art, as pursued by the young men of Greece; namely, gymnastics, a cultivated taste for their own classics, music, arithmetic, and geometry. European writers give the name of *encyclopædia*, in the widest scientific sense, to the whole round or empire of human knowledge, arranged in systematic or alphabetic order; whereas the Greek imports but practical school knowledge. The literature of the former is voluminous beyond description, it having been cultivated from the beginning of the middle ages to the present day. Different from either of them is the *encyclopædia* of the German universities; this is an introduction into the several arts and sciences, showing the nature of each, its extent, utility, re-

lation to other studies and to practical life, the best method of pursuing it, and the sources from whence the knowledge of it is to be derived. An introduction of this compass is, however, with greater propriety styled *encyclopædia and methodology*. Thus we hear of separate lectures on encyclopædias and methodologies of divinity, jurisprudence, medicine, philosophy, mathematical sciences, physical science, the fine arts, and philology. Manuals and lectures of this kind are exceedingly useful for those who are commencing a course of professional study. For 'the best way to learn any science,' says Watts, 'is to begin with a regular system, or a short and plain scheme of that science, well drawn up into a narrow compass.'

The whole circle of knowledge, taught in a university, has been brought into a system, and is ranged in two grand divisions, namely, *anthropological sciences*, representing man in all his intellectual and moral faculties; and *ontological sciences*, embracing all external objects. Each of these extensive empires contains four departments; the former contains philosophy, history, geography, and statistics or politics; the latter, mathematics, physics, natural history, and technology. Our limits prevent a specific enumeration of the subdivisions included under these several heads, but it is thus the contemplative mind of the philosopher arranges the empire of knowledge. In regard to the practical interests of life, however, the comparative value of the several sciences appears in a different light. Here the relative importance of the learned professions must be taken into consideration. And it is the object of a German university, as we have mentioned above, to furnish *professional* students with all the means and facilities of attaining a familiarity with those sciences, which they intend to practise in civil life, for the benefit of society and for the welfare of the state. Besides these professional studies, all the auxiliary branches of learning are placed within the student's reach, and enable him to develope all the faculties of his mind, whatever they be, to improve his taste for literature, to cultivate the feelings of his heart, and to polish his manners. In addition to this, proper exercises strengthen his body, and a consistent and unyielding discipline averts all imminent dangers, menacing destruction to the spirit of harmony and peace, without which the best constitution is useless. On the other hand, effective measures are taken to encourage mental activity and studious habits, as the best protectors of virtue and good morals. How far practice

ought to assist and illustrate theory, depends upon the nature of the different sciences and arts. Let practice, here, be subordinate to theory; but let theory be as distinct and perfect as time and circumstances admit. Empirical knowledge has no rational ground, and from this cause can never find favor in institutions founded on philosophical principles. Yet experiments, which either accompany or follow a plain exposition of theories, are indispensable to the understanding of medical, physical, and some of the mathematical sciences. An anatomical theatre, a hospital, and other clinical institutions for the practice of medicine and surgery; an establishment for the practice of obstetrics; a collection of pharmaceutic specimens, with all its useful appendages, preparations, &c., for the illustration of the materia medica, are necessary for medical pursuits. An observatory with the best astronomical instruments must assist and encourage the study of astronomy; the instructor in natural philosophy and other physical sciences must have the use of an apparatus, and of a sufficient number of instruments, and collections of natural curiosities. Chemistry is to be studied in a laboratory with an extensive apparatus; and botany cannot be studied without a botanical garden. Above all, an ample library must furnish a general and liberal access to the best works of all ages and civilized nations.

Instruction in the fine and useful arts ought to be confined to theories and histories alone. Practical information belongs to separate academies, which are flourishing in every part of Germany. The study of languages, both ancient and modern, and of their literature, is of great moment to a university, whose aim it is to manifest the power and energy of the mind in whatever tongue genius has spoken. Hence, Greek and Latin, the best of the Oriental dialects, and the principal languages of Europe must be taught thoroughly.

The rank of the four faculties, which is the same in all the German universities, indicates the importance, which is attached to each of them, in relation to the interest and happiness of civil society. The established order is, divinity, jurisprudence, medicine, and philosophy. The last constitutes the most numerous faculty, since it embraces all the sciences and arts, which, properly, do not belong to the three professions, and hence are counted among the auxiliary studies. In order to show the tendency, extent, and present condition of all of them, we find it necessary to give a brief account of each one separately.

1. Theology. The authenticity of the Scriptures, and the sacred truths of Christianity rest upon the firm basis of biblical criticism and *exegesis*, by the invincible force of which the Reformation obtained that splendid triumph over the abuses, which had grown for centuries upon Christendom, and restored to the christian world the doctrines of religion in their native purity. The accuracy and certainty, with which German theologians have established the principles of interpretation, and their persevering industry, stimulated by an elevated spirit of research and free inquiry, have finished the work so nobly commenced by protestantism. A new period in the history of the New Testament begins with Griesbach's laborious collations of ancient manuscripts. The historical and critical interpretation of the Old Testament has received a better direction from the skill of Rosenmueller, Gesenius, and others. Eichhorn has commenced a new era in the historical criticism of the Old Testament. Ecclesiastical history has never been treated with more conscientious accuracy than in the present age, by Schmidt, Hencke, Vater, and Planck. Doctrinal theology, and the system of christian morals and ethics, have been illustrated with uncommon zeal and profound learning by Reinhardt, De Wette, Staeudlin, and others. An exact knowledge of theology manifests itself in the systematic order, which must prevail in the arrangement of all its parts. Nothing else but an intimate acquaintance with the original text of the scriptures, is able to promote so desirable an object. Philological study, therefore, must impart to the young divine, habits of discrimination, and distinctness of thought, in order to prepare him for the duties of his high vocation. Copious lectures on the Greek text of the four Gospels, and on the other parts of the New Testament, are delivered by several professors, and form, in all the German universities, a course of two years. Separate introductory lectures are besides given on the history of the Bible, and on the characters of the writers of the Old and New Testament. A course of grammatical and explanatory lectures on the Hebrew text of the historical books, the Psalms, Isaiah, Job, and other parts of the Old Testament, lasts generally two years. Those who intend to become more familiar with the spirit of the Old Testament, pursue, besides the Hebrew grammar and antiquities, the study of other Oriental languages, as the Arabic and Syriac. An encyclopædia of theology gives the student a complete sketch of all the branches of divinity, delineated in their most prominent

features, and accompanied by a brief history of the different doctrines, their literature, and the modes of studying them. Ecclesiastical history, sometimes connected with the literary history of theology, is communicated to the student in a course of lectures, which is seldom completed in less than two terms. Moral theology follows next in order. Doctrinal theology, which, in Germany, is designated by the name of *dogmatics* contains all the doctrines of the New Testament, illustrated, proved, and arranged in a system. Comparative theology shows the changes, which the doctrines of christianity have suffered under the different creeds of the established churches and religious sects. Lectures on this interesting subject are among the last which the advanced student attends. The study of education as a science is of prime importance to divines, since they officiate as instructers for several years subsequent to the completion of their academic course, and since the religious education of children, till their fourteenth year, is committed to the care of the parochial clergy. The theological seminaries, established in most of the universities, instruct a certain number of students, during the last year of their professional course, in practical theology, and exercise them in the performance of parish duties, in composing and delivering sermons, catechizing, &c.

2. German jurisprudence is a strange mixture of the most heterogeneous materials, which render this science exceedingly complicated; so that uncommon talents are necessary to pursue the intricacies of the labyrinth, and to comprehend the whole science, in one full view, in its application to practical life. The study of the law in England and America suffers from similar difficulties. The different form of the administration, however, and the different state of the judiciary of the two countries just named, give greater encouragement to the practical lawyer, and raise him to a more conspicuous place of honor and emolument in public life, than a German practitioner can ever expect from the great labor he has spent in the study of his profession. The publicity of the courts is the principal cause of the superiority of the law as a practical science in England and in this country. Yet Germany, though deprived of these political advantages, has, at all times, had lawyers of great practical ability. The number of men, however, who have devoted their lives to deep researches into the single parts of jurisprudence, especially to the study of the civil code, is by

far greater. The literature relative to subjects of the Roman civil law extends with great accuracy and minuteness over all the particulars of that department, on which numerous lectures are given in the German universities. It is partly for this purpose that Englishmen frequent Germany, since the civil law is not included in the course pursued in the English law schools.

Jurisprudence embraces the law of nature, sanctioned by reason alone, and the statute law (called *positive* law by the Germans) of the legislatures and municipalities of the several German states. Hence arise three legal departments; civil law in the widest sense, public law, and the law of nations.

The civil law (*private* law in Germany), in reference to the civil relations of private persons, is founded either on the principles of the Roman law, as ratified by the Emperor Justinian; or on the German common law, composed of those customs and usages, which have, by long prescription, obtained the force of laws; or on the acts of the legislatures of the several states, as the statute law of Prussia, Saxony, or Bavaria. Subdivisions of this large department are, 1. Feudal law, drawn from the feudal customs of the Lombards, from the common feudal system of all Germany, and from the acts of the several German states. 2. Ecclesiastical law, founded upon the principles of the *Corpus Juris Canonici* (canon law), upon the statutes of the Roman Catholic church, and of the Protestant church. 3. Still smaller branches of this department are, the law of police, administration law, military law, commercial law, maritime law. 4. Criminal law, derived from the criminal codes of Charles the Great, called the *Caroline*, and from the acts of the several states. 5. Theory of civil and criminal procedure.

Public law refers to the constitution and administration of states, and contains at present the laws sanctioned by the states after the dissolution of the German empire in 1806; the new principles established since the origin of the German confederation; and, finally, the public acts of the several states.

The law of nations forms the third part of jurisprudence, and consists of public treaties, and other positive regulations of the powers of Europe, in their political relations.

Practical jurisprudence teaches the art of making up and keeping records in cases relative to the three departments just mentioned; it superintends the course of civil and criminal procedure; and teaches the manner of making a quick and profitable use of written records. Auxiliary studies of the law are

languages, history, geography, statistics, antiquities, philosophy (principally logic), political science, mathematics, and forensic medicine.

An encyclopædia and methodology of jurisprudence generally precede the study of the Institutes of the Roman law. Both introduce the student into his profession, and prepare him for attendance upon lectures on the Digests or Pandects (the name properly given to one of the three parts of the *Corpus Juris Civilis*, the book of reference of several continental nations), which illustrate the system of the civil law, as still in practice. This is the most important and most extensive, but, at the same time, the most troublesome part of the professional course of a lawyer. Two, sometimes three hours a day, are devoted to these lectures, which every student endeavors to attend twice during the continuance of his academic career. The Digests are generally explained by more than one professor in the same term, before crowds of hearers.

Besides the abovementioned subjects of the three legal departments, separate lectures are delivered on the philosophy of the German civil law, on the history and antiquities of the civil law of the Romans, on the literary history of jurisprudence, and on the principles of legal interpretation.

3. The study of medicine, no longer relying upon vague hypotheses, uncertain theories, or mere empirical knowledge, has, at present, founded its laws on the sound principles of the inductive philosophy, the glorious triumph of our age. The writings in all its branches are numerous and valuable. Vienna and Berlin have advanced this science to a high degree of perfection, and the medical institutions of these cities are conducted on a very liberal scale, as may be perceived from the following plan of study. The auxiliary acquirements of the medical student generally consist of a competent knowledge of classical literature, history, rural economy, mathematics, philosophy, and belles-lettres. A professional course lasts four or five years, though the law in some parts of Germany prescribes only three. An encyclopædia and methodology of medicine guide the student in distributing his time and arranging his studies. In connexion with this, he attends lectures on botany and vegetable physiology, which do not require great preliminary attainments, as, likewise, osteology and syndesmology. The other parts of anatomy are explained in separate lectures. Zoölogy, natural philosophy, chemistry, and natural

history form the next stage of the course. The next important subject is physiology, accompanied by psychology or the philosophy of the human mind, anthropology, dietetic philosophy, and mineralogy. Thus the student is well prepared for attendance upon lectures on the morbid state of the human body, and on the nature and treatment of diseases. Pathology, therefore, which explains the symptoms, diagnosis, and morbid characters of diseases, materia medica, morbid and comparative anatomy, and psychiatry or treatment of the diseases of the mind, become in their order the subjects of his diligent attention.

After this the various modes of curing diseases are discussed in copious lectures on therapy or therapeutics, on surgery, and on obstetrics. A separate course is generally devoted to the distempers of women and children, to ophthalmology, and to the anatomy and physiology of the human eye. At the same time the study of pharmacy (pharmacology and toxicology are, for the most part, treated separately), medical jurisprudence, the history and the nature of the healing art, the systems of nosology and semiology, or semiotics, are not neglected. Lectures on the last topic teach the result of the application of anatomy, physiology, and pathology, in the practice of medicine. Private instructers superintend the various societies that are formed every term for the purpose of reviewing the most important subjects of medicine. This exercise is styled *repetitorium* and *examinatorium;* or *disputatorium*, if it be a debating society. The last part of the academic course is devoted to the practical studies of medicine and manual surgery. Establishments and hospitals, superintended by professors of the university, afford the best opportunities for the practice of clinical medicine, clinical surgery, and obstetrics. The anatomical theatres and anatomical cabinets are conducted and used on an extensive plan. In regard to practical surgery, a separate course of lectures is delivered on aciurgy, or the demonstration of all the surgical operations, and the description and use of surgical instruments. There are also separate institutions for the education of veterinary surgeons. The subjects of lectures here are zoötomy, zoöphysiology, osteology, myology, and zoöpharmacology.

4. Philosophy, as a science, investigates and ascertains the original laws of the human mind in its full activity, and thence proceeds to the noble contemplation of our Creator, the world, and the destination of man. The scope of philosophy is wisdom and truth, which determine the laws and principles of all

other sciences. The different modes chosen by genius, for the analysis of this problem, have produced the different systems of philosophy, to which, on the other hand, a strong desire of bursting the fetters of all systems has, at different times, been opposed. This desire, if prompted by the design of extending the spacious field of inquiry, becomes skepticism (in the good sense of that term); but, if led by an uncertain impulse of the feelings, and not kept within systematic bounds, it degenerates into mysticism. Wisdom, as the fairest fruit of philosophy, transfers her knowledge into practical life, places the sciences and conduct in a mutual relation, and coöperates in the advancement of humanity. The mere knowledge of the form of a philosophic system, without freedom of thought, promoting the great interests of life, is of little utility. The laudable tendency of the present German philosophy, is to confirm by the explanation of the intellectual faculties, and by the discussion of the powers of reason, the eternal truths of religion and the practice of christian virtue. This direction is owing to the great reform of Kant, who, not satisfied with the material system of Spinoza, nor with the ideal speculations of Leibnitz, much less with the empiric philosophy of Bacon and Locke, was roused by Hume's skepticism, and struck out a new light in his philosophy of pure reason, which created dissatisfaction and opposition, and called into existence all the systems now taught in Germany. Thus Fichte's science took its origin, and soon after it, the mystical philosophy of Schelling, with its various branches; and the sounder speculations of Jacobi, which have found many admirers. From this sketch it appears that the spirit of philosophy is, by no means, uniform. Erlangen and Berlin are the seats of Schelling's doctrine; and Göttingen has improved the system of Kant and Jacobi, whose own original views have created original thoughts in others. The common subjects of lectures on the several branches of speculative and practical philosophy, are the *encyclopædia* of the philosophical sciences, logic, the fundamental doctrines of philosophy, metaphysics, psychology or the analysis and critical demonstration of the intellectual powers of man; the philosophy of religion, the general history of philosophy, ancient and modern; the latest systems of German philosophy; a system of morals and ethics, of physical, moral, and intellectual education; finally æsthetics, a favorite term with the Germans, first introduced by Baumgarten, and now in general use, designating the philosophy of the fine arts, poetry, and ele-

gant prose. This is one of the most useful and most popular subjects, on which lectures are given.

Politics and government, the master topics of the age, have found in Germany many eminent writers, who represent the science in three different points of view; either as the constitution and administration of states, as they should be organized, according to the principles of practical philosophy; or as the political history of states in their former rise, progress, and decay; or as statistics, or the description of the states, which the world has now established for the maintenance of civil society. Political science gives an account of the constitutions of the states of Europe, and the administration of their external and internal relations, in reference to the legislative and executive power. The administration of the states is founded upon a very complicated system of police, that requires great vigilance and constant revision. The present political system of Europe has taken a new direction since the declaration of the Holy Alliance (in 1815 and 1816), that government must be founded on Christian principles, and on the general law of nations. Many of the political publications since that period, have had a very salutary tendency, in conformity with that declaration, which purported to be significant and sincere. Whether this was its real character, or whether it was a mere pretence, will soon become manifest.

From these few remarks, the nature of the academic lectures on politics and statistics may easily be determined. They are delivered regularly in each university, by several professors, who follow their own courses. Standard works on politics drawn from history, the rich source of political wisdom, are Heeren's 'Reflections on the Politics of the principal Nations of Antiquity,' and his classic 'History of the System of the European States.' A course of lectures on politics comprises national economy, political economy with its history, finances, the system of police, statistics, and the diplomacy of Europe.

The pure mathematics, throughout all the branches, have, on account of the preference given in Germany to the purely analytic methods, yielded brilliant results to the studious scholar. Both pure and practical mathematics afford useful and very popular subjects for lectures, a regular course of which is generally completed in three years. The single parts, taught in separate lectures, are, the elements of arithmetic, and analysis of finite and infinite quantities; differential calculus, or analysis of infinitesimals, and integral calculus; algebra, geometry, ge-

odesy, analytic planimetry upon the principles of algebra, spherical trigonometry; higher mechanics (namely, statics, hydraulics, and aëronamics), optics, astronomy, chronology, gnomonics, civil architecture, and navigation. Besides these, separate lectures are delivered on cosmography; on physical astronomy, also in reference to chronology, geography, and navigation; on the theory of the motions of comets, on the theory of the motions of the heavenly bodies in elliptic orbits, and on the use of astronomical instruments; lastly, on meteorology and the theory of the earth.

It is generally confessed, that the application of physical science to the useful arts, has, in the present age, benefited life and promoted its practical interests, more than any other kind of knowledge. Besides, it wonderfully developes the mental faculties, enlarges the capacity, and increases our admiration of the wisdom of the Supreme Being. For this reason, the universities supply ample opportunities for the study of this science, which is pursued by students of all professions. The subjects of lectures are, natural history in all its branches, zoölogy, entomology, botany, mineralogy, and the description of its various systems, called systematology; geology and oryctology, treated separately; natural philosophy and chemistry, accompanied by experiments; agriculture and rural economy; physical geography; technology.

The large cities of Germany, and of other parts of continental Europe, contain excellent academies for the study and practice of the fine arts. The lectures, therefore, delivered in universities on this subject, convey general information to a mixed audience. The favorite topics are archæology, or the critical explanation and philosophy of the fine arts of antiquity, namely, architecture, statuary, sculpture, painting, etc. connected with their history; the theory and history of the fine arts of modern Europe, and of each art separately. Lectures are also given on heraldry, numismatics, and the theory and history of music.

The study of history is extensively cultivated in all the universities. The history of the states of antiquity; general history of mankind; history of modern Europe and its colonies; ethnography (or the description of the physical peculiarities of the different nations of the globe), in connexion with geography; the history of the middle ages; the history of Germany; literary history of modern Europe; critical history of German literature, and other similar topics are common subjects on which separate lectures are delivered.

Philology, or the study of classical antiquity in all its political, civil, and scientific relations, includes a correct grammatical knowledge of the ancient languages; hermeneutics, or the art of comprehending and interpreting the works written in these languages; criticism, which investigates and ascertains the age, correctness, and authenticity of every author, whether entire or mutilated, the complete number of whom is about sixteen hundred, excluding the fathers of the church; the principles of composition in prose and poetry; and the literary history of the Greeks and Romans. The chief auxiliary branches of philology are, ancient cosmography, divided into fabulous geography, historical geography, and topography; the general history of the nations of antiquity, connected with chronology and historical criticism; Greek and Roman antiquities; mythology; history of the philosophy and other sciences of the Greeks and Romans; critical history of the fine arts, poetry, and elegant prose of Greece and Rome; archæology, or a knowledge of the relics of the fine arts and monuments of Greece and Rome, in connexion with epigraphics or the knowledge of inscriptions, and numismatics or the knowledge of ancient coins; the history of philology; and, finally, philosophical criticism, discussing the comparative merits of classical writers.

On each one of these single branches, separate lectures are given during the period of the common academic course in Germany. An encyclopædia of philological pursuits, of which a number of manuals have been published, serves as a proper introduction into this extensive science. Oriental philology has derived a new impulse from the present spirit of inquiry. Besides the regular lectures on the grammar, literature, and history of the Hebrew, Syriac, Chaldaic, Arabic, Aramaic, and Persian languages, new elementary lectures are given on the Sanscrit tongue, formerly spoken in Hindostan. There is generally a single professorship of the Oriental dialects. In some universities, however, as in Berlin and Munich, a separate chair is filled by the professor of Sanscrit literature. This study was first introduced into Germany by A. W. Schlegel, professor in the Prussian university at Bonn; and by his younger brother, F. Schlegel, now residing at Vienna; both of whom have for some time been publishing a journal for Sanscrit literature. The number of students who attend such lectures is small, and consists generally of those who wish to prepare themselves to become candidates for professorships of those languages.

There is a great supply of critical and historical knowledge on classic authors, which is regarded in the German schools as the basis of all solid improvement; and justly so, because of its intimate connexion with all the learned professions and their literature. A competent portion of it is necessary for a learned theologian, very important for a systematic lawyer, indispensable for a scientific physician, and no acute philosopher ever neglects it. Its absence would be severely felt in Europe, and cause a great revolution in the whole system of every profession, and produce a violent change in the literary world; for which there is no occasion at present, or, if the necessity of an innovation was really felt, it could not be accomplished for ages to come. Since the Latin tongue is used in the examinations and disputations of all the faculties; and since dissertations and all other performances of the professors, candidates, and students in their relative duties, must be written in that language, every student is anxious to continue and cultivate an acquaintance with the faithful companions of his early life, by attending, during the course of his professional studies, to lectures on classic writers. Such a familiarity is so much the more necessary for a lawyer, because the civil code of Justinian, the basis of the law systems of continental Europe, and the canon law, are studied in no other language than the original. A profound knowledge of Christianity, and of the sacred literature of the Jews, can be derived only from the critical study of the original text of the Holy Bible. The scientific phraseology of the medical, physical, and other sciences, and the numerous essays thereupon, will ever remain a secret to the student who is without a knowledge of the Greek.

The works of the Greek poets, commonly read and explained, are the two poems of Homer, the writings of Hesiod, Pindar, the Gnomic authors, the epigrammatists, Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes, Theocritus, and Apollonius Rhodius.

The study of the Greek historians, philosophers, critics, and biographers, keeps pace with the explanation of the poets. Herodotus, the father of history, often attracts a considerable number of hearers. Thucydides is a greater favorite with the professors than with the students. The conciseness of his diction, displayed in complicated sentences, is intelligible to all but a few young men of superior talents; and the brief severity of his judgment, however excusable in an author describing the civil war of his own country, in which he had endangered himself,

does not please the majority, even after the profuse amplification of the interpreters. The attic urbanity of Xenophon has at all times been admired. The power of sound argument, and the Socratic art of reasoning called *dialectic*, are best learned from the writings of Plato. Competent judges have asserted, that they have derived greater benefit from the critical study of one of his Dialogues, than from a course of lectures on logic. Aristotle's abstruse works are at present rarely expounded in academic lectures.

Oratory furnishes the best means of arriving at civil and political distinction. A man, however great his genius, and however useful and thorough his knowledge may be, will never attract attention without this art. It is, indeed, not necessary that a man should be born an orator. Nature can certainly do much to facilitate the practice of the art; but there has never yet been an eminent speaker, without severe study and constant application. The greatest orator that ever harangued freemen, acquired this art only by the most unwearied and long continued efforts. The intelligent study of Demosthenes as, in every respect, the best pattern, has always led to great results. His example teaches to speak with propriety and elegance, and his speeches exhibit all the requisites of truly popular eloquence. Concise with the greatest perspicuity; perspicuous with the greatest accuracy; accurate with the greatest purity of language, he instantly arrests the attention, persuades by the invisible power of argument, assisted by all the graces of manner, and thundered out with flashes of genius. It is for this reason, that distinguished statesmen of every age and country, have studied his works and honored his memory. The national glory of Great Britain rests, in no small degree, on the refined taste and classical education of her politicians; and the portion of her oratory acknowledged to be the most energetic, bears the greatest resemblance to the spirit of Demosthenes. Among the continental neighbors of England, especially among the Germans, there are fervent admirers of Demosthenes, who read and illustrate his orations with enthusiasm. They feel the rush of his noble spirit in their closets and lecture-rooms, and pour it forth upon their youthful hearers, in whose minds it excites congenial feelings; but it soon evaporates for want of nutriment from practical life. In a country, where this vivifying principle pervades the whole nation, and forms its very soul, the impulse imparted by the judicious study

of such an orator, would not be lost; it would call forth genius, and guide it to excellence; an effect, which all the books ever written upon oratory and delivery are incapable of producing. Time and circumstances, which exert a most powerful influence over every country, would raise this practice beyond mere imitation, and stamp an original character upon the eloquence grounded on this basis. All true greatness has always been the same in every civilized nation, and what is deemed great by all civilized nations is a safe criterion of genuine greatness.

The orations of Lysias, and the speeches, discourses, and rhetorical essays of Isocrates, are still of value; though they suffer by a comparison with Demosthenes, and for this reason are not apt to be overrated. The treatise of Aristotle on the Art of Poetry, and that of Longinus on Sublimity, are in high estimation with German scholars, who endeavor to discover new beauties, and carefully point them out in new commentaries. Frequent reference is made to them; but they seldom form a subject for separate lectures. The Lives of Plutarch, with his Moral essays, ought not to remain unknown to any youth of a liberal education.

The department of Roman eloquence is also under the care of able professors. The most acceptable are the public and private illustrations of authors, who have some immediate relation to the four professions; as Cicero *de Legibus*, in a legal point of view, for law students; Celsus, for physicians; and Cicero's *Academica*, Cicero *de Officiis*, *de Finibus Bonorum et Malorum*, and other philosophical essays of the same writer, for students of philosophy and divinity, or more generally for a miscellaneous audience. Numerous lectures on other books of Cicero, such as his historical treatises, the treatise *de Oratore*, *Brutus*, and the *Orator*, convey general information to the hearers. In like manner, the two classic dramatists, Plautus and Terence, are explained with all the profuseness of philological learning. Select parts of the didactic poem of Lucretius, the Epicurean, *de Rerum Naturâ*, flowing from the fulness of a poetic soul and vivid imagination, are sometimes read, but not regularly. More common are the lectures on the Satires and Epistles of Horace. Virgil's didactic, pastoral, and epic poetry, and Livy's history, are generally confined to schools. The native simplicity and elegiac sensibility of Tibullus, the Grecian imagery of Propertius, and his brilliant allusions to lost glory, are much relished.

Tacitus awakes the mind to reflection, and stamps it with lasting impressions; a sober perusal of his works is, therefore, productive of a good moral effect. Quintilian's Oratory yields an abundant harvest to the assiduous Latin scholar. Pliny's epistolary style is still attractive, notwithstanding the perfection to which this branch of literature has been carried in modern times. Some have a predilection for the historical epics of Lucan and Silius Italicus, and frequent the halls in which they are read; others prefer the heroic poem of Valerius Flaccus on the Expedition of the Argonauts; but few are fond of the *circumstantial* bombast of Claudian. The bitter sarcasm and the moral lashes of Persius and Juvenal, who, with Horace, their predecessor, have composed almost the only original part of Roman literature, are topics of frequent academic discussions.

There are three or more professorships of classical literature, established in each university. The first chair is filled by the professor of poetry and eloquence, a member of the philosophical faculty, and by virtue of this, competent to officiate, in his turn, as rector or prorector. It is he that delivers the Latin orations at the public solemnities; the number of which varies in the different universities. It is he that invites to these solemnities by *Latin programs*, or brief discussions on any literary subject, especially referring to antiquity. It is he that addresses the students in the semiannual catalogues of lectures. It is, also, his duty to prepare Latin poems (either in elegiac verse or in the metres of Horace) on extraordinary occasions, a class of productions containing some specimens of great merit. The same professor, assisted by two of his colleagues, conducts the philological seminary.

This consists, in most of the universities, as in Göttingen, Berlin, Jena, and Leipsic, of only nine members, who, according to the law, continue but two years as such, and then retire, to make room for the *aspirants*, whose number is not limited, and sometimes equals that of the actual members, and who perform precisely the same duties. The laws oblige them to attend the daily exercises, and to *interpret* and to *dispute*, in their turn, under the direction of one of the professors. They perform these duties in the same succession in which they became either members or aspirants, after a previous examination in any Greek author, held in the Latin tongue by the principals of the seminary. The first member has, besides, to read, at the commencement of each term, a Latin introduc-

tion of his own composition (for everything is transacted in this tongue), relating to the Greek or Roman author, who is to be publicly interpreted by all the members and aspirants, for the benefit of all those who wish to partake of the advantages which the seminary offers to all. The directors distribute among themselves the supervision of the Greek and Latin departments, and the discussions of the *disputants* and *opponents*. Each member and each aspirant writes, every term, one, or sometimes two dissertations, on any subject of antiquity, history, or philosophy, one copy of which is handed to the professor, and another to the opponent, who attacks those parts in which he thinks the author either weak or mistaken. Honor and emoluments attend the members of this classic fraternity; and the best success often crowns their exertions. They are eagerly sought for as instructers of the *gymnasia;* or the university itself offers them employment as private teachers, till, through the faithful performance of these duties and literary distinctions thus acquired, public favor is secured; which soon raises them to stations worthy of their character, talents, and attainments. The benefits resulting to the public from such institutions are inestimable. They impart to the student a scientific knowledge of the profession he is going to practise as teacher, form his character and habits as such, by causing him to study the art of communicating his ideas in the simplest and most engaging manner, to shape and to finish the thoughts of his pupil according to his own model, and to instil into his tender mind those delicate and elevated feelings of honor, which are the best safeguard against illiberality of opinion, and against the abuse of confidence. These feelings, which grow with the pupil, find the most powerful promoters at the universities, and are cultivated through life.

Seminaries, on a larger scale, for the education of popular teachers, are conducted by distinguished divines of each state, who, for the most part, reside in the capital, and are the same persons who examine each clergyman three times before his ordination. Unless a candidate can give evidence of his ability, and of, at least, a two years' stay in those popular institutions where religious instruction is the main object, he is not allowed to teach any branch of knowledge whatever. We cannot now enter upon the particulars of these seminaries, they being beyond the limits of our present discussion.

ART. IV.—*The Farmer's Manual, including a Treatise on the Management of Bees.* By FREDERICK BUTLER. Hartford. S. G. Goodrich.

THE bee seems to be a native of every part of the globe, and the same characteristic traits distinguish the whole race; we allude simply to the Honey Bee, *Apis Mellifica*. Even in New South Wales, we find that, excepting in some variation of size and color, the honey bee is the same with that of Europe and America. The history of one bee, and of one community of bees, is, with the slight variation which is always produced by climate, the history of the whole race; nor should we venture to add our stock of observation to the great mass of what is already known upon the subject, and accessible to every class of persons, did we not wish to excite the attention more particularly of those who inhabit the mountainous districts of this portion of our country, to this practicable and profitable branch of horticulture.

From the commencement of history to our own day, bees have been an object of attention, honey has been used, and wax has been an article of commerce. In fact the amount consumed of the former for food, medicine, and a pleasant beverage, and of the latter for various purposes in the arts, would astonish those who have never turned their attention to the subject. In the savage and civilized state, wherever there has been sun enough to mature a flower, every individual of the community is as familiar with the luxury of honey, and the merits and uses of bees-wax, as with the daily food that is consumed.

Man has never been slow to appropriate to himself the physical powers of the inferior animals; but of all those which have been subdued to his use the bee alone has preserved its independence. We ought not, in fact, to use the term *subdued*, as it does not apply to the situation or position which the bee holds among us in its domestic state. Neither its nature nor its habits are in any wise altered or modified. It preserves its singular economy unchanged, whether it inhabit a hollow tree in the midst of an unfrequented forest, or a hive in the centre of an apiary.

And here, we would remark, that a hive ought not to be considered as the house or habitation of the bee, for even in

the forests, where there may be supposed to be abundance of hollow trees suited to their purposes, bees have built their cells on the under side of a stout branch; and they have neglected the convenient form of a well constructed hive, to attach themselves to the eaves of a house, or to the inner sides of a chimney. The nature of this part of their instinct goes no further than to secure a *firm* roof, to which they can attach the cells, and a position that shall protect the cells from the sun and rain.

This faculty, or instinct, is sometimes at fault, for we often hear of their adopting the strangest and most unsuitable tenements for the construction of cells. A hussar's cap, so suspended from a moderate sized branch of a tree, as to be agitated by slight winds, was found filled with bees and comb. An old coat, that had been thrown over the decayed trunk of a tree and forgotten, was filled with comb and bees. Any thing, in short, either near the habitations of man, or in the forests, will serve the bees for a shelter to their combs.

If this instinct were as absolute as some persons would make us believe, the bees, when swarming, would undoubtedly choose a domicile, as nearly similar to the one they had left as possible; but this is rarely the case. In their pursuit of food, with which the woods as frequently supply them as the gardens, their quick eye guides them to the places suitable for the establishment of a swarm. They do not, by a distinct succession of thoughts, arrive at the conclusion, that the hollow tree will suit them as a dwelling; but they find it unoccupied, they pass it daily, and when the whole swarm is collected on the branch of a tree, these foraging scouts, that have espied the hollow tree, run over the mass of bees as they hang, give the signal of departure, lead the way to the woods, and the queen and the whole swarm follow to the selected tree.

But although the bees are rarely unprovided with a retreat for a new swarm, yet they readily accept of a more obvious one, when offered. Aware of this willingness on the part of the bees, man takes the opportunity, when they are collecting their numbers, of introducing them into a hive, and of bringing them under his own immediate *surveillance*, that he may the more easily partake of the fruits of their labors. Yet although colony after colony have dwelt in uninterrupted succession in a particular apiary, their instinct is not improved, nor their reflective powers enlarged. They are the same in all their in-

stincts and formations as they were, when the first observations on their habits, with which we are acquainted, were made.

We have, for seven years, had a little colony under our immediate inspection, and we began our personal observation with the knowledge of all that ancient and modern theorists have advanced, in relation to the habits, customs, and manners, of this wonderful insect. We came to their superintendence with a mind tinctured with all that was marvellous and fanciful, and with an ardor that seven years have not subdued; although theory after theory has now melted away, and most of the wonders and enigmas have been solved, and reduced to the clearest and most simple particulars. Our wonder and admiration, although deprived of the charms of the fanciful legends in which the history of the bee was embodied, are still undiminished, nay, increased; for an elevation of thought and feeling has been produced by the study.

Notwithstanding the astonishing sagacity to be traced in the economy of bees, and the diversity of habits which might be expected, nature in reality is less variable in this instance than in most others; for although climate and a contracted habitation may reduce their size, and scantiness of food reduce their numbers, yet as long as there are flowers, the bee will abstract the honey, and as long as there are forests, the bee will construct a cell. With other insects and animals, and even with man himself, the case is different. Insects will imbibe nourishment from the exudations of both animal and vegetable substances. Man can accommodate himself to every variety of diet, and thrive on all. The bee alone never changes its food. The sweet sap that exudes from vegetable pores, and which is accumulated in the nectary of flowers, serves alike to sustain the bee, and to render the seeds of plants fit for germination. As no flower can arrive at maturity without the assistance of this fluid, it is ever present; and as the bee has a twofold duty to perform, that of preserving its own being by such means as nature has pointed out, and that of assisting the winds in carrying the pollen from flower to flower, creative wisdom has so arranged it, that the peculiar food of the bee is in abundance. And as this nutritive fluid is to support inanimate life, which requires an unvaried and uniform food, the bee for ever partakes of the same nourishment, and is enabled to preserve its peculiarities of form and instinct unaltered from generation to generation.

For both the operations, therefore, of sustaining life and of dispersing pollen, which require uniformity of instinct and organization, the bee is the same in all situations and in all ages. The working bees have the instinctive faculties of building different shaped cells; of choosing and preparing the food, both for the larvæ and for themselves; of taking care of the young brood; of carrying off noxious and extraneous matter; of defending themselves from enemies of *their own species;* and of expelling the drones when they are no longer of use in the hive. They have the instinctive knowledge that they cannot, as other insects do, exist individually; they are constructed, therefore, in so admirable a manner as to make everything subservient to the safety and comfort of the mother of the brood. She is, in their estimation, as much a part of themselves, as an eye or a limb. Their care of her is a kind of self-preservation, a law implanted in every living thing.

After rejecting all the fanciful and marvellous speculations of the theorists, there are still several material points unsettled, on three of which we propose to make a few remarks at the present time.

1st. The most modern and the most rational theorists differ in their opinions respecting the accuracy of the facts, that are stated in relation to the queen bee's leaving the hive at any other time, than when she goes forth with a new swarm.

2d. They dispute likewise on the possibility of the bees' making a queen bee, from a neuter, when circumstances require it.

3d. They are still ignorant, whether the drone perform the office of nurse to the larvæ when deposited in the different cells.

On the first point we venture to state unhesitatingly, that *the queen bee never leaves the hive, but when she accompanies a swarm.* For ten weeks, we fixed our attention on the entrance of two hives that stood close to each other on a bench. Our watch, either in person, or entrusted to another as interested and vigilant as ourselves, commenced at grey dawn, and continued till sunset; and never within that period did the queen bee of either hive leave them, but at the time of swarming, which occurred once in each hive during our inspection. With an eye to this single circumstance, we have, for six successive years subsequent to the careful observation just stated, been in the constant habit of noting every peculiar movement at the

entrance of hives, but we never saw the queen. Independently of the reliance that can be placed on observations of this kind, we have confirmation derived from strong probabilities.

The average number of a hive or swarm is from fifteen to twenty thousand bees. Nineteen thousand four hundred and ninety-nine are neuters or working bees, five hundred are drones, and the remaining *one* is the queen or mother! Every living thing, from man down to an ephemeral insect, pursues the bee to its destruction for the sake of the honey that is deposited in its cell, or secreted in its honey-bag. To obtain that which the bee is carrying to its hive, numerous birds and insects are on the watch, and an incredible number of bees fall victims, in consequence, to their enemies. Independently of this, there are the changes in the weather, such as high winds, sudden showers, hot sunshine; and then there is the liability to fall into rivers, besides a hundred other dangers to which bees are exposed.

Can any one, who considers all these casualties, suppose, that the instinct in bees is so defective, as to allow so important a member of the community, and the only one of the kind too, to leave the hive and run the immense risk that would attend an excursion in the air? It is a well established fact, that one queen lays all the eggs of the hive; that part of the daily duties of the working bees is to nourish the young brood, which, if there were no queen, they could not do, as there would be no eggs. If the bees are disturbed in their regular routine of business, they become uneasy and incapable of proceeding. When they return from the nectary of flowers, with the usual quantity of sweet fluid, they hasten to bestow the first or uppermost part of honey on the larvæ and young bees, and when this simple, undigested liquid is disposed of, they deposit that, which has gone through a certain chymical process, in the cells.

If, therefore, on entering the hive, they find no queen, they run about anxious and distressed, drop the little pellets of pollen that are attached to their legs, strike their antennæ against one another, and are in great agitation during the day. Sometimes two days are passed in this restless state, before they make an effort to repair their loss.

If the queen bee were to leave the hive, as Huber and others fancy, she would run great risk of never being able to return to it. Even around the apiary, before she had made the usual evolutions in the air, common to all bees on leaving the hive,

she might become the prey of one of the many birds, that are hovering over head, or on the watch. The blue-bird, the king-bird, and the cat-bird swallow bees by dozens while on the wing; and the queen bee would have less chance of escape, as she is larger, and therefore more conspicuous, and is besides very slow and heavy in her motions, her wings being smaller in proportion to her body than those of the working bee and the drone.

From our own observations, therefore, as well as from the above inferences, we must believe that the queen bee *never* leaves the hive, but for the establishment of a new colony.

The next material point of dispute is, whether it be in the power of the working bees to convert the larva of a working bee into that of a queen, when by accident the hive is deprived of one. According to the most accurate naturalists, the organization of the queen, or mother bee, is different from that of either the drone or the neuters. It appears to us quite as rational and philosophical to suppose, that a queen bee could be converted into a neuter, and therefore that all bees at first were of the shape and organic structure of the queen, as to suppose that a neuter or working bee could have new organs added, new curves given to its limbs, and new instincts to its nature.

If we could see the interior of a hive whenever it suited our convenience, we should not be so lost in conjecture; but the irritability of these little insects, prevents a constant and minute internal inspection. It is a part of their instinct to know that *light*, *heat*, *cold*, and *moisture*, in an undue and unaccustomed degree, are prejudicial to the formation of wax, to the consistence of the honey, and to the health of the brood. They therefore use all the little arts and advantages they possess, to prevent any one from exposing them to the injurious influence of these active powers.

When a queen bee ceases to animate the hive, the bees are conscious of her loss; after searching for her through the hive, for a day or more, they examine the royal cells, which are of a peculiar construction and reversed in position, hanging vertically, with the mouth underneath. If no eggs or larvæ are to be found in these cells, they then *enlarge* several of those cells, which are appropriated to the eggs of neuters, and in which *queen eggs have been deposited*. They soon attach a royal cell to the enlarged surface, and the queen bee, enabled now to grow, protrudes itself by degrees into the royal cell, and comes out perfectly formed, to the great pleasure of the bees.

Now this in itself is curious and wonderful. There is no need of adding superhuman powers to an insect, when the simple facts show such singular sagacity. The truth is, that the queen or mother bee lays the neuter eggs in certain cells of a particular construction; in fact, the eggs are laid, at least many of them, as soon as the foundations are begun, before the cells are built. The bees know, from the peculiar shape of the egg, that it is to have a cell of certain dimensions. When the neuter and drone eggs are deposited, the royal cells are then filled, for abundant observations prove that the queen eggs are laid last. If the royal cells are not sufficient to hold all the queen eggs, they are laid in the *common cells*, and in the course of the regular business of the hive, these cells are attended to with the rest. When the larva is of a size to fill the cell, a covering of wax is put on, and here ends the life, or rather the embryo of the queen; for no longer having room to expand, it perishes and is dragged out in the nymph form, as soon as the bees discover that animation is extinct. If, during the progress of the egg from the larva to the nymph state, the mother queen dies, and there are no eggs in the royal cells, then the bees have recourse to the queen eggs that are laid in the common cells. By enlarging the entrance, and by attaching to it a cell, which hangs *vertically*, they continue the life of the larva, and a queen bee is formed.

Here is no work of transformation. The insect is already formed, and nothing remains to be done, but the mere mechanical operation of building a habitation, which shall be adequate to its wants. The peculiar organic construction of the queen bee perhaps requires a difference of food, as we perceive it does of dwelling. No doubt it is necessary to supply it more abundantly, and with greater care. The very position it is compelled to take, shows that it requires a different kind of nurture from either the common bee or the drone. It is wonderful that instinct is so competent to direct these changes; but it would be more than wonderful, if, in addition to this instinct, the bee had the power *to construct new organs*, as it does different cells, and thus to endow the insect with a different nature.

The third point unsettled, and which is likely to remain for ever a secret, is, whether the eggs of the queen are hatched after the manner of the eggs of fishes, whether they simply

are animated by incubation, or by the care and nourishment bestowed upon them by the working or neuter bees.

On this point experiment has proved nothing. The greatest diversity of opinion exists. There are upwards of a thousand writers on the history and policy of the bee, and yet no two have either observed or reasoned alike. Even the two distinguished naturalists, who have passed the best portion of their lives in studying bees, with equal zeal and with equal opportunity, have come to very different conclusions. Huber is by far the most circumstantial experimentalist who has turned his attention to this subject. But his truly philosophical mind has been rendered comparatively useless, nay, worse than useless, by the ignorance or wilful misrepresentations of his assistant Francis Burnens. Huber could but philosophize on facts as they daily were represented to him. His solutions of things *unreal*, and having *no truth in nature*, are most ingenious and rational. Had his physical sight been as perfect as his mental vision, his work would doubtless have been all that could be effected by the industry and talent of man.

The naturalists of Europe, misled by his extraordinary talent, adopted Huber's notions with respect to bees, and his opinions were considered as conclusive. The public opinion became imbued with the spirit of his doctrines; and we find the greatest and acutest reasoners discussing, in perfect security, the nature of an insect, that could at one moment organize animal life and impart to it new instincts, and in the next, construct bulwarks and other modes of defence, to protect himself from an enemy, that until the last century never molested him.

The real fondness that was inspired for the study of the bee by the interesting work of Huber, engaged many in the pursuit; and the very mistakes that he has made, have led to something nearer the truth. Owing to the general improvement in education, the taste for the marvellous is fast disappearing; and there are now many who set themselves down to the study with their reason unbiassed, and their judgment free to decide according to the evidence of facts.

Huish, amongst the late writers, has most successfully combated the principal errors in Huber's theory; but although he has fixed a base on which a rational theory may be built, his object seems less to elicit truth, than to expose the errors of Huber. This he has endeavored to do in the most unamia-

ble and bitter spirit, which destroys the gratification with which his book would be read by the candid inquirer. In addition to this, he has laid himself open to the charge of plagiarism. He must have studied the subject sufficiently to acquire a knowledge of the different forms of hives, that have been in use from the earliest antiquity to his own time ; and the peculiar shape of the Greek hive could not have escaped his vigilance, for drawings and descriptions of it are within the reach of every student ; yet he boldly states, that a flower-pot first gave him the hint of the plan which he adopted for his own hive.

The little work, the title of which we have prefixed to this article, called ' The Farmer's Manual,' contains, in a small compass, as much of the minutiæ of the *management* of bees as is necessary to the common cultivator. Mr Butler is a sensible, practical writer, as well on other branches of rural economy, as on bees, and we would recommend his book to all who are engaged in those pursuits ; for, with some slight deviations from his rules, such as a different climate would indicate, his experience may be beneficial to all.

We esteem it a very desirable object to make the care of the bee more common than it has hitherto been, in this part of the country. With the exception of a small one under the superintendence of the society of the Shakers, established at New Lebanon, we neither saw nor could we hear of more than a single apiary, on a journey last summer to Lebanon Springs, although we made many inquiries. Never was there a country more suited to the cultivation of bees. Even in August there is an abundance of white clover, and small springs and shallow rivulets appear at every turn. There is no doubt that bees were formerly more frequently kept in America than at present. In many places in New Jersey, where there is now scarcely a bee to be seen, there once existed millions of these insects, to the great profit of their owners. It was common for one dealer in a country town, to sell from fifteen to twenty barrels of strained honey alone, to say nothing of wax and comb-honey, as well as a kind of wine, made of the washings of combs, called *metheglin*. These articles of commerce have almost disappeared, and we find that it is mainly attributable to the ravages of the millers, or night-moths, which have of late years spread destruction through the hives.

The attention of naturalists has been directed to the history of this fatal enemy of the bee, and many attempts have been

made to construct hives that would prevent the miller from depositing its eggs in them; but the plans were defective, because there was no contrivance for inspecting the hives. Before we close this article, we will endeavor to give a description of a hive, that is so constructed as to enable any one to see the interior and to free it from all extraneous matter, as well as to protect it from the inroads of the night-miller.

On the general subject of the care of bees, the following remarks, the result of personal experience, may be acceptable to the reader.

The situation of an apiary is of little importance. We have seen bees thrive as well with an eastern as with a northern aspect. If the entrance of the hive face the north, the bees may possibly be detained within, a minute or two later in summer; but this is more than counterbalanced by the same cause operating in winter, when it is desirable that the bees should remain in the hive. But for ourselves, we have seen no difference in the time of quitting the cells, between those that faced the north, and those that had a southern exposure. Nor have we observed that there is any difference in the welfare of hives as placed in valleys or elevated on hills, meaning, of course, hills of thirty or forty feet in height.

We have seen hives prosper, adjoining a stercorary, and oftentimes near a piggery. We have known colonies of bees to exist for a term of twenty years, with no other protection from the heat and cold, than the top of the hives. They have multiplied equally well under an open shed; but as a free circulation of air is necessary to their health and comfort, we have never known them to thrive when quite enclosed. A house, therefore, strictly so called, which is shut on all sides, may serve to amuse the observer for a year or two, but there must be an extraordinary combination of fortunate circumstances, if the bees increase, while confined in it.

It is better to begin with a single hive, and so attain a knowledge of the habits and instincts of the bees by degrees. We have known several persons, who have purchased a number of hives at once, and relinquished the pursuit from the perplexity that ensued when the swarming season commenced. But there is no similar occupation so easily followed, and none that requires so little capital, as that of keeping bees. The profit is enormous. If a person, well trained to the employment, should follow the plan adopted in some parts of Europe, of removing

the bees from place to place, in a kind ark on a river of some length, thus providing a plentiful supply of food, he might increase his stock to any extent.

An apiary of twenty hives could maintain itself in an area of a mile, where there is plenty of blossoms. Every farmer should however provide pasture for his bees, as well as for his cows; and therefore when the spring and summer flowers are gone, he should have a field of buckwheat ready, which, although not so palatable as other flowers, will serve the bees for winter food.

An apiary, or bee-shed, should be, at the eaves, about four feet from the ground, with a roof sloping both ways, and with any aspect that the owner chooses. It should be ten feet wide, and the length of it should be increased as the hives multiply. It is, however, difficult to describe one accurately.

The most convenient one that we have seen, is on a farm near New Brunswick in New Jersey. It is fifty feet long, and contains sixteen hives on each side. The swarms which are successively cast off, are placed under the same shed in the winter, and an equal number of the old hives are sold to make room for them. This apiary might be enlarged to any extent, were there pasture enough for the bees; but the area of the bees' flight, as there are now many cultivators of bees in this district, does not furnish food enough for a great number.

In this apiary the miller or night-moth is successfully guarded against. A small wire door, made to slide behind two door-posts, formed of needles, is closed over the entrance of the hive, as soon as the bees have retired for the night. This is done during the months of April, May, and June; after that, if the weather sets in warm, and the bees are oppressed by heat, the floor of the hive is let down, which, as it is fastened to the hive behind with hinges, and on the sides with hooks and staples, can easily be accomplished. Two rows of scantlings or joists four inches square, and running the whole length of the apiary, receive the hives between them, which are thus suspended at a distance of about three feet from the ground.

The hive is thirteen inches square at the *top*, and is of the same size at the bottom of the front and back, but the bottom of the *sides* is only seven inches wide. By this slope of the hive, the combs wedge themselves as they are made, and there is no use for the ill-contrived crossed sticks, that are generally

thrust in the old hives, to keep the combs from falling down by their own weight. The floor is, as we observed, fastened by hinges and hooks. It is likewise an inclined plane, having a slope of at least four inches.

The advantages of this inclination will be instantly seen. The perspiration of the bees, which is copious, is, by the inclination of the sides and floor, conveyed off at once, without being absorbed by the boards. All extraneous matter can be carried away by the bees with very little trouble, and they can defend themselves from robbers or corsair bees with much greater ease than if the floor were flat.

As the floor opens and shuts, the observer can inspect the interior of the hive at pleasure, not with the hope of getting at the minutiæ of the bees' policy, but to see the forwardness of the combs, the number of the bees, and the general appearance, which a practised eye can soon understand. When the floor of the hive is left down all night, and the bees hang very low from the combs in the morning, they will soon remove themselves up again, if the floor is raised very gently and slowly, and fastened as usual.

The cover of the hive is of course thirteen inches square. It is made of common pine, as is the hive, with two cleats on the upper part, as well to prevent the board from warping, as to prevent the box, or upper story, which is always added, from being moved from its place. The cover of the hive has three holes of one inch diameter, within a quarter of an inch of each other. These holes are to allow the bees to pass to the upper box, when the *hive* is full of honey.

It is ascertained satisfactorily, that the young brood and the bee-bread or pollen are deposited in the hive where the swarm is first put. The holes in the cover are therefore kept shut by plugs, until the hive be filled. The holes are then opened, the bees immediately pass up, and if the season be propitious, they fill the upper box with comb and honey, which, as there is neither brood nor bee-bread, is of the finest and purest kind.

We have often seen forty and sixty pounds obtained by this simple proceeding; and the box is also used to feed a famished hive in the spring. A single comb left in one of these boxes will sustain a swarm, that has eaten up all its honey, until vegetation commences. As the boxes and hives are of equal size, any one box will fit a hive.

When the combs in the hive are three years old, two of them

can be taken out every winter, provided there remain honey enough in the rest for the use of the bees. Thirty weight of honey is the average quantity that suffices for a swarm of large size. The hives in question weigh, when empty, about twelve pounds, a swarm of bees four pounds, the wax two pounds. The whole, therefore, ought to weigh about fifty pounds in November. All over this quantity can be taken out to advantage, as the wax becomes very dark after two or three years. The whole of the combs can be thus renewed in the course of four years, as the bees replace them early in the spring. We omitted to mention that the length of the back of the hive is twenty-two inches, and of the front twenty-eight inches, and that the floor projects in front about three inches, thus forming an apron or platform, on which the bees alight before they enter in at the little door. Models of this hive have been sent to several of the horticultural societies of Europe, and they are getting into use in this country.

When a swarm is to be hived, the hive is put in a moveable frame which is easily carried to the tree where the swarm hangs, and this is proved to be the easiest method of hiving swarms; as the screws are taken out of the cover and the hive lifted up to the swarm, into which they are shaken. The frame and hive are then placed on the ground, and the cover is *gently* laid on and screwed fast to the hive. Little sticks are put against the apron and rest on the ground, serving for ladders for those bees, that fell to the ground when the main body was shaken into the hive. Bees, from the moment of their leaving the hive, when swarming, until they are fairly settled and at work in a new habitation, seem stupid and confused. This arises, however, from the precarious situation of their queen. If she fall into the hive when the swarm is shaken in, all the remaining bees will soon find their way to the entrance; for a peculiar sound is emitted by these insects when their queen is present. If, however, she remain on the limb, it will be necessary to shake it again over the hive, as the bees will leave it to fly up to the place where the queen is. When the bees are quiet in the hive (which is ascertained by the number that are seen hovering in front of the entrance on the wing, and by others ventilating the hive with their wings), the top can be covered with a sheet, doubled several times, to keep off the heat of the sun. The hive must remain in the same spot until eight or nine o'clock in the evening, when two persons can quietly

and gently convey it, frame and all, to the apiary, and place the hive, with great care, between the joists where it is permanently to remain.

Hives should be made and painted a year before they are used, as the smell of paint is disagreeable to the bees. The smoother the boxes and hives are, inside and outside, the better both for the health of the bees and for preventing the deposit of the eggs of the miller. We must except the *roofs* of the hive and of the box, as they should be rough; for we have ascertained, that the propolis, or bee-glue, does not adhere so closely to a smooth surface at all times.

And here we would remark, that it has been the custom, from the earliest ages, to rub the inside of the hive with a handful of salt and clover, or some other grass or sweet-scented herb, previously to the swarm's being put in the hive. We have seen no advantage in this; on the contrary, it gives a great deal of unnecessary labor to the bees, as they will be compelled to remove every particle of foreign matter from the hive before they begin to work. A clean, cool hive, free from any peculiar smell or mustiness, will be acceptible to the bees; and the more closely the hive is joined together, the less labor will the insects have, whose first care it is to stop up every crevice, that light and air may be excluded. We must not omit to reprehend, as utterly useless, the vile practice of making an astounding noise, with tin pans and kettles, when the bees are swarming. It may have originated in some ancient superstition, or it may have been the signal to call aid from the fields, to assist in the hiving. If harmless, it is unnecessary; and everything that tends to encumber the management of bees should be avoided.

Straw hives are unsuitable to our climate, and afford a harbor for all kinds of insects. It is folly to talk of their cheapness. If a man intend to keep bees, he must, in the first place, make the hives in the very best manner; by this we mean, of good materials and of good workmanship. A hive badly joined by an awkward carpenter is worse than a hollow tree. One half of the labor of the bees, is directed to the repairs of their dwelling.*

*A model of the hive which we consider of the best construction, may be seen at the village of the Lebanon Shakers, in the hands of Mr Daniel Hawkins, or at the seat of Theodore Sedgwick, Esq. in Stockbridge. The inventor of this hive has had an opportunity of judging of its merits by experience.

It is not asserted that the bees will, of themselves, fall into these hives, or that no trouble or expense is necessary in the management of an apiary. We know that both care and expense are required; but the latter, after the first disbursement, is very trifling. Vigilance and neatness are for ever in requisition, and the care of bees, like all other profitable business, cannot be pursued to any advantage, unless it receive daily and minute attention. But have we not accomplished a great deal when we have reduced the thing to this certainty?

But although, as we have before observed, nothing is more simple in theory and practice, than the history and care of bees, yet it requires a constant and unremitted attention, if we aim either at instruction or profit. Can anything be well done and to advantage without these? Varro in his treatise *de Re Rusticâ*, is the first who has spoken of *hives*. He wrote upwards of 1870 years ago; and how many different sorts of hives have been constructed since his time, to say nothing of the different theories? We wish to see bees in every garden throughout America, but we have no desire to see the subject encumbered with more than is necessary to advance the pleasure and profit of the pursuit. To the naturalist we will leave discussions of organization and propagation. They are foreign to our purpose, as they only serve to perplex and deter us from the main points. But it is proper to know the most simple mode of managing a hive, and this includes the pasture, or food that is necessary for its sustenance. Hunger destroys as many bees as the miller. We ought to cultivate such shrubs and plants as the bees like; without this they will starve. The American black willow and the red maple are the first trees that are visited by the bees. They are fond of the crocus, which is the earliest of our bulbous roots; and these we can have in abundance, as they multiply quickly and occupy little space. They are beautiful in themselves, affording a rich treat to the eye; and they flower so early, and are of such bright and vivid colors, that we take as much pleasure in them as the bees do. The stercorary and piggery are next resorted to by these insects. These we presume are their medicine shops, and the extract absorbed from them must be used as a tonic. Blossoms of all kinds, excepting those of the red clover and of the honey-suckle, are excellent food; and the bees especially profit by the increased attention bestowed at present on the cultivation of the peach-tree in some parts of this country. They not only

drink the nectar and abstract the pollen of the flower, but they appropriate the peach itself. We have seen twenty or thirty bees devour a peach in half an hour; that is, they carried the juices of it to their cells. The humming-bird alone can reach the bottom of the nectary of the honey-suckle, but even here the instinct of the bee is seen. The small birds, such as the wren, make an incision on the outside, near the bottom of the flower, and extract a part of the juices. The bee takes advantage of this opening, and avails itself of what is left.

The scent of the bees is so acute, that every flower which has a powerful odor can be discovered by them at a great distance. Strawberry-blossoms, mignonette, wild and garden thyme, herbs of all kinds, apple, plum, cherry, and, above all, raspberry blossoms, and white clover, are delicious food for them, and a thriving orchard and garden and apiary fitly go together.

But as the bee seeks only its own gratification in procuring honey and in regulating its household, and as, according to the old proverb, what is one man's meat is another's poison, it sometimes carries honey to its cell, which is prejudicial to us. Dr Barton in the fifth volume of the American Philosophical Transactions, speaks of several plants that yield a poisonous syrup, of which the bees partake without injury, but which has been fatal to man. He has enumerated some of these plants, which ought to be destroyed wherever they are seen, namely, dwarf-laurel, great laurel, kalmia latifolia, broad-leaved moor-wort, Pennsylvania mountain-laurel, wild honey-suckle (the bees, as we observed, cannot get much of this), and the stramonium or Jamestown-weed; which last we should wish to see completely eradicated, as, independently of the poison extracted from its flowers, and from its seeds, which are often eaten by children, it is the ugliest weed that grows, and has the most offensive odor.

The poets, always exalting and magnifying the subjects that they touch, have contributed perhaps more than any other set of writers to mislead our judgment. They endow the bee with memory, and Rogers thinks that it finds its way to the hive by this faculty alone. Nor is it only with regard to the bee, that poets, the worst entomologists in the world, have led us astray.

Cowper says,

> 'I would not enter on my list of friends,
> Though graced with polished manners and fine sense,
> . . . . . the man,
> Who needlessly sets foot upon a worm.'

By *worm*, we wonder if he included the grub-worm. Alas! little did that amiable man think of the mischief that would ensue from this sensibility and tenderness towards insects. He thought that when nature created them, and designed them an 'abode,' that it was a species of cruelty to hunt or harm them, when not actually crawling 'in th' alcove, the chamber, or refectory.' But the harm that the few do, who so inadvertently approach our dwellings, is insignificant when compared to the ravages of every kind of insect, excepting the bee, when in the abode that nature assigned it. This very worm, from which they bid us turn aside when we meet it in our path, after destroying the roots of our pasture and our corn, becomes a winged insect, and continues its mischief to the destruction of our finest fruits.

We really are in a sad plight between our sensibilities and our sense of justice to ourselves. We say that insects have so multiplied, that we can neither raise grain for our cattle, nor fruit for ourselves. 'Keep the birds near you,' say the philosophers, 'quit the cruel practice of shooting the harmless songsters of the grove, and you will not only be rewarded by seeing that insects decrease, but you will be charmed by their melody.' But, then, we say in answer, that the birds do not discriminate; that they prefer bees to every other insect, and therefore the birds must die. And in reality we must make war upon those birds, that show the greatest fondness for our little friends. Let us, at least, show our sense of the value of these, by keeping their enemies away, at any rate from their very doors. Let us lessen the chance of their encountering them abroad, by planting the favorite food of the bees as near the apiary as possible; and also lessen the chance of their being drowned, when driven by high winds, as they stoop to drink, by giving them running streams near to their hives.

We have scarcely observed any order in this discussion, setting down our thoughts just as they presented themselves. Had we written a regular work on this subject, we would in the proper place have spoken of the small bees, the aged, and those denominated *black*. As this essay is short, it will not be

difficult for those who have a respect for our opinions, to cull out and methodize the different matter as it occurs, and we can then ramble on with our few remaining observations to the close.

In the hive of a new swarm, during the months of July and August, there are fewer small bees, than in one that has been tenanted for four or five years. The bee, like all other insects, spins itself a covering before it becomes a fly. When it emerges with wings, from its cell, several older bees approach it, feed it with the contents of their stomachs, and then clean out the cell and deposit in it fresh honey. This is their constant practice; and the bee that is just born, as soon as it has been fed and has stretched its wings, flies off to a flower, and commences its labors. But although the bees clean out the cell the moment a young bee is born, yet they either find no inconvenience from that part of the film, which the young bee leaves at the bottom of the cell, and which is of a silky nature, or they are unable to detach it. In consequence of this, the cell is not so deep, and as the same circumstances occur perpetually, brood alternating with honey, the cells become every year visibly smaller; and, consequently, those bees that are bred in these small cells, of which there is a great number, are never of the full size of those that have had more room. Even the queen eggs, which *we* say are often deposited in the cells of neuters, and have afterwards larger cells attached to the first, never produce so large a queen bee, as if the cell had been of proper dimensions at first. Thus we see that the contraction of the cell may diminish the *size* of a bee, even to the extinction of life, just as the contraction of a Chinese shoe reduces the foot even to uselessness; but in neither case will a single new organ be taken from or added to the bee, or a single toe be taken from or added to the foot, whether the cell or shoe be larger or smaller.

A young bee can be readily distinguished from an old one, by the greyish colored down that covers it, and which it loses by the wear and tear of hard labor; and if the bee be not destroyed before the season is over, this down entirely disappears, and the groundwork of the insect is seen, white or black. On a close examination, very few of these black or aged bees, will be seen at the opening of the spring, as, not having the stamina of those that are younger, they perish from inability to encounter the vicissitudes of winter.

Our seasons are very variable. The scorching droughts of

summer deny to plants their accustomed moisture; no honey therefore can be made by the bees at such times, and they are compelled to eat of their winter food. They cluster about the hive, or, deprived of their accustomed labor, they are very restless, and often intrude into a neighboring hive, apparently for the want of employment. In the summer of 1825, during the latter part of July, the heat was so distressing to the bees, the thermometer standing at 92° in the shade, that they seemed to have lost their usual instinct. A number of hives of the old-fashioned patterns, that stood on a bench, were well filled with bees. At two o'clock, for three days in succession, the whole swarm of each hive rushed out, and ran into the adjoining hive, where they remained for a few seconds without apparent offence to the invaded bees, who in their turn flew madly out, and paid the same unceremonious visit to their neighbors. No quarrel ensued, not a bee was killed by these irruptive movements. They seemed maddened by the heat; and yet the queen was left in the hive, for with all our attention to the sallying parties, we did not see a single queen among them. The same frenzy did not occur in those hives that were suspended upon joists, thus proving that the bees did not suffer so much from heat in those suspended hives, as they did in the flat-bottomed ones, that rested on a bench.

Our winters are equally disastrous to the poor bees. Of late years, there have been so many mild days during the cold season, that a great deal of honey has been consumed. These alternations of torpor and animation cause greater exhaustion and loss of physical powers, than would be occasioned by a continuance of uniform torpor. This we infer from the fact, that in Russia, where the winters are uniformly cold, bees do not perish; and in the West Indies where there is perpetual verdure, they are never exhausted.

But although a bee may remain torpid, to a certain extent, for six months in the year without injury, in those climates to which the insect has long been accustomed, yet it could not exist for the same space of time in lower latitudes, where such a period of continued cold rarely occurs. Nature has not constructed them for every emergency. She has done no more for them in this particular, than she has for man. They are compelled to get accustomed to a change of climate by degrees; not by an alteration of the structure of their organs, for that can never occur under any circumstances, but by some change that

takes place in the circulation of the fluids of the body, by which the system is accommodated to a higher or lower temperature. But we leave this part of the question to the naturalists learned in the science.

If we are correct in this our opinion, the suggestion of Dr Anderson would not be available in our climate. If, according to his proposal, bees were to be kept all winter in an ice-house, more causes than one would operate to the injury of their health, and consequently to the decrease of their number. The temperature of an ice-house, unless we are to suppose the hive to be buried in the ice itself, is much higher than that which is without the house. The torpor, therefore, would not be so complete, as to put a stop to the digestive process. The bees would be compelled to eat; and as their food is constantly in contact with the impure, stagnant air of the ice-house, it would soon become vitiated and engender diseases.

We know of but two diseases to which the bees are subject in this country, and they have to our knowledge never occurred at any other season, than the early part of the spring,—dysentery and dyspepsia. The latter arises from the indolent, inactive life that they are *compelled* to lead, in our variable winters. The rule holds good with the most diminutive, as well as the greatest, in animal life, that 'if we eat and wish to preserve health, we must work.'

During the last winter (1828), the bees suffered more and lost more of their numbers, than has often been known before. There was scarcely a day, that they did not sally out to search for employment and food; but not being properly stimulated, they seldom returned to the hive. We frequently saw them crawling on the ground, weak and spiritless; and those that did return soon perished. On examining the hives, we observed that nearly all the honey was consumed; and many of the brood, that, in ordinary seasons, are not hatched until the first part of April, assumed the fly form at an earlier period and died.

The cure for this disorder the bees take into their own hands. As soon as the flowers appear, they go to *work;* and then it is, that they resort to aperients and tonics, which they abstract from the floors of the piggeries.

The other disease proceeds from long confinement in bad air and from unwholesome food, and is invariably fatal; nor can the bees avert it by any instinct of their own. We know of no cure for the dysentery, when the bee is seized with it.

Those that have it badly must die. We can restore those that are least affected, by frequently washing the hives, as far as we can reach, with weak lie, and by ventilating them and removing the dead bees.

Much has been said of the danger to be apprehended from placing an apiary too near our own dwelling. There is indeed no positive advantage in having it very near; but as the person usually engaged in hiving the bees is occupied with farming affairs, and is not always present when the bees swarm, it is proper that the apiary should be within sight of the family. A bee certainly has frequently attacked a horse, and we have once or twice heard of one being stung to death. Considering the great number of hives of bees, it is really wonderful, that more accidents of this kind have not occurred. But they are exceedingly rare; and when we know how many hundred horses annually die from the disease called *the botts*, which proceeds from the maggots of the egg, laid by the *horse-bee* on the hair of the animal, the very few that suffer from the sting of the honey-bee do not deserve to be taken into consideration.

In every point of view, therefore, it appears that bees should be cultivated. The wax that is consumed in this country, in various ways, is enormous, and most of it is imported. If we may credit Huish, Great Britain imports from Germany and Italy upwards of eighty thousand pounds sterling worth of wax annually. We are unable to say, with any precision, to what amount it is imported by us; but judging from the quantity that each family uses in a year, and the amount employed in various arts, it must be worthy of notice.

It is really disgraceful to such a country as ours to import wax or honey. We ought ourselves to export tons of it every year; and we trust that, in the course of a few years, this improvement will take place. Massachusetts and Connecticut are well situated, and abundantly supplied with proper food for bees; and their climate, being less variable, is better adapted to their nature. We spoke of hills of twenty or thirty feet in height; this only applies to the site of an apiary near a dwelling. The dwelling itself may be on a hill. We have heard of convents situated on mountains, that have been well stocked with hives. In short, nothing is wanting but good pasture, good hives, cleanliness, and attention, to insure a rich reward to those who engage in the pursuit.

Children are naturally very fond of watching the proceedings

of bees, and they would soon learn to take care of them, if they were not taught to fear them. All danger can be guarded against, by making them wear woollen gloves that are long enough to draw over their sleeves at the wrist, and a wire cap to cover their head. They could thus be trained to manage bees; and training is quite as necessary to the full comprehension of the occupation, as it is in the trade of a carpenter or a shoe-maker.

It would be unjust not to refer again to Mr Butler's little book, after making it the occasion of expressing our own thoughts. We shall rejoice if our slender notice of his work should encourage him to put forth a new edition; and we shall now take leave of the subject, although it be almost inexhaustible, by an anecdote, that we have reserved for the conclusion, that it may make the deeper impression.

A good old French bishop, in paying his annual visit to his clergy, was very much afflicted by the representations they made of their extreme poverty, and which the appearance of their houses and families corroborated. Whilst he was deploring the state of things which had reduced them to this sad condition, he arrived at the house of a curate, who, living amongst a poorer set of parishioners than any he had yet visited, would, he feared, be in a still more woful plight than the others. Contrary, however, to his expectations, he found appearances very much improved. Everything about the house wore the aspect comfort and plenty. The good bishop was amazed. 'How is this, my friend?' said he; 'you are the first man that I have met with a cheerful face and a plentiful board. Have you any income independent of your cure?' 'Yes, sir,' said the clergyman, 'I have; my family would starve on the pittance I receive from the poor people that I instruct. Come with me into the garden, and I will show you the *stock* that yields me an excellent interest.' On going to the garden, he showed the bishop a large range of bee-hives. 'There is the bank from which I draw an annual dividend. It never stops payment.' Ever after that memorable visit, when any of his clergy complained to the bishop of poverty, he would say to them, 'Keep bees, keep bees;' and we shall bid our readers adieu with the same advice.

ART. V.—*The Life of John Ledyard, the American Traveller; comprising Selections from his Journals and Correspondence.* By JARED SPARKS. Cambridge. Hilliard & Brown. 8vo. pp. 325.

THE name of Ledyard has long been associated with recollections of enterprise, decision of character, and an adventurous spirit, doomed to struggle with reverses of fortune through life, and to meet at length an untimely end. His voyage with Cook, his travels in northern Europe and Siberia, his testimony to female excellence, and his readiness to encounter new dangers and sufferings in exploring the interior of Africa, these prominent traits in the history of his career were familiar to all. But the numerous details contained in the interesting publication before us were necessary to fill up the picture of energy and hardihood, and unfold the peculiar springs by which the movements of this extraordinary individual were actuated. Doubtless many of our readers have made themselves personally acquainted with the merits of Mr Sparks's work; and for the benefit of such as have not, we abstract from it a brief account of Ledyard's romantic life.

John Ledyard was born in 1751, of respectable parents residing at Groton in Connecticut. His father died in early life, leaving his family in destitute circumstances, and thus rendering the subject of our narrative dependent upon the kindness of his relations for education and support. He was at first designed for the profession of the law, which he studied for a time at Hartford. This pursuit being found uncongenial to his temper, he relinquished it at the age of nineteen, and and entered Dartmouth College in 1772, with the apparent intention of qualifying himself to become a missionary among the Indians. Of his conduct and history at college, all that is known is marked by extreme eccentricity of character, manifesting that unsettled, rambling disposition, which afterwards displayed itself in the distant expeditions of the daring traveller. Before he had been quite four months in college, he suddenly disappeared, and was absent several months, wandering among the Indians of the Six Nations, and as far as the borders of Canada. Soon after this he abandoned his missionary schemes, and began to grow weary of college, which he finally left, in a manner so whimsical and eccentric, and at the same time so characteristic, that we copy our author's account of it.

'On the margin of the Connecticut river, which runs near the college, stood many majestic forest trees, nourished by a rich soil. One of these Ledyard contrived to cut down. He then set himself at work to fashion its trunk into a canoe, and in this labor he was assisted by some of his fellow students. As the canoe was fifty feet long and three wide, and was to be dug out and constructed by these unskilful workmen, the task was not a trifling one, nor such as could be speedily executed. Operations were carried on with spirit, however, till Ledyard wounded himself with an axe, and was disabled for several days. When recovered he applied himself anew to his work; the canoe was finished, launched into the stream, and by the further aid of his companions, equipped and prepared for a voyage. His wishes were now at their consummation, and, bidding adieu to these haunts of the muses, where he had gained a dubious fame, he set off alone with a light heart to explore a river, with the navigation of which he had not the slightest acquaintance. The distance to Hartford was not less than one hundred and forty miles, much of the way was through a wilderness, and in several places there were dangerous falls and rapids.

'With a bearskin for a covering, and his canoe well stocked with provisions, he yielded himself to the current, and floated leisurely down the stream, seldom using his paddle, and stopping only in the night for sleep. He told Mr Jefferson in Paris, fourteen years afterwards, that he took only two books with him, a Greek Testament, and Ovid, one of which he was deeply engaged in reading when his canoe approached Bellows's Falls, where he was suddenly roused by the noise of the waters rushing among the rocks through the narrow passage. The danger was imminent, as no boat could go down that fall without being instantly dashed in pieces. With difficulty he gained the shore in time to escape such a catastrophe, and through the kind assistance of the people in the neighborhood, who were astonished at the novelty of such a voyage down the Connecticut, his canoe was drawn by oxen around the fall and committed again to the water below.' pp. 16—18.

Pursuing his course down the river, he reached Hartford in safety, to the great astonishment of his friends, not less surprised by the abruptness of his return, than by the strange conveyance he had chosen.

Ledyard's next transition was to the study of theology. But discovering that he could not obtain regular admittance to the clerical profession, without a previous novitiate, for which neither his means of living nor his patience would suffice, he quitted this pursuit as hastily as he had adopted it; and in a few weeks, he reäppears in the character of a common sailor

on board a vessel in New London, bound to Gibraltar. There he enlisted as a private soldier in the garrison; but was released at the solicitation of the captain of his vessel. At the expiration of a year, therefore, Ledyard returned to New London, without property, without a profession, and with habits and feelings which wholly unfitted him for the useful pursuits of ordinary life. Thus far, his erratic course had failed to teach him lessons of practical wisdom; and he again embarked for Europe, as a common sailor, intending to seek out his family connexions in England, and claim their patronage. He landed at Plymouth, and begged his way to London; where he found the residence of his kinsman, and might have been kindly received, had he not idly taken offence, because his pretensions to relationship were not instantly admitted without explanation or inquiry. Thus ended all his anticipation of assistance in that quarter. But chance threw in his way an opportunity of gratifying his love of adventure, which he instantly embraced. Cook was then making preparations for his third and last voyage; and fired by the prospect of distinguishing himself in this expedition, Ledyard enlisted in the marine service, and finally gained the situation of corporal of marines on board the Resolution.

Ledyard kept a private journal of the whole voyage; but on his return it was taken possession of by the admiralty, like all other papers on board of the same kind, in order to prevent an imperfect account of the voyage from going abroad, in anticipation of the official publication. He never recovered his journal; but on his return to Hartford, more than two years after the termination of the voyage, he wrote a short narrative of it, chiefly from recollection, which was published under his name. A portion of this narrative is peculiarly valuable, as containing a statement of the circumstances which preceded and accompanied the death of Captain Cook. It hence appears that Cook's precipitancy, and his injurious treatment of the islanders, were the main causes of the unhappy catastrophe.

Extracts from, and observations upon Ledyard's book occupy several chapters of our author's work, which will be read with interest and profit, but cannot be further abridged by us to advantage. Ledyard continued in the navy for two years succeeding his return from the Pacific ocean in 1780; but of his precise situation, nothing is known, except that he

refused to accompany any of the squadrons destined to act against the United States. But growing weary at length of this course of life, he embraced an opportunity to be transferred to the American station, and arriving at Huntington bay in Long Island Sound in December, 1782, he made his escape from his ship, and repaired to the residence of his relations in Hartford. He remained here about four months, during which time he wrote his account of Cook's voyage. Meanwhile, impatient of repose, and having conceived the plan of a trading voyage to the northwestern coast of America, he hastened to New York, to engage the aid of capitalists in accomplishing his design. There his scheme was pronounced wild and visionary; and he accordingly proceeded to Philadelphia, where he enjoyed the prospect of better fortune, being patronized and encouraged by Robert Morris, a man whose views were always comprehensive, and his spirit large and noble.

Ledyard's thoughts had been turned to this quarter, by his personal knowledge of the resources of the Northwest Coast in furs, of the enormous advance paid in Canton on the original cost of the article purchased there, and of the fact that it presented an entirely new field of mercantile adventure, unattempted either in this country or in Europe, and that of course it promised to yield immense profits to those who should first engage in the trade. Confident of the accuracy of his opinions, he bent all the energies of his active and sanguine temper to the task of creating an interest in his project among those who were competent to undertake it. Mr Morris at length entered into his views, and made arrangements to furnish the outfits of a voyage to be effected under Ledyard's direction. Difficulties intervened, however, to prevent his obtaining a suitable vessel for the expedition; and after a year spent in a vexatious and fruitless struggle to overcome them, his patience and that of Mr Morris appear to have been exhausted, and the proposed voyage was abandoned.

Discouraged by the obstacles he encountered in this country, Ledyard embarked for Europe, hoping for better success among merchants of greater resources, and leaving the execution of his plan at home to Americans of more enterprise and perseverance than those whom he had endeavored to engage in it. He landed at Cadiz, and there took passage for Brest, and hastened from thence by land to L'Orient, where he intended to make new efforts for the accomplishment of his

purpose. His letters of introduction readily procured him an acquaintance with the most respectable merchants in L'Orient, who received his plan with so much approbation, that arrangements were immediately made for carrying it into effect. It was now October, and the company who undertook the voyage decided that a suitable vessel could not be procured and properly equipped and fitted out before the ensuing August. Greatly as Ledyard lamented this delay, he could not hasten the proceedings. He was obliged, therefore, to wait until the spring, when a ship of four hundred tons was obtained, and preparations for her voyage began to be made. But before the appointed time for sailing arrived, he was again disappointed, and the merchants of L'Orient abandoned the enterprise, for causes which do not distinctly appear.

Desponding and disheartened at this second failure, Ledyard next repaired to Paris, not with any very definite expectations, but only in the vague hope of some favorable change of fortune. Mr Jefferson, who was at that time minister from the United States at the court of France, manifested great interest in his affairs, and highly approved of his projected expedition. In a few days Ledyard became acquainted with Paul Jones, who, being unemployed in any military or public service, eagerly embraced the plan of a voyage to the Northwest Coast, and engaged to furnish the funds for the undertaking and proceed upon it in company with Ledyard. But either from a deficiency in pecuniary resources, or for some other reason, this attempt also proved abortive. Ledyard resolved to adventure one effort more, and to submit his project to the consideration of a mercantile company in Paris. But all his endeavors to obtain the requisite funds proved unavailing, and he remained for a time at Paris, without employment, or the prospect of any, and dependent upon the bounty of his friends for the means of subsistence.

Driven from his object of a trading voyage to the Northwest Coast, he bethought himself of a plan for effecting one of the purposes which he had in view, namely, that of exploring the northwestern regions of the American continent. This was to travel by land through Russia and Siberia, cross over Bering's Strait to America, and then pursue his route down the coast and to the interior, as circumstances might direct. It was necessary, in the first place, to gain permission of the empress of Russia to pass through her dominions; and Mr Jefferson interested him-

self in procuring it, through M. de Simoulin, the Russian minister, and Grimm, the correspondent and private agent of the empress in Paris. Whilst impatiently waiting in Paris and its vicinity for a reply to this application, Ledyard wrote letters to his friends in America, which abound in characteristic traits. We extract the following.

'"About a fortnight ago, Sir James Hall, an English gentleman, on his way from Paris to Cherbourg, stopped his coach at our door, and came up to my chamber. I was in bed at six o'clock in the morning, but having flung on my *robe de chambre*, I met him him at the door of the antechamber. I was glad to see him, but surprised. He observed, that he had endeavored to make up his opinion of me with as much exactness as possible, and concluded that no kind of visit whatever would surprise me. I could do no otherwise than remark, that his *opinion* surprised me at least, and the conversation took another turn. In walking across the chamber, he laughingly put his hand on a six livre piece and a louis d'or, that lay on my table, and with a half stifled blush, asked me how I was in the money way. Blushes commonly beget blushes, and I blushed partly because he did, and partly on other accounts. 'If fifteen guineas,' said he, interrupting the answer he had demanded, 'will be of any service to you, there they are;' and he put them on the table. 'I am a traveller myself, and though I have some fortune to support my travels, yet I have been so situated as to want money, which you ought not to do. You have my address in London.' He then wished me a good morning and left me. This gentleman was a total stranger to the situation of my finances, and one that I had by mere accident met at an ordinary in Paris."' pp. 168—169.

'"I have once visited the Foundling Hospital, and the Hospital de Dieu, in Paris; twice I never shall. Not all the morality from Confucius to Addison could give me such feelings. Eighteen foundlings were brought the day of my visit. One was brought in while I was there. Dear little innocents! But you are, happily, insensible of your situations. Where are your unfortunate mothers? Perhaps in the adjoining hospital; they have to feel for you and themselves too. But where is the wretch, the villain, the monster—? I was not six minutes in the house. It is customary to leave a few pence; I flung down six livres and retired. Determined to persevere, I continued my visit over the way to the Hospital de Dieu. I entered first the apartments of the women. 'Why will you, my dear sisters,' I was going to say as I passed along between the beds in ranks, 'why will you be'—but I was interrupted by a melancholy figure, that appeared at its last gasp, or already dead. 'She 's dead,' said I to a German gentleman, who was with

me, 'and nobody knows or cares anything about it.' We approached the bedside. I observed a slight undulatory motion in one of the jugular arteries. 'She 's not dead,' said I, and seized her hand to search for her pulse. I hoped to find life, but it was gone. The word *dead* being again pronounced, brought the nuns to the bed. 'My God!' exclaimed the head nun, 'she 's dead'; —'Jesu, Maria!' exclaimed the other nuns, in their defence, 'she 's dead.' The head nun scolded the others for their mal-attendance. 'My God!' continued she, 'she is dead without the form.' 'Dieu!' said the others, 'she died so silently.' 'Silence,' said the elder, 'perhaps she is not dead; say the form.' The form was said, and the sheet thrown over her face."' pp. 169, 170.

An allusion to Jefferson and to Lafayette very strikingly indicates Ledyard's discernment of their character and of the temper of the times.

'"Mr Jefferson is an able minister, and our country may repose a confidence in him equal to their best wishes. Whether in public or private, he is, in every word and every action, the representative of a young, vigorous, and determined state. His only competitors here, even in political fame, are Vergennes and La Fayette. In other accomplishments he stands alone. The Marquis de la Fayette is one of the most growing characters in this kingdom. He has planted a tree in America, and sits under its shade at Versailles."' p. 161.

Ledyard wished to commence his journey before the requisite permission arrived; but all his friends advised against such a step, as evincing a want of proper respect for the empress, especially after her consent had been formally requested. Five months having expired without any answer being returned to his application, he gladly accepted an invitation to sail to the Northwest Coast in an English vessel then ready for sea in London. He left Paris immediately, in six days made his appearance in the British capital, and speedily concluded an arrangement for his passage. His condition and views at this time, when so near to the attainment of his favorite object, are described by Mr Smith, the American secretary of Legation in London, who speaks of Ledyard in an official despatch, as being perfectly calculated for the attempt, and having an immense passion to make discoveries, which might benefit society and ensure him 'a small degree of honest fame.' The vessel dropt down the Thames from Deptford, and actually put to sea; and Ledyard thought it the happiest moment of his life. But he was doomed again to suffer the severest disap-

pointment, inasmuch as the vessel was seized by order of the government, and the voyage broken off.

Ledyard returned to London with a heavy heart; but in the course of a month we find him restored once more to confidence and hope, and resuming his project of travelling through Siberia. To give him means to set out upon his journey, a small subscription was collected in London, under the patronage of Sir James Hall, Sir Joseph Banks, and Dr Hunter, which enabled him to leave London in December, 1786. On reaching Hamburg, he was induced to quit the direct course for Petersburg, and to repair to Copenhagen, in order to meet with a gentleman named Langborn, a traveller like himself, and as Ledyard conceived, a man of congenial spirit. The consequence of this imprudence was, that Ledyard nearly exhausted his own scanty means in relieving Langborn's necessities; and after all was obliged to proceed alone to Stockholm, and to travel on foot in the winter season around the gulf of Bothnia, through Swedish Lapland and the whole extent of Finland, to Petersburg. With unconquerable perseverance, he undertook this laborious task, rather than wait at Stockholm for the opening of the spring, and reached Petersburg within seven weeks of the time of leaving Stockholm, having travelled at the rate of two hundred miles a week. Unfortunately for him, the empress was now absent on her famous progress to Kerson and the Krimea; and it was two months before he could obtain a passport. His pecuniary resources were wholly exhausted; and in his extremity, he drew a bill on Sir Joseph Banks for twenty guineas, which he found some friend willing to accept. Although Sir Joseph had not authorized Ledyard to draw, yet much to the honor of that munificent patron of science, it was immediately paid when presented.

Thus provided, Ledyard set out in June, in company with Dr Brown, a Scotch physician, who was going to the province of Kolyvan in the service of the empress; and by this means he travelled with facility and despatch through Moscow, Kazan, and Tobolsk, to Barnaoul, the capital of the province of Kolyvan, about three thousand miles from Petersburg. Taking leave of Dr Brown at Barnaoul, he proceeded to Irkutsk with the courier who had charge of the mail. From Irkutsk, continuing his journey by land to the river Lena, he embarked on that river in a small bateau, and floated down the current to Yakutsk, where he arrived on the eighteenth of September. Ledyard

was now but six or seven hundred miles from Okotsk; and was anxious to press forward immediately; but the commandant, to whom his letters were addressed, urged the inclemency of the climate and season as an insuperable obstacle to his further progress, and forced rather than persuaded him to consent to remain at Yakutsk until the spring. Subsequent events furnished too much ground for believing that the commandant alleged this only as a pretext for detaining Ledyard, and preventing him from finally completing his journey.

Nevertheless, as he could not well go on without the aid, or at least the consent, of the commandant, he was compelled to stop at Yakutsk. Our author gives copious extracts from Ledyard's journal of his observations in Siberia, chiefly relating to the face of the country, and the manners, condition, and physical characteristics of the inhabitants. This last topic, especially, seems to have been a favorite subject of attention and speculation with Ledyard. At this period he entered in his journal the celebrated eulogy on women, which, having been altered in some of the transcripts, Mr Sparks reprints precisely as it was written; it being, as he justly observes, 'universally admired, not more for the sentiments it contains, and the genuine feeling that pervades it, than for its terse and appropriate language.' It is in these words:

'I have observed among all nations, that the women ornament themselves more than the men; that, wherever found, they are the same kind, civil, obliging, humane, tender beings; that they are ever inclined to be gay and cheerful, timorous and modest. They do not hesitate, like man, to perform a hospitable or generous action; not haughty, nor arrogant, nor supercilious, but full of courtesy, and fond of society; industrious, economical, ingenuous; more liable in general to err than man, but in general, also, more virtuous, and performing more good actions than he. I never addressed myself in the language of decency and friendship to a woman, whether civilized or savage, without receiving a decent and friendly answer. With man it has often been otherwise. In wandering over the barren plains of inhospitable Denmark, through honest Sweden, frozen Lapland, rude and churlish Finland, unprincipled Russia, and the wide spread regions of the wandering Tartar, if hungry, dry, cold, wet, or sick, woman has ever been friendly to me, and uniformly so; and to add to this virtue, so worthy of the appellation of benevolence, these actions have been performed in so free and so kind a manner, that, if I was dry, I drank the sweet draught, and, if hungry, ate the coarse morsel, with a double relish.' pp. 264, 265.

Weary of remaining idle at Yakutsk, Ledyard resolved to make a visit to Irkutsk. He reached that place in January, and had been there but little more than a month, when he was arrested by a peremptory order from the empress, hurried into a kibitka between two guards, and conducted with the utmost speed to Moscow, exposed to all the rigors of a Siberian winter. From Moscow he was conveyed in the same manner to the frontiers of Poland, when he was given to understand that he might go where he pleased, but if he returned to the dominions of the empress, he would certainly be punished with death. Such was the unfortunate conclusion of Ledyard's expedition. He was made to perform a journey of six thousand versts in six weeks, dragged along in an open kibitka, and treated in all respects like a felon, except that he was obliged to support himself on such slender means as he possessed. The amazing rapidity with which he was borne over the whole extent of the vast Russian empire, exposed to the severity of the climate, and privation of proper and sufficient food, reduced him to a mere skeleton, and well nigh overcame the strength even of his vigorous and hardened constitution. He arrived at Konigsberg in a destitute situation, without friends or money, his hopes blasted, and his health enfeebled. In this state of suffering and want, the only expedient which he could devise for his relief was to draw a second time upon the kindness and generosity of Sir Joseph Banks, and with the proceeds of a small draft of five guineas, he was enabled to pursue his journey to London.

It is not fully ascertained why the Empress of Russia treated Ledyard with such extreme cruelty and injustice. At Irkutsk, the local authorities gave out that he was a French spy; but the idea of a French spy in the extremities of Siberia is too absurd to be supposed capable of producing his arrest. Count Segur, who, as French minister in Russia, had been instrumental in procuring Ledyard's passport, has recently stated the avowed pretence of the Empress. She told count Segur that 'she would not render herself guilty of the death of this courageous American, by furthering a journey so fraught with danger, as that he proposed to undertake alone, across the unknown and savage region of northwestern America.' This idle pretext of humanity is contradicted by the inhuman manner, in which, at the imminent risk of his life, Ledyard was hurried from Irkutsk to Poland. Our author proposes a very

plausible solution of the difficulty, in ascribing the arrest to the jealousy of the Russian American Company, anxious to preserve a monopoly of the lucrative fur trade, and prevent the country from being explored, and the prosecution of their trade scrutinized, by an intelligent foreigner. The headquarters of this company were at Irkutsk, and they probably contrived to detain Ledyard at Yakutsk, until they could send to Petersburg and obtain an order for his expulsion from the empire. Our knowledge of the intrigues of the Hudson's Bay Company, to prevent even their own government from exploring the northeastern regions of America, may serve to show that such a conjecture is not without foundation in analogy.

Ledyard's adventures excited the warmest sympathy among his friends in London. Sir Joseph Banks expressed peculiar interest in his fortune, and after questioning him concerning his Siberian travels, and ascertaining that he had no settled plan in view, proposed to him to engage in the service of the Association for discovering the inland countries of Africa. Ledyard went directly to Mr Beaufoy, secretary of the Association, with a letter of introduction from Sir Joseph Banks. The interview is best described in the language of Mr Beaufoy himself.

'"Before I had learned from the note the name and business of my visitor, I was struck with the manliness of his person, the breadth of his chest, the openness of his countenance, and the inquietude of his eye. I spread the map of Africa before him, and tracing a line from Cairo to Sennar, and from thence westward in the latitude and supposed direction of the Niger, I told him, that was the route, by which I was anxious that Africa might, if possible, be explored. He said, he should think himself singularly fortunate to be trusted with the adventure. I asked him when he would set out. 'To-morrow morning,' was his answer."' p. 290.

It is easy to conceive how cheerfully the Association embraced an occasion for employing a person of such extraordinary decision of character, and such enthusiastic devotion in the cause of foreign discovery. His instructions were few and simple. He was to repair directly to Egypt, and travel thence across the continent in such particular course as his inquiries on the spot might show to be expedient, everything being left to his discretion. Accordingly, he left London on the 30th of June, 1788, and proceeded through France to Marseilles, where he took ship for Egypt, and thus arrived in Cairo in

August. He passed three months in Cairo, engaged in collecting information, and preparing to join a caravan bound to the interior in the character of a merchant. In November he wrote to the secretary of the Association, stating that all things were at length ready for his departure, and that his next communication might be expected from Sennaar. The day was actually fixed for the caravan to leave Cairo. He wrote in apparent health and in good spirits; and the disappointment of the Association was extreme, when the next letters from Egypt brought the melancholy intelligence of his sudden death. His pursuits at Cairo rendered it necessary for him to be much exposed to the deleterious influence of the climate at the most unfavorable season of the year; and the consequence was an attack of a bilious complaint, which closed his life of vicissitude and toil, at the moment when his prospects were the most flattering. The precise day of his death is not known; but it is supposed to have happened in November, 1788, in the thirty-eighth year of his age.

Mr Beaufoy's brief but discriminating description of Ledyard communicates a faithful idea of his person and character; and we cannot better close our account than by transcribing it.

'"To those who have never seen Mr Ledyard, it may not, perhaps, be uninteresting to know, that his person, though scarcely exceeding the middle size, was remarkably expressive of activity and strength; and that his manners, though unpolished, were neither uncivil nor unpleasing. Little attentive to difference of rank, he seemed to consider all men as his equals, and as such he respected them. His genius, though uncultivated and irregular, was original and comprehensive. Ardent in his wishes, yet calm in his deliberations; daring in his purposes, but guarded in his measures; impatient of control, yet capable of strong endurance; adventurous beyond the conception of ordinary men, yet wary and considerate, and attentive to all precautions, he appeared to be formed by Nature for achievements of hardihood and peril."'

p. 324.

ART. VI.—*Histoire de la Vie et des Ouvrages de Molière*, par J. TASCHEREAU. Paris. 1825.

THE French surpass every other nation, indeed all the other nations of Europe put together, in the amount and excellence of their memoirs. Whence comes this manifest superiority? The important Collection relating to the History of France, commencing as early as the thirteenth century, forms a basis of civil history, more authentic, circumstantial, and satisfactory to an intelligent inquirer, than is to be found among any other people. And the multitude of biographies, personal anecdotes, and similar scattered notices, which have appeared in France during the two last centuries, throw a flood of light on the social habits and general civilization of the period in which they were written. The Italian histories (and every considerable city in Italy, says Tiraboschi, had its historian as early as the thirteenth century), are fruitful only in wars, massacres, treasonable conspiracies, or diplomatic intrigues, matters that affect the tranquillity of the state. The rich body of Spanish chronicles, which maintain an unbroken succession from the reign of Alphonso the Wise, to that of Philip the Second, are scarcely more personal or interesting in their details, unless it be in reference to the sovereign and his immedate court. Even the English, in their memoirs and auto-biographies of the last century, are too exclusively confined to topics of public notoriety, as the only subject worthy of record, or which can excite a general interest in their readers. Not so with the French. The most frivolous details assume in their eyes an importance, when they can be made illustrative of an eminent character. And even when they concern one of less note, they become sufficiently interesting, as just pictures of life and manners. Hence, instead of exhibiting their hero only as he appears on the great theatre, they carry us along with him into retirement, or into those social circles, where, stripped of his masquerade dress, he can indulge in all the natural gayety of his heart,—in those frivolities and follies, which display the real character much better than all his premeditated wisdom; those little nothings, which make up so much of the sum of French memoirs, but which, however amusing, are apt to be discarded by their more serious English neighbors, as something derogatory to their hero. Where shall we find a more

lively portraiture of that interesting period, when feudal barbarism began to fade away before the civilized institutions of modern times, than in Philip de Comines' sketches of the courts of France and Burgundy, in the latter half of the fifteenth century? Where a more nice developement of the fashionable intrigues, the corrupt Machiavelian politics which animated the little coteries, male and female, of Paris, under the regency of Anne of Austria, than in the Memoirs of De Retz? To say nothing of the vast amount of similar contributions in France, during the last century, which in the shape of letters and anecdotes, as well as memoirs, have made us as intimately acquainted with the internal movements of society in Paris, under all its aspects, literary, fashionable, and political, as if they had passed in review before our own eyes.

The French have been remarked for their excellence in narrative, ever since the times of the *fabliaux* and the old Norman romances. Somewhat of their success in this way may be imputed to the structure of their language; whose general currency, and whose peculiar fitness for prose composition, have been noticed from a very early period. Brunetto Latini, the master of Dante, wrote his *Tesoro* in French, in preference to his own tongue, as far back as the middle of the thirteenth century, on the ground, 'that its speech was the most universal and the most delectable of all the dialects of Europe.' And Dante asserts in his treatise 'on Vulgar Eloquence,' that 'the superiority of the French consists in its adaptation, by means of its facility and agreeableness, to narratives in prose.' Much of the wild, artless grace, the *naïveté*, which characterized it in its infancy, has been gradually polished away by fastidious critics, and can scarcely be said to have survived Marot and Montaigne. But the language has gained considerably in perspicuity, precision, and simplicity of construction; to which the jealous labors of the French Academy must be admitted to have contributed essentially. This simplicity of construction, refusing those complicated inversions so usual in the other languages of the continent, and its total want of prosody, though fatal to poetical purposes, have greatly facilitated its acquisition to foreigners, and have made it a most suitable vehicle for conversation. Since the time of Louis the Fourteenth, accordingly, it has become the language of the courts, and the popular medium of communication, in most of the countries of Europe. Since that period, too, it has

acquired a number of elegant phrases, and familiar turns of expression, which have admirably fitted it for light, popular narrative, like that which enters into memoirs, letter-writing, and other similar kinds of composition.

The character and situation of the writers themselves may account still better for the success of the French in this department. Many of them, as Joinville, Sully, Comines, De Thou, Rochefoucault, Torcy, have been men of rank and education, the counsellors or the friends of princes, acquiring from experience a shrewd perception of the character and of the forms of society. Most of them have been familiarized in those polite circles, which, in Paris more than any other capital, seem to combine the love of dissipation and fashion, with a high relish for intellectual pursuits. The state of society in France, or, what is the same thing, in Paris, is admirably suited to the purposes of the memoir-writer. The cheerful, gregarious temper of the inhabitants, which mingles all ranks in the common pursuit of pleasure; the external polish which scarcely deserts them in the commission of the grossest violence; the influence of the females, during the last two centuries, far superior to that of the sex among any other people, and exercised alike on matters of taste, politics, and letters; the gallantry and licentious intrigues so usual in the higher classes of this gay metropolis, and which fill even the life of a man of letters, so stagnant in every other country, with stirring and romantic adventure; all these, we say, make up a rich and varied panorama, that can hardly fail of interest under the hand of the most common artist.

Lastly, the vanity of the French may be considered as another cause of their success in this kind of writing; a vanity which leads them to disclose a thousand amusing particulars, which the reserve of an Englishman, and perhaps his pride, would discard as altogether unsuitable to the public ear. This vanity, it must be confessed, however, has occasionally seduced their writers, under the garb of confessions and secret memoirs, to make such a disgusting exposure of human infirmity, as few men would be willing to admit, even to themselves.

The best memoirs, of late produced in France, seem to have assumed somewhat of a novel shape. While they are written with the usual freedom and vivacity, they are fortified by a body of references and illustrations, that attest an unwonted degree of elaboration and research. Such are those of Rous-

seau, La Fontaine, and Molière lately published. The last of these, which forms the subject of our Article, is a compilation of all that has ever been recorded of the life of Molière; made up without any great expense of original reflection; and without any other novelty of material, than the occasional transcript from a parish register. Most of its contents, indeed, are to be found scattered over the notes and prefaces of M. Bret's popular edition of the French Dramatist. It is executed, however, in an agreeable manner, and has the merit of examining with more accuracy, than has been hitherto done, certain doubtful points in his biography; and of assembling together, in a convenient form, what has before been diffused over a great variety of surface. But however familiar most of these particulars may be to the countrymen of Molière (by far the greatest comic genius in his own nation, and, in very many respects, inferior to none in any other), they are not so current elsewhere, as to lead us to imagine that some account of his life and literary labors would be altogether unacceptable to our readers.

Jean-Baptiste Poquelin (Molière), was born in Paris, January 15, 1622. His father was an upholsterer, as his grandfather had been before him; and the young Poquelin was destined to exercise the same hereditary craft; to which indeed he served an apprenticeship until the age of fourteen. In this determination his father was confirmed by the office, which he had obtained for himself, in connexion with his original vocation, of *valet de chambre* to the king, with the promise of a reversion of it to his son, on his own decease. The youth accordingly received only such a meagre elementary education, as was usual with the artisans of that day. But a secret consciousness of his own powers convinced him, that he was destined by nature for higher purposes, than that of quilting sofas and hanging tapestry. His occasional presence at the theatrical representations of the *Hôtel de Bourgogne* is said also to have awakened in his mind, at this period, a passion for the drama. He therefore solicited his father to assist him in obtaining more liberal instruction; and when the latter at length yielded to the repeated entreaties of his son, it was with the reluctance of one, who imagines that he is spoiling a good mechanic in order to make a poor scholar. He was accordingly introduced into the Jesuits' college of Clermont, where he followed the usual course of study for five years with dili-

gence and credit. He was fortunate enough to pursue the study of philosophy under the direction of the celebrated Gassendi; with his fellow pupils, Chapelle the poet, afterwards his intimate friend; and Bernier, so famous subsequently for his travels in the East, but who, on his return, had the misfortune to lose the favor of Louis the Fourteenth, by replying to him, that 'of all the countries he had ever seen, he preferred Switzerland.'

On the completion of his studies in 1641, he was required to accompany the king, then Louis the Thirteenth, in his capacity of *valet de chambre* (his father being detained in Paris by his infirmities), on an excursion to the south of France. This journey afforded him the opportunity of becoming intimately acquainted with the habits of the court, as well as those of the provinces, of which he afterwards so repeatedly availed himself in his comedies. On his return, he commenced the study of the law, and had completed it, it would appear, when his old passion for the theatre revived with increased ardor, and, after some hesitation, he determined no longer to withstand the decided impulse of his genius. He associated himself with one of those city companies of players, with which Paris had swarmed since the days of Richelieu; a minister who aspired after the same empire in the republic of letters, which he had so long maintained over the state; and whose ostentatious patronage eminently contributed to develope that taste for dramatic exhibition, which has distinguished his countrymen ever since.

The consternation of the elder Poquelin, on receiving the intelligence of his son's unexpected determination, may be readily conceived. It blasted at once all the fair promise which the rapid progress the latter had made in his studies had justified him in forming; and it degraded him to an unfortunate profession, esteemed at that time even more lightly in France, than it has been in other countries. The humiliating dependence of the comedian on the popular favor, the daily exposure of his person to the caprice and insults of an unfeeling audience, the numerous temptations incident to his precarious and unsettled life, may furnish abundant objections to this profession in the mind of every parent. But in France, to all these objections, were superadded others of a graver cast, founded on religion. The clergy, there, alarmed at the rapidly increasing taste for dramatic exhibitions, openly denounced

these elegant recreations as a flagrant insult to the Deity; and the pious father anticipated, in this preference of his son, his spiritual no less than his temporal perdition. He actually made an earnest remonstrance to him to this effect, through the intervention of one of his friends, who, however, instead of converting the youth, was himself pursuaded to join the company then organizing under his direction. His family, however, were never reconciled to his proceeding; and even at a later period of his life, when his splendid successes in his new career had shown how rightly he had understood the character of his own genius, they never condescended to avail themselves of the freedom of admission to his theatre, which he repeatedly proffered. M. Bret, his editor, also informs us, that he had himself seen a genealogical tree, in the possession of the descendants of this same family, in which the name of Molière was not even admitted! Unless it were to trace their connexion with so illustrious a name, what could such a family want of a genealogical tree! It was from a deference to these scruples that our hero annexed to his patronymic the name of Molière, by which alone he has been recognised by posterity.

During the three following years, he continued playing in Paris, until the turbulent regency of Anne of Austria withdrew the attention of the people from the quiet pleasures of the drama, to those of civil broil and tumult. Molière then quitted the capital, for the south of France. From this period, 1646 to 1658, his history presents few particulars worthy of record. He wandered with his company through the different provinces; writing a few farces, which have long since perished; performing at the principal cities; and, wherever he went, by his superior talent withdrawing the crowd from every other spectacle, to the exhibition of his own. During this period, too, he was busily storing his mind with those nice observations of men and manners, so essential to the success of the dramatist; and which were to ripen there, until a proper time for their developement should arrive. At the town of Pezénas they still show an elbow-chair of Molière's (as at Montpelier they show the gown of Rabelais), in which the poet, it is said, ensconced in a corner of a barber's shop, would sit for the hour together, silently watching the air, gestures, and grimaces of the village politicians, who, in those days, before coffee-houses were introduced into France, used to congregate in this place of resort. The fruits of this study may be easily discerned in

those original draughts of character from the middling and lower classes with which his pieces everywhere abound.

In the south of France he met with the prince of Conti, with whom he had contracted a friendship at the college of Clermont, and who received him with great hospitality. The prince pressed upon him the office of his private secretary, but, fortunately for letters, Molière was constant in his devotion to the drama; assigning as his reason, that 'the occupation was of too serious a complexion to suit his taste; and that though he might make a passable author, he should make a very poor secretary.' Perhaps he was influenced in this refusal, also, by the fate of the preceding incumbent, who had lately died of a fever, in consequence of a blow from the fire-tongs, which his highness, in a fit of ill-humor, had given him on the temple. However this may be, it was owing to the good offices of the prince, that he obtained access to Monsieur, the only brother of Louis the Fourteenth, and father of the celebrated regent, Philip of Orleans, who, on his return to Paris in 1658, introduced him to the king; before whom, in the month of October following, he was allowed, with his company, to perform a tragedy of Corneille's, and one of his own farces.

His little corps was now permitted to establish itself under the title of the 'Company of Monsieur'; and the theatre of the Petit-Bourbon was assigned as the place for its performances. Here, in the course of a few weeks, he brought out his *Etourdi* and *Le Dépit Amoureux*, comedies in verse and in five acts, which he had composed during his provincial pilgrimage; and which, although deficient in an artful *liaison* of scenes, and in probability of incident, exhibit, particularly the last, those fine touches of the ridiculous, which revealed the future author of the *Tartuffe* and the *Misanthrope*. They indeed found greater favor with the audience, than some of his later pieces; for, in the former, they could only compare him with the wretched models that had preceded him, while in the latter, they were to compare him with himself.

In the ensuing year, Molière exhibited his celebrated farce of *Les Précieuses Ridicules;* a piece in only one act, but which, by its inimitable satire, effected such a revolution in the literary taste of his countrymen, as has been accomplished by few works of a more imposing form; and which may be considered as the basis of the dramatic glory of Molière, and the

dawn of good comedy in France. This epoch was the commencement of that brilliant period in French literature, which is so well known as the age of Louis the Fourteenth. And yet it was distinguished by such a puerile, meretricious taste, as is rarely to be met with, except in the incipient stages of civilization, or in its last decline. The cause of this melancholy perversion of intellect is mainly imputable to the influence of a certain *coterie* of wits, whose rank, talents, and successful authorship had authorized them, in some measure, to set up as the arbiters of taste and fashion. This choice assembly, consisting of the splenetic Rochefoucault; the *bel-esprit* Voiture; Balzac, whose letters afford the earliest example of numbers in French prose; the lively and licentious Bussy; Rabutin; Chapelain, who, as a wit has observed, might still have had a reputation had it not been for his 'Pucelle'; the poet Bensérade; Ménage, and others of less note; together with such eminent females as Madame Lafayette, Mademoiselle Scudéri (whose eternal romances, the delight of her own age, have been the despair of every other), and even the elegant Sévigné;—was accustomed to hold its *réunions* principally at the *Hôtel de Rambouillet*, the residence of the Marchioness of that name, and which, from this circumstance, has acquired such ill-omened notoriety in the history of letters.

Here they were wont to hold the most solemn discussions on the most frivolous topics, but especially on matters relating to gallantry and love, which they debated with all the subtilty and metaphysical refinement, that, centuries before, had characterized the romantic Courts of Love in the South of France. All this was conducted in an affected jargon, in which the most common things, instead of being called by their usual names, were signified by ridiculous periphrases; which, while it required neither wit nor ingenuity to invent them, could have had no other merit, even in their own eyes, than that of being unintelligible to the vulgar. To this was superadded a tone of exaggerated sentiment, and a ridiculous code of etiquette, by which the intercourse of these *exclusives* was to be regulated with each other, all borrowed from the absurd romances of Calprenede and Scudéri. Even the names of the parties underwent a metamorphosis; and Madame de Rambouillet's christian name of *Catherine*, being found too trite and unpoetical, was converted into *Arthénice*, by which she was so generally recognised as to be designated by it in

Fléchier's eloquent funeral oration on her daughter.* These insipid affectations, which French critics are fond of imputing to an Italian influence, savor quite as much of the Spanish *cultismo*, as of the *concetti* of the former nation, and may be yet more fairly referred to the same false principles of taste, which distinguished the French Pleiades of the sixteenth century, and the more ancient compositions of their Provençal ancestors. Dictionaries were compiled, and treatises written illustrative of this precious vocabulary; all were desirous of being initiated into the mysteries of so elegant a science, even such men as Corneille and Bossuet did not disdain to frequent the saloons where it was studied; the spirit of imitation, more active in France than in other countries, took possession of the provinces; every village had its coterie of *précieuses*, after the fashion of the capital; and a false taste and criticism threatened to infect the very sources of pure and healthful literature.

It was against this fashionable corruption that Molière aimed his wit, in the little satire of the 'Précieuses Ridicules'; in which the valets of two noblemen are represented as aping their masters' tone of conversation, for the purpose of imposing on two young ladies fresh from the provinces, and great admirers of the new style. The absurdity of these affectations is still more strongly relieved, by the contemptuous incredulity of the father and servant, who do not comprehend a word of them. By this process Molière succeeded both in exposing and degrading these absurd pretensions; as he showed how opposite they were to common sense, and how easily they were to be acquired by the most vulgar minds. The success was such, as might have been anticipated on an appeal to popular feeling, where nature must always triumph over the arts of affectation. The piece was welcomed with enthusiastic applause, and the disciples of the *Hôtel Rambouillet*, most of whom were present at the first exhibition, beheld the fine fabric, which they had been so painfully constructing, brought to the ground by a single blow. 'And these follies,' said Ménage to Chapelain, 'which you and I see so finely criticized here, are

* How comes Laharpe to fall into the error of supposing that Fléchier referred to Madame Montausier, by this epithet of *Arthénice*? The bishop's style in this passage is as unequivocal as usual. See *Cours de Littérature*, &c. tome vi. p. 167.

what we have been so long admiring. We must go home and burn our idols.' 'Courage, Molière,' cried an old man from the pit; 'this is genuine comedy.' The price of the seats was doubled from the time of the second representation. Nor were the effects of the satire merely transitory. It converted an epithet of praise into one of reproach; and a *femme précieuse*, a *style précieux*, a *ton précieux*, once so much admired, have ever since been used only to signify the most ridiculous affectation.

There was, in truth, however, quite as much luck as merit, in this success of Molière; whose production exhibits no finer raillery, or better sustained dialogue, than are to be found in many of his subsequent pieces. It assured him, however, of his own strength, and disclosed to him the mode in which he should best hit the popular taste. 'I have no occasion to study Plautus or Terence any longer,' said he; 'I must, henceforth, study the world.' The world accordingly was his study; and the exquisite models of character which it furnished him, will last as long as it shall endure.

In 1660 he brought out the excellent comedy of the *Ecole des Maris;* and, in the course of the same month, that of the *Fâcheux*, in three acts; composed, learned, and performed within the brief space of a fortnight; an expedition evincing the dexterity of the manager, no less than that of the author. This piece was written at the request of Fouquet, superintendent of finances to Louis the Fourteenth, for the magnificent *fête* at Vaux, given by him to that monarch, and lavishly celebrated in the memoirs of the period, and with yet more elegance in a poetical epistle of La Fontaine to his friend De Maucroix. This minister had been entrusted with the principal care of the finances under Cardinal Mazarine, and had been continued in the same office by Louis the Fourteenth, on his own assumption of the government. The monarch, however, alarmed at the growing dilapidations of the revenue, requested from the superintendent an *exposé* of its actual condition, which, on receiving, he privately communicated to Colbert, the rival and successor of Fouquet. The latter, whose ordinary expenditure far exceeded that of any other subject in the kingdom, and who, in addition to immense sums occasionally lost at play, and daily squandered on his debaucheries, is said to have distributed in pensions more than four millions of livres annually, thought it would be an easy matter

to impose on a young and inexperienced prince, who had hitherto shown himself more devoted to pleasure than business; and accordingly gave in false returns, exaggerating the expenses, and diminishing the actual receipts of the treasury. The detection of this peculation determined Louis to take the first occasion of dismissing his powerful minister; but his ruin was precipitated and completed by the discovery of an indiscreet passion for Madame de la Vallière, whose fascinating graces were then beginning to acquire for her that ascendency over the youthful monarch, which has since condemned her name to such unfortunate celebrity. The portrait of this lady, seen in the apartments of the favorite, on the occasion to which we have adverted, so incensed Louis, that he would have had him arrested on the spot, but for the seasonable intervention of the queen mother, who reminded him that Fouquet was his host. It was for this *fête* at Vaux, whose palace and ample domains, covering the extent of three villages, had cost their proprietor the sum, almost incredible for that period, of eighteen million livres, that Fouquet put in requisition all the various talents of the capital, the dexterity of its artists, and the invention of its finest poets. He was particularly lavish in his preparations for the dramatic portion of the entertainment. Le Brun passed for a while, from his victories of Alexander, to paint the theatrical decorations; Torelli was employed to contrive the machinery; Pelisson furnished the prologue, much admired in its day; and Molière his comedy of the *Fâcheux*.

This piece, the hint for which may have been suggested by Horace's ninth satire, *Ibam forte viâ Sacrâ*, is an amusing caricature of the various *bores*, that infest society, rendered the more vexatious by their intervention at the very moment when a young lover is hastening to the place of assignation with his mistress. Louis the Fourteenth, after the performance, seeing his master of the hunts near him, M. Soyecour, a personage remarkably absent, and inordinately devoted to the pleasures of the chase, pointed him out to Molière as an original, whom he had omitted to bring upon his canvass. The poet took the hint, and, the following day, produced an excellent scene, where this Nimrod is made to go through the *technics* of his art; in which he had himself, with great complaisance, instructed the mischievous satirist, who had drawn him into a conversation for that very purpose, on the preceding evening.

This play was the origin of the *comédie-ballet*, afterwards so popular in France. The residence at Vaux brought Molière more intimately in contact with the king and the court than he had before been; and from this time may be dated the particular encouragement which he ever after received from this prince, and which effectually enabled him to triumph over the malice of his enemies. A few days after this magnificent entertainment, Fouquet was thrown into prison, where he was suffered to languish the remainder of his days; 'which,' says the historian from whom we have gathered these details, 'he terminated *in sentiments of the most sincere piety*.' * A termination by no means uncommon in France, with that class of persons, of either sex, respectively, who have had the misfortune to survive their fortune or their beauty.

In February, 1662, Molière formed a matrimonial connexion with Mademoiselle Béjart; a young comedian of his company, who had been educated under his own eye, and whose wit and captivating graces had effectually ensnared the poet's heart; but for which he was destined to perform doleful penance the remainder of his life. The disparity of their ages, for the lady was hardly seventeen, might have afforded in itself a sufficient objection; and he had no reason to flatter himself that she would remain uninfected by the pernicious example of the society, in which she had been educated, and of which he himself was not altogether an immaculate member. In his excellent comedy of the *Ecole des Femmes*, brought forward the same year, the story turns upon the absurdity of an old man's educating a young female, for the purpose, at some future time, of marrying her; which wise plan is defeated by the unseasonable apparition of a young lover, who, in five minutes, undoes what it had cost the veteran so many years to contrive. The pertinency of this moral to the poet's own situation shows how much easier it is to talk wisely, than to act so.

This comedy, popular as it was on its representation, brought upon the head of its author a pitiless pelting of parody, satire, and even slander, from those of his own craft who were jealous of his unprecedented success, and from those literary *petits-maîtres* who still smarted with the stripes inflicted on

* Histoire de la Vie, &c. de La Fontaine, par M. Walckenaer. Paris, 1824.

them, in some of his previous performances. One of this latter class, incensed at the applauses bestowed upon the piece on the night of its first representation, indignantly exclaimed, *Ris donc, parterre; ris donc!* 'Laugh then, pit, if you will'; and immediately quitted the theatre.

Molière was not slow in avenging himself of these interested criticisms, by means of a little piece, entitled *La Critique de l'Ecole des Femmes;* in which he brings forward the various objections made to his comedy, and ridicules them with unsparing severity. These objections appear to have been chiefly of a verbal nature. A few such familiar phrases, as *Tarte à la crême, Enfans par l'oreille,* &c., gave particular offence to the purists of that day, and, in the prudish spirit of French criticism, have since been condemned by Voltaire and Laharpe as unworthy of comedy. One of the personages, introduced into the *Critique,* is a marquis, who, when repeatedly interrogated as to the nature of his objections to the comedy, has no other answer to make, than by his eternal *Tarte à la crême.* The Duc de Feuillade, a coxcomb of little brains, but great pretension, was the person generally supposed to be here intended. The peer, unequal to an encounter of wits with his antagonist, resorted to a coarser remedy. Meeting Molière one day in the gallery at Versailles, he advanced as if to embrace him; a civility which the great lords of that day occasionally condescended to bestow upon their inferiors. As the unsuspecting poet inclined himself to receive the salute, the duke seizing his head between his hands, rubbed it briskly against the buttons of his coat, repeating at the same time, *Tarte à la crême, Monsieur; tarte à la crême.* The king, on receiving intelligence of this affront, was highly indignant at it, and reprimanded the duke with great asperity. He, at the same time, encouraged Molière to defend himself with his own weapons; a privilege of which he speedily availed himself, in a caustic little satire in one act, entitled the *Impromptu de Versailles.* 'The marquis,' he says in this piece, 'is now-a-days the droll *(le plaisant)* of the comedy. And as our ancestors always introduced a jester to furnish mirth for the audience, so we must have recourse to some ridiculous marquis to divert them.'

It is obvious that Molère could never have maintained this independent attitude, if he had not been protected by the royal favor. Indeed, Louis was constant in giving him this pro-

tection; and when, soon after this period, the character of Molière was blackened by the vilest imputations, the monarch testified his conviction of his innocence, by publicly standing godfather to his child; a tribute of respect equally honorable to the prince and the poet. The king, moreover, granted him a pension of a thousand livres annually; and to his company, which henceforth took the title of 'comedians of the king,' a pension of seven thousand. Our author received his pension, as one of a long list of men of letters, who experienced a similar bounty from the royal hand. The curious estimate, exhibited in this document, of the relative merits of these literary stipendiaries affords a striking evidence, that the decrees of contemporaries are not unfrequently to be reversed by posterity. The obsolete Chapelain is there recorded, 'as the greatest French poet, who has ever existed'; in consideration of which his stipend amounted to three thousand livres. While Boileau's name, for which his satires had already secured an imperishable existence, is not even noticed! It should be added, however, on the authority of Boileau, that Chapelain himself had the principal hand in furnishing this apocryphal scale of merit to the minister.

In the month of September, 1665, Molière produced his *L'Amour Médecin*, a *comédie-ballet*, in three acts, which, from the time of its conception to that of its performance, consumed only five days. This piece, although displaying no more than his usual talent for caustic raillery, is remarkable as affording the earliest demonstration of those direct hostilities upon the Medical faculty, which he maintained at intervals during the rest of his life, and which he may be truly said to have died in maintaining. In this, he followed the example of Montaigne, who, in particular, devotes one of the longest chapters in his work to a *tirade* against the profession, which he enforces by all the ingenuity of his wit, and his usual wealth of illustration. In this also, Molière was subsequently imitated by Le Sage; as every reader of Gil Blas will readily call to mind. Both Montaigne and Le Sage, however, like most other libellers of the healing art, were glad to have recourse to it in the hour of need. Not so with Molière. His satire seems to have been without affectation. Though an habitual valetudinarian, he relied almost wholly on the temperance of his diet for the reëstablishment of his health. 'What use do you make of your physician?' said the king to

him one day. 'We chat together, Sire,' said the poet. 'He gives me his prescriptions; I never follow them; and so I get well.'

An ample apology for this infidelity may be found in the state of the profession at that day, whose members affected to disguise a profound ignorance of the true principles of science under a pompous exterior, which, however it might impose upon the vulgar, could only bring them into deserved discredit with the better portion of the community. The physicians of that time are described as parading the streets of Paris on mules, dressed in a long robe and bands, holding their conversation in bad Latin, or, if they condescended to employ the vernacular, mixing it up with such a jargon of scholastic phrase and scientific *technics*, as to render it perfectly unintelligible to vulgar ears. The following lines cited by M. Taschereau, and written in good earnest at the time, seem to hit off most of these peculiarities.

'Affecter un air pédantesque,
Cracher du grec et du latin,
Longue perruque, habit grotesque,
De la fourrure et du satin,
Tout cela réuni fait presque
Ce qu'on appelle un médecin.'*

In addition to these absurdities, the physicians of that period exposed themselves to still further derision, by the contrariety of their opinions, and the animosity with which they maintained them. The famous consultation in the case of Cardinal Mazarine, was well known in its day; one of his four medical attendants affirming the seat of his disorder to be the liver; another the lungs; a third the spleen; and a fourth the mesentery. Molière's raillery, therefore, against empyrics, in a profession where mistakes are so easily made, so difficult to be detected, and the only one in which they are irremediable, stands abundantly excused from the censures which have been heaped upon it. Its effects were visible in the reform, which, in his own time, it effected in their manners, if in nothing further.

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* A gait and air somewhat pedantic,
And scarce to spit but Greek or Latin,
A long peruke and habit antic,
Sometimes of fur, sometimes of satin,
Form the receipt by which 't is showed
How to make doctors *à la mode*.

They assumed the dress of men of the world, and gradually adopted the popular forms of communication; an essential step to improvement, since nothing cloaks ignorance and empyricism more effectually with the vulgar, than an affected use of learned phrase, and a technical vocabulary.

We are now arrived at that period of Molière's career, when he composed his *Misanthrope;* a play which some critics have esteemed his master-piece, and which all concur in admiring as one of the noblest productions of the modern drama. Its literary execution, too, of paramount importance in the eye of a French critic, is more nicely elaborated than in any other of the pieces of Molière, if we except the *Tartuffe;* and its didactic dialogue displays a maturity of thought, equal to what is found in the best satires of Boileau. It is the very didactic tone of this comedy, indeed, which, combined with its want of eager, animating interest, made it less popular on its representation than some of his inferior pieces. A circumstance, which occurred on the first night of its performance, may be worth noticing. In the second scene of the first act, a man of fashion, it is well known, is represented as soliciting the candid opinion of *Alceste* on a sonnet of his own inditing; though he flies into a passion with him, five minutes after, for pronouncing an unfavorable judgment. This sonnet was so artfully constructed by Molière, with those dazzling epigrammatic points, most captivating to common ears, that the gratified audience were loud in their approbation of what they supposed intended in good faith by the author. How great was their mortification then, when they heard Alceste condemn the whole as puerile, and fairly expose the false principles, on which it had been constructed. Such a rebuke must have carried more weight with it, than a volume of set dissertation on the principles of taste.

Rousseau has bitterly inveighed against Molière for exposing to ridicule the hero of his *Misanthrope*, a high-minded and estimable character. It was told to the Duc de Montausier, well known for his austere virtue, that he was intended as the original of the character. Much offended, he attended a representation of the piece, but, on returning, declared that 'he dared hardly flatter himself the poet had intended him so great an honor.' This fact, as has been well intimated by Laharpe, furnishes the best reply to Rousseau's invective.

The relations in which Molière stood with his wife, at the

time of the appearance of this comedy, gave to the exhibition a painful interest. The levity and extravagance of this lady had, for some time, transcended even those liberal limits, which were conceded at that day, by the complaisance of a French husband; and they deeply affected the happiness of the poet. As he one day communicated the subject to his friend Chapelle, the latter strongly urged him to confine her person; a remedy much in vogue then for refractory wives, and one certainly, if not more efficacious, at least more gallant, than the 'moderate flagellation,' authorized by the English law. He remonstrated on the folly of being longer the dupe of her artifices. 'Alas,' said the unfortunate poet to him, 'you have never loved!' A separation, however, was at length agreed upon, and it was arranged that, while both parties occupied the same house, they should never meet, excepting at the theatre. The respective parts which they performed in this piece, corresponded precisely with their respective situations; that of *Célimène*, a fascinating, capricious coquette, insensible to every remonstrance of her lover, and selfishly bent on the gratification of her own appetites; and that of *Alceste*, perfectly sensible of the duplicity of his mistress, whom he vainly hopes to reform, and no less so of the unworthiness of his own passion, from which he as vainly hopes to extricate himself. The coincidences, as M. Taschereau has correctly remarked, are too exact to be considered wholly accidental.

If Molière, in his preceding pieces, had hit the follies and fashionable absurdities of his age; in the *Tartuffe*, he flew at still higher game; the most odious of all vices, religious hypocrisy. The result showed that his shafts were not shot in the dark. The three first acts of the *Tartuffe*, the only ones then written, made their appearance at the memorable *fêtes*, known under the name of 'The Pleasures of the Enchanted Isle,' given by Louis the Fourteenth, at Versailles in 1664, and of which the inquisitive reader may find a circumstantial narrative in the twenty-fifth chapter of Voltaire's History of that monarch. The only circumstance, which can give them a permanent value with posterity, is their having been the occasion of the earliest exhibition of this inimitable comedy. Louis the Fourteenth, who, notwithstanding the defects of his education, seems to have had a discriminating perception of literary beauty, was fully sensible of the merits of this production. The *Tartuffes*, however, who were present at the exhibition,

deeply stung by the sarcasms of the poet, like the foul birds of night, whose recesses have been suddenly invaded by a glare of light, raised a fearful cry against him; until Louis, even, whose solicitude for the interests of the church was nowise impaired by his own personal derelictions, complied with their importunities for imposing a prohibition on the public performance of the play.

It was, however, privately acted in the presence of Monsieur, and afterwards of the great Condé. Copies of it were greedily circulated in the societies of Paris; and although their unanimous suffrage was an inadequate compensation to the author for the privations he incurred, it was sufficient to quicken the activity of the false zealots, who, under the mask of piety, assailed him with the grossest libels. One of them even ventured so far as to call upon the king to make a public example of him with fire and faggot. Another declared that it would be an offence to the Deity to allow Molière, after such an enormity, 'to participate in the sacraments, to be admitted to confession, or even to enter the precincts of a church; considering the anathemas, which it had fulminated against the authors of indecent and sacrilegious spectacles!' Soon after his sentence of prohibition, the king attended the performance of a piece, entitled *Scaramouche Hermite;* a piece abounding in passages the most indelicate and profane. 'What is the reason,' said he, on retiring, to the prince of Condé, 'that the persons so sensibly scandalized at Molière's comedy, take no umbrage at this?' 'Because,' said the prince, 'the latter only attacks religion, while the former attacks themselves.' An answer which may remind one of a remark of Bayle, in reference to the *Decameron;* which, having been placed on the Index on account of its immorality, was, however, allowed to be published in an edition, which converted the names of the ecclesiastics into those of laymen;—'a concession,' says the philosopher, 'which shows the priests to have been much more solicitous for the interests of their own order, than for those of Heaven.'

Louis, at length, convinced of the interested motives of the enemies of the *Tartuffe*, yielded to the importunities of the public, and removed his prohibition of its performance. It accordingly was represented, for the first time in public, in August, 1667, before an overflowing house, extended to its full complement of five acts, but with alterations of the names of

the piece, the principal personages in it, and some of its most obnoxious passages. It was entitled *The Impostor*, and its hero was styled *Panulfe*. On the second evening of the performance, however, an interdict arrived from the president of the parliament, against the repetition of the performance; and as the king had left Paris in order to join his army in Flanders, no immediate redress was to be obtained. It was not until two years later, 1669, that the *Tartuffe*, in its present shape, was finally allowed to proceed unmolested in its representations. It is scarcely necessary to add, that these were attended with the most brilliant success which its author could have anticipated; and to which the intrinsic merits of the piece, and the unmerited persecutions he had undergone, so well entitled him. Forty-four successive representations were scarcely sufficient to satisfy the eager curiosity of the public; and his grateful company forced upon Molière a double share of the profits, during every repetition of its performance for the remainder of his life. Posterity has confirmed the decision of his contemporaries; and it still remains the most admired comedy of the French theatre, and will always remain so, says a native critic, 'as long as taste and hypocrites shall endure in France.'

We have been thus particular in our history of these transactions, as it affords one of the most interesting examples on record, of undeserved persecution, with which envy and party-spirit have assailed a man of letters. No one of Molière's compositions is determined by a more direct moral aim; nowhere has he stripped the mask from vice with a more intrepid hand; nowhere has he animated his discourses with a more sound and practical piety. It should be added, in justice to the French clergy of that period, that the most eminent prelates at the court acknowledged the merits of this comedy, and were strongly in favor of its representation.

It is generally known that the amusing scene in the first act, where *Dorine* enlarges so eloquently on the good cheer, which *Tartuffe* had made in the absence of his host, was suggested to Molière, some years previous, in Lorraine, by a circumstance which took place at the table of Louis the Fourteenth, whom Molière had accompanied in his capacity of *valet de chambre*. Perefixe, bishop of Rhodez, entering while the king was at his evening meal, during Lent, was invited by him to follow his example. But the bishop declined, on the ground that he was

accustomed to eat only once during the days of vigil and fast. The king, observing one of his attendants to smile, inquired of him the reason as soon as the prelate had withdrawn. The latter informed his master, that he need be under no apprehensions for the health of the good bishop, as he himself had assisted at his dinner on that day ; and then recounted to him the various dishes which had been served up. The king, who listened with becoming gravity to the narration, uttered an exclamation of 'Poor man!' at the specification of each new item ; varying the tone of his exclamation, in such a manner as to give it a highly comic effect. The humor was not lost upon our poet, who has transported the same ejaculations, with much greater effect, into the abovementioned scene of his play. The king, who did not at first recognise the source whence he had derived it, on being informed of it, was much pleased, if we may believe M. Taschereau, in finding himself even thus accidentally associated with the work of a man of genius.

In 1668, Molière brought forward his *Avare*, and in the following year, his amusing comedy of the *Bourgeois Gentilhomme ;* in which the folly of unequal alliances is successfully ridiculed and exposed. This play was first represented in the presence of the court at Chambord. The king maintained, during its performance, an inscrutable physiognomy, which made it doubtful what might be his real sentiments respecting it. The same deportment was maintained by him, during the evening, towards the author, who was in attendance in his capacity of *valet de chambre.* The quick-eyed courtiers, the counts and marquises, who had so often smarted under the lash of the poet, construing this into an expression of royal disapprobation, were loud in their condemnation of him ; and a certain duke boldly affirmed, 'that he was fast sinking into his second childhood, and that, unless some better writer soon appeared, French comedy would degenerate into mere Italian farce.' The unfortunate poet, unable to catch a single ray of consolation, was greatly depressed during the interval of five days, which preceded the second representation of his piece ; on returning from which, the monarch assured him that 'none of his productions had afforded him greater entertainment, and that if he had delayed expressing his opinion on the preceding night, it was from the apprehension that his judgment might have been influenced by the excellence of the acting.' Whatever we may think of this exhibition of royal caprice, we must

admire the suppleness of the courtiers; one and all of whom straightway expressed their full conviction of the merits of the comedy, and the duke abovementioned added, in particular, that 'there was a *vis comica* in all that Molière ever wrote, to which the ancients could furnish no parallel!' What exquisite studies for his pencil must Molière not have found in this precious assembly!

We have already remarked, that the profession of a comedian was but lightly esteemed in France at this period. Molière experienced the inconveniences resulting from this circumstance, even after his splendid literary career had given him undoubted claims to consideration. Most of our readers, no doubt, are acquainted with the anecdote of Belloc, an agreeable poet of the court, who, on hearing one of the servants in the royal household refuse to aid the author of the *Tartuffe* in making the king's bed, courteously requested 'the poet to accept his services for that purpose.' Madame Campan's anecdote of a similar courtesy, on the part of Louis the Fourteenth, is also well known; who, when several of these functionaries refused to sit at table with the comedian, kindly invited him to sit down with him, and, calling in some of his principal courtiers, remarked that 'he had requested the pleasure of Molière's company at his own table, as it was not thought quite good enough for his officers.' This rebuke had the desired effect. However humiliating the reflection may be, that genius should have, at any time, stood in need of such sort of patronage, it is highly honorable to the monarch, who could raise himself so far above the prejudices of his age, as to confer it.

It was the same unworthy prejudice, that had so long excluded Molière from that great object and recompense of a French scholar's ambition, a seat in the Academy; a body affecting to maintain a jealous watch over the national language and literature, which the author of the *Misanthrope* and the *Tartuffe*, perhaps more than any other individual of his age, had contributed to purify and advance. Sensible of this merit, they, at length, offered him a place in their assembly, provided he would renounce his profession of a player, and confine himself, in future, to his literary labors. But the poet replied to his friend Boileau, the bearer of this communication, that 'too many individuals of his company depended on his theatrical labors for support, to allow him, for a moment, to think of it';

a reply of infinitely more service to his memory, than all the academic honors that could have been heaped upon him. This illustrious body, however, a century after his decease, paid him the barren compliment (the only one then in their power), of decreeing to him an *éloge*, and of admitting his bust within their walls, with this inscription upon it;

'Nothing is wanting to his glory;—he was wanting to ours.'

The catalogue of Academicians contemporary with Molière, most of whom now rest in sweet oblivion, or, with Cotin and Chapelain, live only in the satires of Boileau, shows that it is as little in the power of academies to confer immortality on a writer, as to deprive him of it.

We have not time to notice the excellent comedy of the *Femmes Savantes;* and some inferior pieces, written by our author at a later period of his life; and we must hasten to the closing scene. He had been long affected by a pulmonary complaint, and it was only by severe temperance, as we have before stated, that he was enabled to preserve even a moderate degree of health. At the commencement of the year 1673, his malady sensibly increased. At this very season, he composed his *Malade Imaginaire;* the most whimsical, and perhaps the most amusing of the compositions, in which he has indulged his raillery against the Faculty. On the seventeenth of February, being the day appointed for its fourth representation, his friends would have dissuaded him from appearing, in consequence of his increasing indisposition. But he persisted in his design, alleging 'that more than fifty poor individuals depended for their daily bread on its performance.' His life fell a sacrifice to his benevolence. The exertions which he was compelled to make in playing the principal part of *Argan* aggravated his distemper, and as he was repeating the word *juro*, in the concluding ceremony, he fell into a convulsion, which he vainly endeavored to disguise from the spectators under a forced smile. He was immediately carried to his house, in the *Rue de Richelieu*, now No. 34. A violent fit of coughing, on his arrival, occasioned the rupture of a blood-vessel; and, seeing his end approaching, he sent for two ecclesiastics of the parish of St Eustace, to which he belonged, to administer to him the last offices of religion. But these worthy persons having refused their assistance, before a third, who had been sent for, could arrive, Molière, suffocated

with the effusion of blood, had expired in the arms of his family.

Harlay de Champvalon, at that time archbishop of Paris, refused the rites of sepulture to the deceased poet, because he was a comedian, and had had the misfortune to die without receiving the sacraments. This prelate is conspicuous, even in the chronicles of that period, for his bold and infamous debaucheries. It is of him that Madame de Sévigné observes, in one of her letters; 'There are two little inconveniences, which make it difficult for any one to undertake his funeral oration; his life and his death.' Father Gaillard, who at length consented to undertake it, did so, on the condition that he should not be required to say anything of the character of the deceased. The remonstrance of Louis the Fourteenth having induced this person to remove his interdict, he privately instructed the curate of St Eustace not to allow the usual service for the dead to be recited at the interment. On the day appointed for this ceremony, a number of the rabble assembled before the deceased poet's door, determined to oppose it. 'They knew only,' says Voltaire, 'that Molière was a comedian; but did not know that he was a philosopher, and a great man.' They had, more probably, been collected together by the Tartuffes, his unforgiving enemies. The widow of the poet appeased these wretches, by throwing money to them from the windows. In the evening, the body, escorted by a procession of about a hundred individuals, the friends and intimate acquaintances of the deceased poet, each of them bearing a flambeau in his hand, was quietly deposited in the cemetery of St Joseph, without the ordinary chant, or service of any kind. It was not thus that Paris followed to the tomb the remains of her late distinguished comedian, Talma. Yet Talma was only a comedian; while Molière, in addition to this, had the merit of being the most eminent comic writer whom France had ever produced. The different degree of popular civilization, which this difference of conduct indicates, may afford a subject of contemplation by no means unpleasing to the philanthropist.

In the year 1792, during that memorable period in France, when an affectation of reverence for their illustrious dead was strangely mingled with the persecution of the living, the Parisians resolved to exhume the remains of La Fontaine and Molière, in order to transport them to a more honorable place of

interment. Of the relics thus obtained, it is certain that no portion belonged to La Fontaine; and it is extremely probable that none did to Molière. Whosesoever they may have been, they did not receive the honors, for which their repose had been disturbed. With the usual fickleness of the period, they were shamefully transferred from one place to another, or abandoned to neglect for seven years; when the patriotic conservator of the *Monumens Français* succeeded in obtaining them for his collection at the *Petits-Augustins*. On the suppression of this institution, in 1817, the supposed ashes of the two poets were, for the last time, transported to the spacious cemetery of *Père de la Chaise*, where the tomb of the author of the *Tartuffe* is designated by an inscription in Latin, which, as if to complete the scandal of the proceedings, is grossly mistaken in the only fact, which it pretends to record, namely, the age of the poet at the time of his decease.

Molière died soon after entering upon his fifty-second year. He is represented to have been somewhat above the middle stature, and well proportioned; his features large, his complexion dark, and his black, bushy eyebrows so flexible, as to admit of his giving an infinitely comic expression to his physiognomy. He was the best actor of his own generation, and, by his counsels, formed the celebrated Baron, the best of the succeeding. He played all the range of his own characters, from *Alceste* to *Sganarelle;* though he seems to have been peculiarly fitted for broad comedy. He composed with rapidity; for which Boileau has happily complimented him;

> 'Rare et sublime esprit, dont la fertile vein
> Ignore en écrivant le travail et la peine.'

Unlike in this to Boileau himself, and to Racine; the former of whom taught the latter, if we may credit his son, 'the art of rhyming with difficulty.' Of course the verses of Molière have neither the correctness nor the high finish of those of his two illustrious rivals.

He produced all his pieces, amounting to thirty, in the short space of fifteen years. He was in the habit of reading these to an old female domestic, by the name of La Forêt; on whose unsophisticated judgment he greatly relied. On one occasion when he attempted to impose upon her the production of a brother author, she plainly told him that he had never written it. Sir Walter Scott may have had this habit of Mo-

lière's in his mind, when he introduced a similar expedient into his 'Chronicles of the Canongate.' For the same reason, our poet used to request the comedians to bring their children with them, when he recited to them a new play. The peculiar advantage of this humble criticism, in dramatic compositions, is obvious. Alfieri himself, as he informs us, did not disdain to resort to it.

Molière's income was very ample; probably not less than twenty-five or thirty thousand francs; an immense sum for that day. Yet he left but little property. The expensive habits of his wife and his own liberality may account for it. One example of this is worth recording, as having been singularly opportune and well directed. When Racine came up to Paris, as a young adventurer, he presented to Molière a copy of his first crude tragedy, long since buried in oblivion. The latter discerned in it, amidst all its imperfections, the latent spark of dramatic genius, and he encouraged its author by the present of a hundred louis. This was doing better for him than Corneille did, who advised the future author of *Phédre* to abandon the tragic walk, and to devote himself altogether to comedy. Racine recompensed this benefaction of his friend, at a later period of his life, by quarrelling with him.

Molière was naturally of a reserved and taciturn temper; insomuch that his friend Boileau used to call him the *Contemplateur*. Strangers who had expected to recognise in his conversation the sallies of wit which distinguished his dramas, went away disappointed. The same thing is related of La Fontaine. The truth is, that Molière went into society as a spectator, not as an actor; he found there the studies for the characters, which he was to transport upon the stage; and he occupied himself with observing them. The dreamer, La Fontaine, lived too in a world of his own creation. His friend, Madame de la Sablière, paid to him this untranslateable compliment; 'En vérité, mon cher La Fontaine, vous seriez bien bête, si vous n'aviez pas tant d'espirit.' These unseasonable reveries brought him, it may be imagined, into many whimsical adventures. The great Corneille, too, was distinguished by the same apathy. A gentlemen dined at the same table with him for six months, without suspecting the author of the 'Cid.'

The literary reputation of Molière, and his amiable personal endowments, naturally led him into an intimacy with the most

eminent wits of the golden age, in which he lived; but especially with Boileau, La Fontaine, and Racine; and the confidential intercourse of these great minds, and their frequent *réunions*, for the purposes of social pleasure, bring to mind the similar associations at *the Mermaid's*, *Will's coffee-house*, and *Button's*, which form so pleasing a picture in the annals of English literature. It was common on these occasions to have a volume of the unfortunate Chapelain's epic, then in popular repute, lie open upon the table, and if one of the party fell into a grammatical blunder, to impose upon him the reading of some fifteen or twenty verses of it; 'a whole page,' says Louis Racine, 'was sentence of death.' La Fontaine, in his *Psyché*, has painted his reminiscences of these happy meetings, in the coloring of fond regret; where, 'freely discussing such topics of general literature, or personal gossip, as might arise, they touched lightly upon all, like bees passing on from flower to flower; criticising the works of others, without envy, and of one another, when any one chanced to fall into the malady of the age, with frankness.' Alas! that so rare an union of minds, destined to live together through all ages, should have been dissolved by the petty jealousies incident to common men.

In these assemblies, frequent mention is made of Chapelle, the most intimate friend of Molière, whose agreeable verses are read with pleasure in our day, and whose cordial manners and sprightly conversation made him the delight of his own. His mercurial spirits, however, led him into too free an indulgence of convivial pleasures; and brought upon him the repeated, though unavailing, remonstrances of his friends. On one of these occasions, as Boileau was urging upon him the impropriety of this indulgence, and its inevitable consequences, Chapelle, who received the admonition with great contrition, invited his Mentor to withdraw from the public street, in which they were then walking, into a neighboring house, where they could talk over the matter with less interruption. Here wine was called for, and, in the warmth of discussion, a second bottle being soon followed by a third, both parties at length found themselves in a condition, which made it advisable to adjourn the lecture to a more fitting occasion.

Molière enjoyed also the closest intimacy with the great Condé, the most distinguished ornament of the court of Louis

the Fourteenth; to such an extent, indeed, that the latter directed, that the poet should never be refused admission to him, at whatever hour he might choose to pay his visit. His regard for his friend was testified by his remark, rather more candid than courteous, to an Abbé of his acquaintance, who had brought him an epitaph, of his own writing, upon the deceased poet. 'Would to Heaven,' said the prince, 'that he were in a condition to bring me yours.'

We have already wandered beyond the limits which we had assigned to ourselves, for an abstract of Molière's literary labors, and of the most interesting anecdotes in his biography. Without entering, therefore, into a criticism on his writings, of which the public stand in no need, we shall dismiss the subject with a few brief reflections on their probable influence, and on the design of the author in producing them.

The most distinguished French critics, with the overweening partiality in favor of their own nation, so natural and so universal, placing Molière, by common consent, at the head of their own comic writers, have also claimed for him a preëminence over those of every other age and country. A. W. Schlegel, a very competent judge in these matters, has degraded him, on the other hand, from the walks of high comedy, to the writer of 'buffoon farces, for which his genius and inclination seem to have essentially fitted him;' adding, moreover, that 'his characters are not drawn from nature, but from the fleeting and superficial forms of fashionable life.' This is a hard sentence; accommodated to the more forcible illustration of the peculiar theory, which the German writer has avowed throughout his work; and which, however reasonable in its first principles, has led him into as exaggerated an admiration of the Romantic models, which he prefers, as disparagement of the Classical school, which he detests. It is a sentence, moreover, upon which some eminent critics in his own country, who support his theory in the main, have taken the liberty to demur.

That a large proportion of Molière's pieces are conceived in a vein of broad, homely merriment, rather than in that of elevated comedy; abounding in forced situations, high caricature, and practical jokes; in the knavish, intriguing valets of Plautus and Terence; in a compound of that good-nature and irritability, shrewdness and credulity, which make up the dupes of Aristophanes, is very true. But that a writer, dis-

tinguished by his deep reflection, his pure taste, and nice observation of character, should have preferred this to the higher walks of his art, is absolutely incredible. He has furnished the best justification of himself in an apology, which a contemporary biographer reports him to have made to some one, who censured him on this very ground. 'If I wrote simply for fame,' said he, 'I should manage very differently; but I write for the support of my company. I must not address myself, therefore, to a few people of education, but to the mob. And this latter class of gentry take very little interest in a continued elevation of style and sentiment.' With all these imperfections and lively absurdities, however, there is scarcely one of Molière's minor pieces, which does not present us with traits of character that come home to every heart, and felicities of expression that, from their truth, have come to be proverbial.

With regard to the objection, that his characters are not so much drawn from nature, as from the local manners of the age; if it be meant that they are not acted upon by those deep passions which engross the whole soul, and which, from this intensity, have more of a tragic, than a comic import in them, but are rather drawn from the foibles and follies of ordinary life, it is true. But then these last are likely to be quite as permanent, and, among civilized nations, quite as universal, as the former. And who has exposed them with greater freedom, or with a more potent ridicule, than Molière? Love, under all its thousand circumstances, its quarrels, and reconciliations; vanity, humbly suing for admiration, under the guise of modesty; whimsical contradictions of profession and habitual practice; the industry with which the lower classes ape, not the virtues, but the follies of their superiors; the affectation of fashion, taste, science, or anything but what the party actually possesses; the *esprit de corps*, which leads us to feel an exalted respect for our own profession, and a sovereign contempt for every other; the friendly adviser, who has an eye to his own interest; the author, who seeks your candid opinion, and quarrels with you when you have given it; the fair friend, who kindly sacrifices your reputation for a jest; the hypocrite, under every aspect, who deceives the world or himself;—these form the various and motley panorama of character, which Molière has transferred to his canvass; and which, though mostly drawn from cultivated life, must endure as long as society shall hold together.

Indeed, Molière seems to have possessed all the essential requisites for excelling in genteel comedy; a pure taste, an acute perception of the ridiculous, the tone of elegant dialogue, and a wit, brilliant and untiring as Congreve's, but which, instead of wasting itself like his, in idle flashes of merriment, is uniformly directed with a moral or philosophical aim. This obvious didactic purpose, indeed, has been censured as inconsistent with the spirit of the drama; and as belonging rather to satire; but it secured to him an influence over the literature and the opinions of his own generation, which has been possessed by no other comic writer of the moderns.

He was the first to recall his countrymen from the vapid hyperbole and puerile conceits of the ancient farces; and to instruct them in the maxim, which Boileau has since condensed into a memorable verse; that 'nothing is beautiful, but what is natural.' We have already spoken of the reformation which one of his early pieces effected in the admirers of the *Hôtel de Rambouillet* and its absurdities; and when this confederacy afterwards rallied under an affectation of science, as it had before done of letters, he again broke it with his admirable satire of the *Femmes Savantes*. We do not recollect any similar revolution effected by a single effort of genius, unless it be that brought about by the *Baviad* and *Mæviad*. But Mr Gifford, in the Della-Cruscan school, but 'broke a butterfly upon the wheel,' in comparison with those enemies, formidable by rank and talent, whom Molière assailed. We have noticed, in its proper place, the influence which his writings had, in compelling the medical faculty of his day to lay aside the affected deportment, technical jargon, and other mummeries then in vogue, by means of the public derision to which he had deservedly exposed them. In the same manner, he so successfully ridiculed the miserable dialectics, pedantry, and intolerance of the schoolmen, in his diverting dialogues between *Dr Marphurius* and *Dr Pancrace*, that he is said to have completely defeated the serious efforts of the University for obtaining a confirmation of the decree of 1624; which had actually prohibited, *under pain of death*, the promulgation of any opinion contrary to the doctrines of Aristotle. The *arrêt burlesque* of his friend Boileau, at a later period, if we may trust the *Menagiana*, had a principal share in preventing a decree of the parliament against the philosophy of Des Cartes. It is difficult to estimate the influence of our poet's satire on the state of society in general;

and on those higher ranks, in particular, whose affectations and pretensions he assailed with such pertinacious hostility. If he did not reform them, however, he at least deprived them of their fascination and much of their mischievous influence, by holding them up to the contempt and laughter of the public. Sometimes, it must be admitted, though very rarely, in effecting this object, he so far transgressed the bounds of decorum, as to descend even to personalities.

From this view of the didactic purpose proposed by Molière in his comedies, it is obviously difficult to institute a comparison betwixt them, and those of our English dramatists, or rather of Shakspeare, who may be taken as their representative. The latter seems to have had no higher end in view than mere amusement; he took a leaf out of the great volume of human nature as he might find it; nor did he accommodate it to the illustration of any moral or literary theorem. The former, on the other hand, manifests such a direct preceptive purpose, as to give to some of his pieces the appearance of satires, rather than of comedies; argument takes place of action, and the *pro* and *con* of the matter are discussed with all the formality of a school exercise. This essentially diminishes the interest of some of his best plays; the *Misanthrope* and the *Femmes Savantes*, for example, which for this reason seem better fitted for the closet than the stage, and have long since ceased to be favorites with the public. This want of interest is, moreover, aggravated by the barrenness of action visible in many of Molière's comedies; where, indeed, he seems only to have sought an apology for bringing together his *coteries* of gentlemen and ladies, for the purpose of exhibiting their gladiatorial dexterity in conversation. Not so with the English dramatist, whose boundless invention crowds his scene with incidents, that hurry us along with breathless interest, but which sadly scandalize the lover of the unities.

In conformity with his general plan, too, Shakspeare brings before us every variety of situation,—the court, the camp, and the cloister,—the busy hum of populous cities, or the wild solitude of the forest,—presenting us with pictures of rich and romantic beauty, which could not fall within the scope of his rival, and allowing himself to indulge in the unbounded revelry of an imagination, which Molière did not possess. The latter, on the other hand, an attentive observer of man, as he is found in an over-refined state of society, in courts and crowded cap-

itals, copied his minutest lineaments with a precision that gives to his most general sketches, the air almost of personal portraits; seasoning, moreover, his discourses with the shrewd hints and maxims of worldly policy. Shakspeare's genius led him rather to deal in bold touches, than in this nice delineation. He describes classes, rather than individuals; he touches the springs of the most intense passions. The daring of ambition, the craving of revenge, the deep tenderness of love, are all materials in his hands for comedy; and this gives to some of his admired pieces, his 'Merchant of Venice' and his 'Measure for Measure,' for example, a solemnity of coloring, that leaves them only to be distinguished from tragedy by their more fortunate termination. Molière, on the contrary, sedulously excludes from his plays whatever can impair their comic interest. And when, as he has done very rarely, he aims directly at vice, instead of folly, (in the *Tartuffe*, for instance) he studies to exhibit it under such ludicrous points of view, as shall excite the derision, rather than the indignation of his audience.

But whatever be the comparative merits of these great masters, each must be allowed to have attained complete success in his way. Comedy, in the hands of Shakspeare, exhibits to us man, not only as he is moved by the petty vanities of life, but by deep and tumultuous passion; in situations which it requires all the invention of the poet to devise, and the richest coloring of eloquence to depict. But if the object of comedy, as has been said, be 'to correct the follies of the age, by exposing them to ridicule,' who then has equalled Molière?

ART. VII.—*A Discourse on the Genius and Character of the Rev. Horace Holley, LL. D. late President of Transylvania University*, by CHARLES CALDWELL, M. D. Professor of the Institutes of Medicine and Clinical Practice in said University; *with an Appendix, containing copious Notes, Biographical and Illustrative.* Boston. 1828. Hilliard, Gray, Little, & Wilkins.

IT is very frequently remarked, that the lives of literary men are barren of incident. That of president Holley was perhaps less so than the lives of literary men generally are, in this country; but it still furnishes no exception to the rule. The history of such men is necessarily a record of the exercise of intellectual power, in the various duties of the professional career, rarely varied by the occurrence of events of a novel and marked character. This circumstance, while it increases the difficulty of preparing a biographical account of their lives, filled with details of general interest, makes it still more the duty of those, who knew their worth, who enjoyed the benefit of their efforts, and witnessed the displays of their talent, to contribute, in every proper way, to the preservation of their memory. The man, who discharges faithfully the duties of the academical or of the spiritual instructer, and especially the man who discharges them, not only with fidelity, but with extraordinary skill and vigor, who brings to them the energies of a brilliant genius, and the fruits of mature studies, ought to rank among the greatest benefactors of his generation. But yet, from the very necessity of the case, his merit is not embodied (if we may so speak) in any series of striking actions or events, to which posterity can be referred, in proof of its extent and reality. A process precisely the reverse of that, which takes place in the lives of statesmen and heroes, and which gives to them the credit of much that is done by those about them, operates in the case of him, whose life is passed in forming the minds of others, and deprives him of much of the praise which is his due. The prince or the chief magistrate, whose administration has been signalized by important events, beneficial to the country, enjoys a distinguished place in history, and a full share of the glory of transactions, of which perhaps the larger portion of the credit really belongs to the subaltern agents. A military chief of necessity concentrates

upon himself the renown of victories, to which thousands may have contributed as much conduct and gallantry as himself. On the other hand, we are too apt to give to the pupil the whole of the credit, which is due in part to the master who formed his mind. The influence of intellect on intellect is too elevated, undefined, and ethereal to admit of a gross partition of the praise. The eloquent writer, the eloquent speaker, and the accomplished scholar receive the undivided applause of the community, which witnesses the display of their talents and acquisitions; and it is an afterthought and a tardy justice which go back and give credit to the aid, the counsel, and the discipline, which have perhaps contributed most essentially to these displays. It frequently happens, in the case of men whose eminence is purely intellectual, and who are not engaged in the academic career, that they exercise a powerful influence on society around them; that they contribute to raise and purify the standard of taste, to set other men on thinking and on acting, and are in reality the authors, in this way, of substantial improvement; that there is nevertheless not enough of visible action in their lives, to furnish the basis of any adequate memorial. They live in the hearts of their contemporaries. A grateful tradition of them goes down for a few generations. Some fine traits of their characters, and a few happy expressions, are repeated and recollected, and then all that they were is lost and forgotten. This has been the fortune of many excellent men in our own country, who, having written little or nothing of a permanent nature, have left nothing behind them, but a tradition, daily growing weaker, of characters and services, inestimable in their day and generation.

These considerations lead us to rejoice in every successful attempt, to commemorate an individual of merit, belonging to the class of society, in which life is unmarked by incident and adventure, but in which a full proportion of the actual service of the community is performed. They lead us to rejoice in the appearance of the present work, furnishing, as it does, a satisfactory, and, we trust, a permanent memorial of a man of rare talent, of uncommon mental vigor, and of brilliant accomplishments, exercised during a short but distinguished career. It appears to us well calculated to satisfy the curiosity, which the public naturally takes in the life of such a man. It presents his character and his various official relations in a light, which must be satisfactory and consoling to his friends.

It does justice to his merit. It will afford to aftertimes, no inadequate conception of the peculiarity of his intellect. The narrative portion of it is more replete with interest, than can often happen in the case of similar biographies. President Holley's existence was marked with more than a common share of variety, and from the termination of his studies at college, to the melancholy close of his career, an unusual diversity of incident and scene will be found to be comprehended.

The work before us, as our readers are probably, for the most part, aware, consists of a Discourse on the Genius and Character of president Holley, illustrated with copious Notes. The former is the production of an academic associate, drawn forth by the request of the medical class of Transylvania University, on occasion of the decease of its late president. It is of the nature of a philosophical analysis of his mind, and extends to a general account of his intellectual and moral character, and of the quality of his action in the various official positions to which he was called. Dr Caldwell remarks, in an early page of his discourse, that 'the elements of that intellectual greatness, high cultivation, and moral excellency, which rendered president Holley an object so imposing and attractive, are to be found in his character as a scholar, a philosopher, an orator, a teacher, and a man'; and the discourse is chiefly taken up, with the description of him in these several capacities. In the various portions of this description, Dr Caldwell has interspersed his own views and speculations on different topics, and has given to the whole the appearance of an elaborate and carefully digested performance. In the great variety of topics, necessarily passed in review in such a discourse, few persons will be found to think alike on all. Dr Caldwell, with all the just and fervid admiration entertained and expressed by him of his subject, occasionally uses a measured language of eulogy, and has evidently aimed throughout at impartiality and truth. It would scarcely be expected of us to undertake an analysis of a performance of this character; nor would it be hardly decorous to enter upon a minute criticism of matters of taste. Embodied as it is, and even standing at the head of the biographical memorials of Dr Holley, contained in the Appendix, it is likely to enjoy an extent of circulation

and a permanence, which seldom fall to the lot of the best occasional productions.*

The Appendix contains, in the form of Notes to the different parts of the discourse, a series of notices of the life of president Holley; and in these, of course (Dr Caldwell having purposely forborne to treat the subject in that respect), the biographical interest of the work is contained. Several of these notes, particularly those which are of a biographical character, are from the pen of the individual most nearly affected by the premature decease of president Holley, and are written with a simplicity and ease, which would do credit to a practised author. They constitute a sketch of unusual spirit and interest, and represent their distinguished subject in the happiest light. We are sensible of the injustice which we do to a performance, that owes so much of its attraction to the gracefulness of manner in which it presents itself, by an attempt to abridge it into a matter-of-fact abstract. Those, who feel an interest in president Holley's character, must recur to the volume itself; and cannot fail to lay it down, with their impressions of his talent and worth rendered deeper and stronger.

President Holley was descended from the celebrated Dr Edmund Halley, and was blessed with parents of uncommon worth. The father appears to have been endowed with an understanding, and to have formed to himself a character of a very high order. The following account of himself, furnished by this excellent and uncommon man, to his son the president, exhibits a fair sample of the best kind of the true New England character.

'"After I had advanced towards manhood, say sixteen or seventeen, my father was ill for a number of years. My two elder brothers were of age and gone from home. It fell, therefore, to my lot to carry on the farm. I worked hard during the day, and at night had to go after doctors and medicine. As doctors were then scarce, I had often to go eight or nine miles, when I was so weary that I have fallen asleep on my horse and rode for miles without knowing where I was, contriving to balance, however, so as to keep my seat. This I mention to show the practice and habits at that early day.

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*We would suggest the expediency of comprising in the new edition of this work, which we are happy to hear is proposed, the eloquent discourse delivered by Mr Pierpont on the death of president Holley.

'"My father continued ill for years after I was of age, but, by my own exertions and the persevering industry of my mother and sisters, we lived in good style for that day, and punctually paid every demand. I worked at different places for two years, got forward, clothed myself well, and had something beforehand. But when at work upon a plough one day I cut my knee, and lay ten or twelve weeks under the care of the doctors, expecting to have my leg taken off. But on opening the swelling my knee got well, but was stiff. After the pain had ceased, and I was yet too weak to work, I concluded some other course must be fallen upon for a support. I studied hard to qualify myself to keep school. I succeeded so well that I obtained a small school the following winter, and gave so much satisfaction that I was engaged also for the next. In the course of the summer my knee became strong, and I was able to labor, keeping school in the winter, as agreed upon, at a higher price. The next summer, I worked my father's farm on shares; but the season was bad, my crops were light, and I lost a horse which I owed for in part. I was therefore again reduced to a level with the world.

'"This you will say was discouraging and no time to marry. I was, notwithstanding, actually negotiating with your mother, and in the following October we were married. Soon after, I began my school and taught through the winter, the wages enabling me to pay the residue for my dead horse, and get myself well clothed. The following spring I was applied to, by a committee from Salisbury, to keep school in that place, they having received a flattering account of my success where I had taught. I agreed for six months, for seven dollars and fifty cents a month, which was then a great price. This term, I fulfilled my duties so much to the satisfaction of the district, that they hired me for another year at a still higher price. I then purchased a small house in the furnace neighborhood, Salisbury, and began to keep house. There Milton, yourself, and Edward were born. I continued to keep the school for three years, the salary being raised to five pounds a month, wheat being four shillings a bushel, or what was called the old way, continental money having begun to depreciate.

'"I grew tired of keeping school, and an offer being made, I went into trade on commission, in which business I continued two years, having acquired three hundred dollars. This brought me down to nearly the close of the war. I then formed a partnership with William Davis of Sharon. We made a large purchase of goods of Richard Smith of New London, who, being in Holland, had assisted our government, in its struggle, to procure a quantity of gunpowder. For this service, the legislature of Connecticut granted him the privilege of bringing into the country twenty or thirty thousand dollars' worth of dry goods. This purchase of

Richard Smith was made late in the fall, and in the following spring came the news of peace. The price of goods fell. Mr Davis, discouraged, sold out for little or nothing, and quit business. I worried through, paid Smith, and cleared something.

'"In June, 1783, I formed a partnership with Read and Bogardus, who were large importers, and lived in the city of New York. This business was carried on in the most satisfactory manner, and I continued in business alone till we moved to Redhook, on the Hudson, in 1794."' pp. 110—112.

The letters of this most sensible father and excellent man, form by no means the least interesting portion of the volume, and show us a character, which wanted nothing but adventitious circumstances, to have come out among those which take the lead in their generation. A single circumstance, giving him notoriety with the public at large, might have formed him into one of the distinguished men of his day. We cannot but observe, in passing, that president Holley's letter to his elder brother, on his father's death, is a happy specimen of his manner.

Such of our readers, as may not have an opportunity to read the work before us, will thank us for a brief sketch of president Holley's history. He was born at Salisbury in Connecticut, on the thirteenth of February, 1781. Blessed at his birth with a sound and healthful frame, no physical infirmities checked the expansion of his faculties. He was placed at a common district school in the neighborhood of his father's house, when he was little more than three years old, and discovered a fondness, not usual with children, for school and its duties.

'The first ten years of his life passed in this way, chiefly at school or in such light labor as was suited to his years, and which, intermingled with the customary sports of childhood, served both to develope his corporeal powers, and to give a healthful tone to his mind. With such faculties, and such a disposition to use them, he soon became familiar with the common rudiments of knowledge; and as nothing further was to be acquired at a district school, he was permitted to avail himself of other modes of gratifying his active spirit. His father, in addition to the cultivation of a farm, was pretty extensively engaged in country trade, which gave occasion to the transportation of considerable quantities of produce and merchandise, and to many errands of business from home. New York was then, as now, the ultimate market for that quarter of the country, and intercourse with it then was, as it still

is, carried on through the freighting villages on the Hudson river. A drive to Redhook, or Rhinebeck, or Poughkeepsie, on a smooth road, through a cultivated and pleasant district, with a pair of good horses, under independent circumstances, and charged with business, was no repulsive employment to a boy of manly temper and enterprising spirit. It was well adapted to promote many valuable ends. It was calculated to help forward a knowledge of men and things—of the modes of business and the relative values of commodities—to throw a youth in a beneficial way upon his own resources, and to aid in giving firmness and tone to character; and in this kind of occupation, this new school of practical education, was Horace frequently and cheerfully engaged, while yet a boy of twelve or thirteen years of age, the promptitude, accuracy, and fidelity with which he discharged his trust, always bringing tokens of parental approbation.' pp. 119, 120.

It had been his father's intention to bring up his son to his own pursuits in trade, but the strong desire, evinced by the latter, to obtain a liberal education, at length induced his father to consent to his preparing himself for college. Accordingly in 1797, at the age of sixteen years, he was placed at a school in Williamstown, Massachusetts, connected with the college in that place, with the view, when the proper time should arrive, of being entered as a student in that seminary. Conceiving, however, that the college at New Haven afforded greater advantages, he changed his destination, and was entered in 1799 a student at Yale. Here he was distinguished among the most industrious and successful of his contemporaries, and enjoyed a large share of the favor of the eminent president of the college, the late Dr Dwight. In his senior year, he became the subject of serious religious impressions, during what is usually termed a *revival* of religion, in New Haven. To this circumstance is partly to be ascribed his early abandoning the study of the law (to which he at first devoted himself), for that of divinity.

In the summer of 1804, Mr Holley established himself at New Haven as a student of divinity under the direction of Dr Dwight. In the following year, he formed a matrimonial connexion with the lady who is left to deplore his loss, and to commemorate his worth. In September 1805, he was ordained as pastor over the church at Greenfield Hill, thus becoming the successor of his master, president Dwight, who had been transferred from that church to the scene of his more extended usefulness and brilliant reputation as president of Yale Col-

lege.* The society stipulated to give him five hundred and sixty dollars per annum, 'as long as said society and Mr Holley could agree.' There never was the slighest disaffection between them, but after the experience of nearly three years, it was found by Mr Holley, that a salary of five hundred and sixty dollars, was an inadequate support for a family, of which the head, devoted to study and ministerial labors, was unable to pursue any subsidiary occupation. An amicable dissolution of the pastoral connexion was accordingly sought and obtained.

A short time only elapsed, before his settlement on the eighth of March, 1809, in the Hollis-street church in Boston. 'This connexion,' observes his biographer, 'continued for ten years; and perhaps no society and minister ever lived together more harmoniously, he giving to that excellent people the most entire and perfect satisfaction, and receiving from them every demonstration of affection and esteem.' The following extract will convey an idea of the manner, in which a portion of his duties as a preacher and a christian minister were discharged.

'His sermons were generally extemporaneous, or, if written, were seldom finished, but left to be filled out by the suggestions of the moment. His method of composing, or of preparing them, was as follows. His mind, being ever active, was richly stored with information on all subjects. He never forgot anything he had once learned, and he learned all things accurately and definitely. Whatever he read or saw in his walks during the week, was made tributary to his Sabbath exercises. Frequently a visit, or an accidental conversation with one of themselves, would furnish the train of thought upon which his hearers hung with intense interest, while its unconscious author, surprised and delighted, could easily follow in another a course of reasoning, which he could not by himself pursue. Hence these sermons were always practical, always addressed to the heart and understanding; and hence, in part, their power.

'It was his custom to enter his study on Saturday evening, and remain there until a late hour, more for the purpose of reflection than composition, to arrange the plan of a discourse, and to make notes. After a few hours' sleep, he was again in his study, when he would suffer no interruption, either for breakfast, or from any other circumstance. This was particularly the case when there was anything remarkable in the subject or the occasion. He then

* Rather let us say, the University at New Haven, a title to which this excellent seminary is most amply entitled.

entered the church with his whole mind fired with his theme, and rivetted all attention for an hour or more, with scarcely a recurrence to his notes. If the evening service required a similar effort, he ate no dinner. If he dined, he would take a familiar subject and treat it less elaborately, as he could not so soon again excite his mind to the necessary point of ardor, when it had once been suffered to cool. He preferred, however, not to be interrupted until the services of the day were finished, when his mind still dwelt with pleasure on the thoughts which had so filled and engrossed it. It may be supposed that by so long an abstinence, and such a great and continued effort, considerable exhaustion was necessarily induced. It was then he enjoyed a social circle with his family, and and two or three friends, who loved to discourse upon the strains of eloquence which had not yet died upon the ear, and whose salutary influence still warmed the heart, and excited the understanding.

'Monday was always devoted to parochial visits, which were used as occasions for discovering what improvement of the discourse had been made by the devoted listeners of the preceding day. This kind of intercourse suggested topics for other discourses. Persons in affliction or want were first attended to. The meanest were not neglected, all were benefited, all had lessons of instruction and pleasure. The other members of his parish had different portions of the week devoted to them, and thus a new stock of materials was gathered for the coming Sabbath.' pp. 143—145.

In 1815, Dr Holley was elected to the presidency of Transylvania University, but did not then accept the trust. In 1817, the election was renewed, and after a visit to Lexington, to examine into the condition and prospects of the institution, he accepted the appointment; and in 1818 entered upon the discharge of its duties. He remained in this office about nine years, during which the institution rose with astonishing rapidity, from the insignificant state in which he found it, into one of great reputation and crowded resort. Very interesting details are given, in the volume before us, relative to the history of this place of education, and the efforts and agency of Dr Holley as its president. They form one of the most valuable parts of the work, but for various reasons, we shall not attempt to abridge this portion of it. It is sufficient to observe, that causes of dissatisfaction arose, and that Dr Holley determined to leave the institution, where he had reason to think his usefulness was declining. This determination he carried into effect in the spring of 1827. The following letter from the trustees, at that period, is a grateful testimonial to his character.

'"*Lexington, Kentucky, March 24th*, 1827.

'"DEAR SIR,

'"The Trustees of Transylvania University, being deeply impressed with a sense of the value and importance of your faithful and distinguished services in presiding over the institution for nearly nine years past, have appointed the undersigned a committee to express to you their decided approbation of the course you have pursued, in the discharge of the arduous duties which devolved upon you.

'"When they recollect that during the sixteen years which preceded your coming amongst us, only twenty-two persons received the collegiate honors of this institution, and that during your comparatively short stay, six hundred and sixty-six young men have graduated and gone forth into the world, learned, enlightened, and adorned—and who are now the pride and ornaments of our common country—they cannot but deeply regret the causes which have induced you to separate yourself from the institution.

'"Within the walls of Transylvania, the fond recollections of her polite, kind, generous, learned, accomplished, and much loved President will never perish. The patronage of the Commonwealth may be withdrawn, the institution may decline, the walls themselves may be crumbled; but so long as the name remains, there will be associated with it the most affectionate remembrances that flow from mutual attachments, or have a habitation in the hearts of those who are susceptible of the emotions of gratitude. To whatever clime your destiny may direct you, you will be pursued by the esteem and confidence of those who have been so long and so intimately associated with you; and whom we on this occasion represent. Farewell."' pp. 215, 216.

On his retirement from the presidency at Lexington, Dr Holley proposed a plan of private education to the parents of some of his former pupils, of which the general nature appears from the subjoined sketch.

'"1. That the number of pupils be so regulated as not to exceed the power of the instructers to superintend them. 2. Instructers and pupils to constitute a family, embracing all the ties, associations, and sympathies of that union of intimate and friendly relations. This arrangement would give rise to a community in study, travelling, observing, and in such interesting adventures as might occur; all of which might be turned to the advantage of the pupil. 3. Course of study in the languages necessary in a complete education; namely, English, French, Spanish, Italian, Greek, and Latin. Course in history, mathematics, geography, the fine arts, the useful arts, and in accomplishments generally. 4. Residence

in different cities and towns, and learning all things relating to them on the spot. 5. The proper apportioning and blending of exercise, amusement, study, attention to health, society, drawing, observation, and all other requisite modes and sources of improvement. 6. Paris to be the chief place of residence, where all sorts of instruction can be most readily obtained, and where the best teachers can be procured on the easiest terms. 7. Excursions, for the improvement of the more advanced youths, to be made to London, Edinburgh, Dublin, Rome, and such other places of science, literature, taste, and the arts, as experience and judgment might indicate." ' pp. 270, 271.

This plan of education was readily adopted by those parents to whom it was proposed by president Holley, and his arrangements were made to carry it into effect. On his arrival, however, at New Orleans, he was waited upon by gentlemen of that place, with propositions for a different undertaking. They suggested the idea of forming a literary institution in the neighborhood of that city. After considerable hesitation in abandoning his former plan, Dr Holley finally determined to accede to the new propositions, and engaged with characteristic ardor, in the project of founding a college near New Orleans. But under the influence of the extreme heat of the month of July, combined with the fatigues incident to the formation of his new establishment, his health soon became impaired, and he deemed it necessary to leave New Orleans for the North. On his passage to New York, he fell a victim to the terrible fever of the tropics. Human nature, in the varied catalogue of its sufferings, seldom presents a scene of distress, greater than that depicted to us in the following passage.

' Three days and nights, the storm without, and disease within, continued their force unspent. One and another of the crew fell victims, while others sunk and rose again. Such medicines were administered as are employed in common cases, and as were compatible with the situation of the sufferers; a situation but little adapted to the comforts and necessities of the sick. Rest and quietness were out of the question. A still, dark room, a bed of suitable dimensions, with constant and careful attendants, any one circumstance included in the word *home*, had been more than luxury. Let those who would learn the full meaning of that dearest of all names, experience a distressing, paralyzing illness at sea, and they will know its full import. Hitherto no one had expressed a fear of a dangerous disease on board, so little do we feel and understand impending evil. It now became calm, and there was

time and opportunity to attend to the suffering and the helpless. The danger of Dr Holley's situation became too apparent. His eyes were half closed, his mind wandering. The same medicines were repeated, the doses doubled, and all other means of relief applied, which the kind-hearted, though unskilled, in their goodness could command. The disease, which in its early stages might perhaps have been checked, had now acquired force and strength, and soon triumphed over one of the finest of constitutions, as well as most brillant of intellects. The fifth of the disease, and the thirty-first of the month was the fatal day.

'The sun rose in all the brightness and intense heat of a tropical region. It was a dead calm. Not a breath of air skimmed the surface of the sea, or fanned the burning brow of the sufferer. The writer of this article, who still lay in silent anguish, a speechless spectator of the scene, expected, while conscious of anything but distress, to be the next victim, and who, losing at times even all sense of suffering in the womanish feeling occasioned by the circumstance of there not being a female hand to perform the last sad offices of humanity, has a confused recollection of horror, of the solemn looks of the passengers pacing to and fro upon the deck, of a deathlike stillness, broken by groans, and half uttered sentences, and of a little soft voice trying to soothe the last moments, and to interpret the last accents of his dying parent. All this she heard, without sense enough to request to be carried to the spot, or to realize that it meant death. When the groans and spasms had ceased, it seemed to be only a release from pain, a temporary sleep. When all was hushed, and the report of pistols, and the fumes of burning tar announced the fatal issue, trusting in that Divine Being, into whose presence she expected soon to be ushered, believing, as far as recollection had exercise, that the separation was but for a little space, she heard, with the firmness of despair, and with silent awe, the parting waters receive the scarce breathless form of him who had been her pride and boast, as he had been the admiration of all to whom he was known, his winding sheet a cloak, his grave the wide ocean, his monument the everlasting Tortugas. All this she heard and lives.'

pp. 289—291.

The career of president Holley was thus prematurely closed, at the age of forty-six. Our country has certainly produced few persons, who have given indications of more brilliant talent; although, with the fate so common among literary and professional men, a general tradition of his superiority is nearly all that will go down to posterity. His efforts in writing were all of the class, that may be called occasional, and few even of these were committed to the press. Having formed himself

to a style of extemporaneous speaking, and not being called upon to encounter the after-toil of writing out his discourses, not a few of his highest strains of eloquence perished with the breath, in which they were uttered. To the publication of occasional performances he was more than commonly averse, and held the maxim, that a man can seldom do himself justice, or safely trust his reputation, in productions of that class.

In reviewing the incidents of Dr Holley's life, it is not easy to suppress the feeling, that he did not at any period of it find his way to the career best adapted to the character of his mind, and affording the fullest scope for the exercise of his talents. It was impossible, that he should not have been distinguished in any walk of life, and most distinguished he was unquestionably, in that which he pursued. But it may be doubted, whether his first choice of a profession, that of the law, might not have led him, on the whole, to a more uniformly successful and happy career.

We deem it not improper to add, that the work is published for the benefit of the orphan son of president Holley. This consideration, we trust, will secure it that circulation, to which its substantial merit entitles it. With whatever motive it is purchased, we feel confident, that it will be generally and permanently regarded as an interesting and valuable work, and a well deserved tribute to the memory of one of the most distinguished sons of America.

ART. VIII.—1. *The United States of North America as they are.* London. 1828.

2. *The Americans as they are; described in a Tour through the Valley of the Mississippi.* By the Author of 'Austria as it is.' London. 1828.

THE two works named at the head of this article are of very different character. We shall presently address our American readers; meantime, we would advise the English reader, after he has run over (literally run over) the first of them, to put it on the grate. If he trust either to the opinions or the facts of the writer, he will be as likely to be misled

as not. There is some truth in the book, but so strangely mixed up with untruth, or so disguised and misrepresented, as to be known only by those, who know a great deal more of the country, than this writer will ever know of any country. When the reader has gone diligently through the second work, we advise him to read it again, still *more attentively*. It is not without defects, even as far as it professes to go, but these are generally accidental, some of them errors of the printer, perhaps; those of this sort are rather more numerous than they ought to have been. The title of the book might lead to some mistake, yet, as the route the author took is marked out, no intelligent Englishman will infer, that this is a complete account of 'the Americans as they are.' But we have not seen a more correct view of 'the western people,' and also of Mississippi and Louisiana, than is here presented. The 'Austrian' has represented what he saw, without disfiguring or disguising it. He disclaims all pretensions to literary merit, like Cæsar when he simply related what he saw and what he did. He writes correctly and with perfect ease. We must allow, that we have read this last volume of a British traveller, with very different feelings from those, with which we struggled through the clumsy works of hirelings or speculators, that preceded it. It is not an enlarged, philosophical view of the country, its inhabitants, and its resources; but it is much better calculated for general readers, 'book-societies,' and circulating libraries; and well informed minds will find in it aliment not unsuited to their appetite.

We commence with our author where he commences his book, at Cincinnati. He says nothing of the states north or east of Ohio. Of course his description of Americans, though accurate, will be as novel to most of the citizens of the United States, as to his English readers. John Bull can with difficulty understand or believe this. With him an American is an American, whether he live in Maine or Missouri, whether he fish on the Grand Bank, or trap on the Big Horn. The yellow fever is the great pest of the States, equally at Castine and Mobile, if, perchance, his geography has as yet admitted these outlandish words. The soil of the country is all one, from the iron-bound shores of the Kennebec, to the crumbling banks of the Ouachitta. Our author will rectify some of these mistakes. His views of Cincinnati are impartial and correct. One fact is worthy of notice. He visited that town in the autumn of 1826.

The population he states at twelve thousand, perhaps rather below the actual number. In March 1828, his tour is published in London. The population of Cincinnati had by this time risen to eighteen thousand. The following extract is a fair specimen of his book.

'The prevailing manners of society at Cincinnati, are those peculiar to larger cities, *without the formalities and mannerism of the eastern sea-ports.* Freedom of thought prevails in a high degree, and toleration is exercised without limitation. The women are considered very handsome; their deportment is free from pride; but simple and unassuming as they appear, they evince a high taste for literary and mental accomplishments. The Literary Gazette owes its origin (?) to their united efforts. There is no doubt that the commanding situation of this beautiful town, its majestic river, its mild climate, which may be compared to the south of France, and the liberal spirit of its inhabitants, contribute to render this place, both in a physical and moral point of view, one of the most eligible residences in the Union.

'As much, indeed, may be said of the state of Ohio in general. It combines in itself all the elements, that tend to make its inhabitants the happiest people on the face of the earth. Nature has done everything in favor of this country. In point of fertility, it excels every one of the thirteen old states, and owing to its political institutions and the abolition of slavery, it has taken the lead among those newly created.' 'There is, nevertheless, not any city in the state of Ohio, to be compared with New York, Philadelphia, or Boston, nor is it probable there will be. [Twenty years will not pass, before Cincinnati probably will number as many inhabitants as Boston now does.] At the same time this want is largely compensated by the absence of immorality and luxury,—evils necessarily attached to large and opulent cities, which may be said to attract the heart's blood of the country, and send forth the very dregs of it in return. In Ohio, wealth is not accumulated in one place or in a few hands; it is visibly diffused over the whole community. The county towns and villages are invariably constructed in a more elegant and tasteful manner than those of Pennsylvania, and the Northern States. [Strange opinion this! One would think that the writer had never seen the interior of New York or New England.] There is something grand in their plan and execution, though the prevailing want or insufficiency of means to carry them through, is still an obstacle in the way. The farms and country-houses are elegant; I saw hundreds of them, which no English nobleman would be ashamed of. They are generally of brick, sometimes of wood, [we should reverse this, they are generally of wood, sometimes of brick, or rather, frequent-

ly of brick] and built in a tasteful style. The turnpike roads are in excellent order. [This traveller visited Ohio in Autumn. He would have told another story the next spring.] It is astonishing to see what has been done in a few years, and under an increasing scarcity of money, by the mere dint of industry. The traveller will seldom have occasion to rail at bad roads or bad taverns; I could only complain of one of the latter, which stands upon a road that is seldom travelled. In every county town, there are at least two elegant inns [not always the *most* elegant], and the tables are loaded with such a variety of venison and dishes of every kind, that even a *gourmand* could not justly complain.

'The whole state bespeaks a wealthy condition, which, far removed from riches, rests on the surest foundation, the fertility of the soil, and the persevering industry of its cultivators. Although behindhand, perhaps, with the Yankees in literary accomplishments, they are far more liberal and intelligent, being endued with a strong and enterprising mind. [Their character is in truth, as a whole, Yankee character, under varied circumstances, modified indeed, by extraneous admixtures.]' 'The resolutions of their Assembly are quite free from that narrow-minded prejudice found in Pennsylvania and the Southern states, which sees in the laws of Moses the only rule for direction, and loses sight of that liberal spirit, which pervades the law of Christ. [This may be just so, for we do not know what the writer would be at.] The inhabitants of Ohio are not, however, so religious as their neighbors, the Pennsylvanians. Their ministers exercise little influence; and numerous sects contribute greatly to lessen their authority, which is certainly not the case in the North. The people of Ohio are equally free from the uncultivated and rude character of the Western American, and from the innate wiliness of the Yankees. This state is not unlike a vigorous and blooming youth, who is approaching to manhood, and whose natural form and manners excite our just admiration.'

The concluding sentence of this paragraph is not more beautiful than true. This writer's views of the Yankees, we suspect, were picked up at the South and West, and not the result of careful observation among the New-Englanders at their own firesides. Pedlars and run-aways, or walk-aways, have not been the most winning *avant-coureurs*, for either the honor or the honesty of those that followed after; neither were they a *very* fair representation of those that stayed behind. Yet our untravelled southern and western fellow-citizens have sometimes fallen into an error scarcely less palpable than this; and foreigners, passing only among them, almost of necessity imbibe the same prejudices.

But we return to our author, or at least to Cincinnati. A year since when in that town, looking over an old Directory (we forget for what year), we were struck with the various origin of its settlers, and tore out the leaf containing an 'Explanation of the Abbreviations of the Places of Nativity,' which now lies before us, and which we transcribe as exhibiting a fair sample of western population.

'Austria, Canada, Connecticut, District of Columbia, Delaware, Denmark, England, France, Georgia, Germany, Holland, Ireland, Indiana, Kentucky, Maryland, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan Territory, New York, New Jersey, New Hampshire, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Prussia, Poland, Portugal, Rhode Island, Scotland, Sweden, Switzerland, South Carolina, St. Domingo, Tennessee, Virginia, Vermont, and Wales.'

The population of Cincinnati, at the time this Directory was composed, we judge could not have exceeded six thousand. It may fairly be presumed, that, at the present moment, every kingdom of Europe, and every state of the Union, is represented in this republican congress. It may interest some of our readers to see the comparative strength of the respective delegations. New England 441 (of which Massachusetts sent 184, Connecticut 143), Pennsylvania 394, New Jersey 337, New York 233, England 192, Ireland 173, Virginia 113, Germany 62, Ohio 52 !!, Scotland 39, Wales 21, France 19, Switzerland 17, unknown 42. The British and Irish combined number 425, nearly equalling the Yankees. At this we were somewhat surprised, especially at the large proportion of Englishmen. We suspect in regard to that class of immigrants (the English have adopted this word after due deliberation), that this proportion would by no means hold either in Ohio or any of the Western states. Probably many of those who accompanied Flower and Birkbeck to this country, quitting their leaders, took 'lodgings' in Cincinnati, and at length made it their home. This mixed and multifarious origin of Cincinnati could only be equalled by its Frenchified, Latinized, Aboriginal name, Losantroville, which if the reader be skilled in decyphering, he will find to mean *Village opposite the mouth of the Licking*, a river which empties into the Ohio on the Kentucky side. Who had the honor of inventing this comprehensively descriptive epithet, we are not able to inform the reader. The present name was probably suggested by the *almost* noble society, which, at one time, was thought of ominous import

to the state. *Apropos* of names, Marietta, the oldest town in the state, and of real Yankee origin and appearance, took its name from the unfortunate Queen of France.

Before we leave Ohio with our travelling companion, we will notice a mistake, which we attribute to the printer, but similar ones occur too frequently in his book. Ohio, he says, comprises an area of 4,000 square miles, and contains a population of 72,000 souls.

We must, however reluctantly, bid our friends in Ohio 'good bye,' and proceed with our author on his tour through Kentucky. We regret the change in his feelings towards the people among whom he passes; we regret still more that there should be any *occasion* for it. We forbear however for numerous reasons, besides the want of space, to enlarge on this consideration. We would rather resume our journey with the author through the barrens of Kentucky. Never was the king's English so shockingly misapplied. These barrens are some of the richest and most fertile lands in that rich and fertile state; at proper seasons of the year, surpassing in the beauty and the fragrance of their flowers, the most highly cultivated gardens of New England. But they are destitute of trees, and hence this name. Our author did not visit Kentucky, at a proper season to witness this gorgeous display of unadorned nature; yet he, for the most part, correctly describes the beauty and fertility of the soil, the amenity of the climate, the majesty of its primeval forests, the wide sweep of its extended and waving plains, the picturesque grandeur of its precipitous and broken streams, and, more than all, he seems to have been gratified with the abundance of its fruits, poured forth with a kind of royal and spontaneous liberality.

But we must hasten on with him, or we shall never reach the end of our journey, for as yet we are at the beginning of his tour. He visits Louisville, which he describes accurately; embarks in a keel-boat, and details the incidents of this *prison discipline* mode of travelling with *naïveté*. Like a true Englishman he is always ready for an adventure or for sport, in pursuit of which he will plunge into the forest, or jump into the skiff. We select the following extracts as a specimen.

'We purchased below Troy (seat of justice for Crawford county, Indiana) half a young bear, at the rate of five cents per pound. Two others which were skinned, indicated an abundance of these

animals, and more application to the sport, than seems compatible with the proper cultivation of these regions. The settlers have something of a savage appearance; their features are hard, and the tone of their voice denotes a violent disposition. Our Frenchman was bargaining for a turkey, with the farmer's son, an athletic youth. On being asked three dollars for it, the Frenchman turned round to Mr B., saying, "I suppose the Kentuckians take us for fools." "What do you say, stranger," replied the youth, at the same time, laying his heavy hand across the shoulders of the poor Frenchman, in rather a rough manner. The latter looked as if thunderstruck, and retired in the true style of the Great Nation, when they get a sound drubbing. We remarked, on his return, the pains he took to repress his feelings at the coarseness of the Kentuckians. [There were two or three Kentuckians, fellow-passengers. *Kentuckian* is almost as general a word in the West, as *Yankee* is in the East.] He was, however, discreet enough to keep his peace, and he did very well; but his spirit was gone, and he never afterwards undertook to make a bargain, except with old women for a pot of milk or a dozen of eggs.'

It is worthy of notice, that along the Ohio river for a great distance, not a pint of milk, nor a pound of cheese or of butter is to be had for love or money, although multitudes of the inhabitants possess from five to fifty cows. The steamboats, however, are creating a demand, which of course will produce a supply. Next follows a real Western adventure.

'We had the enjoyment of some sport on the water; a deer was crossing the river, contracted in this place to about a thousand feet, when it was discovered by three Kentuckians, who were going to do the same. Our boat was about half a mile above the spot where we discovered the game. Four of us leaped into the skiff in order to intercept it. The deer continued its course towards the Indiana side, and it was easy for us to intercept its path. As soon as we were near enough, we aimed a blow at it with our oars, having in the hurry forgotten our guns. The deer then took the direction of the boat;—we followed. The Kentuckians approaching from the other side, full thirty minutes elapsed before these could come up with the animal and give it a blow. Though its strength was on the decline, it did not relax its efforts.

'A second blow on the part of the Kentuckians, who were more expert in handling their oars, seemed to stun the noble animal; yet summoning up its remaining strength, it went up the river on the Kentucky side, and reached the shore, but so exhausted by

long swimming and the two blows from the powerful Kentuckians, that on landing it staggered and fell, without being able to ascend the high bank. Instantly one of the Kentuckians rushed upon it, cutting asunder the knee joints. The deer, taking a sudden turn, made a plunge at the Kentuckian, tearing away part of his trowsers, and lacerating his leg. So sudden was the last effort of this animal, that but for the speedy arrival of his companion, who had been assisting the third Kentuckian in drawing the skiff closer to the shore, it would infallibly have ripped up its aggressor's bowels. The dirk of the third Kentuckian ended *the sport*, which had terminated in a rather serious way. By this time we had also reached the field of battle. "What do you want, gentlemen?" said the wounded Kentuckian with his poniard in his hand. "Part of the deer, which you know you could not have got without our assistance." They first looked at our party of four, then at our boat, which was already at the distance of a mile and a half from us. The wounded man seating himself, asked again, "What part do you choose?" "Half the deer with the bowels, and the the tongue for the ladies." "Have you ladies on board your vessel?" "Yes, Sir." Without uttering a word more, they skinned the venison, cleaned and divided it. We stepped aside, meanwhile, collected a couple of dollars, and offered them to the wounded man. He took the money, thanked us, and the other two carried the venison to our boat. We parted after cordially shaking hands. There was now an abundance of pigeons, venison, and bear's flesh on board our boat; the latter, when young having a very fine flavor, with rather a sweet and luscious taste. We were all partial to it except the Frenchman, who most likely took us for a species of these animals. But as thoughts are free, even in the most despotic countries, he had the privilege of thinking, without daring to utter a syllable,—assuredly the severest punishment upon one of the Great Nation.'

The Englishman *will out*. Go where he will, he carries with him an hereditary, instinctive aversion to a Frenchman. We notice this circumstance here, to take occasion from it to observe, that this writer is putting himself off, or his publishers are putting him off, for a foreigner of distinction. The *insinuation* is, that he is a German nobleman, of what rank we have not seen hinted. In this character he is noticed in the London Literary Gazette, and his Tour reviewed. Whether the reviewer was a *bonâ fide* believer in his Austrian or Continental origin, or whether this is only a trick of the trade, we know not. But that a German ever wrote such English as this, we neither believe, nor believe possible. Besides this, it is one of

the few facts testified to, by the first named writer on our list, that the Americans are by nature and by practice *spies ;*—spies on each other and spies on strangers, spies at home and spies abroad, spies in the market-place and spies at church, spies by day and spies by night, spies on the water and spies on land ; and we own, that we have very considerable doubts, whether 'a foreigner of distinction' could pass twice through the United States, running the gauntlet through ten millions of Fouchés, and escape *incog.*

But we have a yet heavier, a more direct and certain charge to bring against him ; a charge against which he or his publishers can have no honorable defence. The two works named at the head of this article were published, the former about six or eight weeks before the latter. They were most plainly written, as they were also published, by different individuals. Yet the writer of the latter has filched the whole preface from the former book, and without so much as a solitary *thank ye*, has made the same sentences and paragraphs occupy the same place in his own book, with an occasional alteration for purer English, and now and then an alteration for greater nonsense. The reader who will take the trouble to compare the passage about monarchists and monarchism in the two versions of the preface, will have a fair example of what we allude to. The original wisely sets forth, that the two existing American parties are the monarchists or the governors, and the republicans who are the governed. But, instead of this, our wiseacre puts the matter thus, " *These parties are the monarchists, who would become governors, and the republicans, who would not be governed.*" '

What could have induced our sensible and judicious writer to have thus turned plagiarist and ninny at once, we were for some time at a loss to divine ; but are inclined to think it a piece of jugglery of the trade, with which the author of the book had no concern. Our traveller's own preface is neat, and in character. He styles it, *advertisement*, and as it is short, we transcribe it.

'The publication of this tour was intended for the year 1827. Several circumstances have prevented it. The American is, as far as relates to his own country, justly supposed to be prone to exaggeration. English travellers, on the contrary, are apt to underrate Brother Jonathan and his country. The author has twice seen those countries of whose present state he gives a sketch in the

following pages. He is far from claiming for his work any sort of literary merit. Truth and practical observation are his chief points. Whether his opinions and statements are correct, it remains for the reader to judge and experience to confirm.'

This is as it should be, and we are quite confident that the preface following this advertisement, was inserted either without the knowledge, or against the wishes of this sound-headed observer.

But we must quit this subject and overtake our traveller at the mouth of the Ohio.

'The nearer we approached the Mississippi, the lower the country became, and the more imposing the scenery. By degrees the river Ohio loses its blue tinge, taking from the mightier stream a milky color, which changes into a muddy white when very near. This junction itself is one of the most magnificent sights. On the left hand the Ohio, half a mile wide, overpowered, as it were, by its mightier rival; in front the more gigantic Mississippi, one mile and a half broad, rolling down its vast volumes of water with incredible rapidity. Farther on, the high banks of the State of Missouri, with some farm buildings of a diminutive appearance, owing to the great distance; in the back ground, the colossal native forests of Missouri; and lastly, to the south, these two rivers united and turning majestically to the south-west. The deep silence, which reigns in these regions, and which is interrupted only by the rushing sound of the waves, and the immense mass of water, produce the illusion, that you are no longer standing on firm ground; you are fearful lest the earth should give way to the powerful element, which, pressed into so narrow a space, rolls on with irresistible force. I had formerly seen the Falls of Niagara; but this scene, taken in a proper point of view, is in no respect inferior to that, which they present.'

We are afraid there is more beauty in this as description, than accuracy as to fact. We detect here, what we but seldom meet with in this writer, a disposition to set off his story to good advantage. He generally relates simply and only the truth. In this instance he has certainly taken the liberty to embellish it; and who will blame an intelligent Englishman, when passing from the beautiful river into the father of waters, for giving way to the associations of the spot; for yielding up judgment to the guidance of imagination? Not we. But when we come to strict matter of fact, the Mississippi instead of being a mile and a half wide, after the junction of the Ohio with

it, and the latter having been half a mile wide, it is felt by all, who have had opportunity of personal observation, that the Mississippi seems but very little, if any, broader than the Ohio had been for the last hundred miles. What has struck us more forcibly than anything else, in regard to the Mississippi, except its depth, is the apparent unconcern with which it receives the contributions of its mightiest tributaries. It seems as if, instinct with sovereignty, it received the homage of its subjects without deigning to notice them. Yet the Mississippi is, in but few places and those of no great continuance, over a mile wide. We are quite confident that from the mouth of the Ohio to the Balize, its average width is considerably less than a mile. At New Orleans it is six elevenths of a mile, and yet all the books, and all the travellers, put it at a mile. It is well known how difficult it is to judge of distance over water. The Mississippi, at the junction of the Ohio, we should think of about the same width as at New Orleans. The Ohio cannot be much narrower, nearly up to the Wabash. Indeed, passing up the Mississippi and ignorant of the route, we should at present be as ready, when both streams are full, to take the Ohio for the principal and the upper Mississippi for the tributary, as the contrary; just as the first voyagers took the Mississippi for the main, and the Missouri for the tributary branch. We say *at present*, because the river is now, as the phrase is, *making* on the Illinois side. This new soil or *batture* is plainly distinguishable from the old bank of the river, by its younger growth of trees, principally cotton-wood, and extends nearly or quite a quarter of a mile, thus narrowing the channel of the Mississippi, and throwing it over upon the Missouri side, which is here wearing away. Our author speaks of the high banks of the state of Missouri. These, we confess, have been a *Terra Australis* to us as yet. When he passed into the Mississippi, that stream must have been nearly even with its banks, or he could not have spoken of it as he has done, as 'rolling down its vast volumes of water *with incredible rapidity*.' When the river is low, it is exceedingly sluggish and sleepy. But with an imaginative traveller, it often happens that 'distance lends enchantment to the view.' The plain truth is, that the country around this spot is low and sunken, and annually overflowed, except here and there a patch, just large enough for a hut and a retreat from the mighty element. The country is so low, and descends so rapidly and so far, that few spots on the Kentucky and Mis-

souri side remain *unflooded.* What the writer says of the colossal native forests of Missouri is most true. Their great height and size, and greater nearness than he had supposed, will, in part, account for the writer's visual deception. The solitude and silence, which reign here, strongly impress a meditative mind. But it is recollection, it is association, imagination; it is history, it is prophecy, that imparts to this spot a thrilling interest for every American. The politician of any, and the philanthropist of every country, must view it with unusual emotions. We have no remembrances like those which cluster about York Minster. England has no anticipations like those awakened at the junction of the Ohio with the Mississippi.

Perhaps we are extending our remarks too far upon this subject, but as it has not been often referred to in our pages, and as the spot in question is one of unequalled interest in its prospective destinies, we trust we shall be excused for thus dwelling upon it. In Autumn the Mississippi is generally full, at the mouth of the Ohio, considerably earlier than the latter stream. This was the case at the time our traveller was there. We have noticed it ourselves, and on inquiry of the pilots learned that it was usually so. It plainly results that our autumnal rains commence earlier, the farther west you proceed. We have heard it stated that in the western parts of Pennsylvania and Virginia, and in Ohio, these rains have, of late years, been more backward in making their appearance than formerly. With the actual facts in this latter case we are not acquainted. But if they be, as thus stated, are not the two facts probably explicable on the same ground? We shall not pursue this subject, for we do not feel quite adequate to it with our present knowledge, but we suggest the fact to scientific botanists and physical inquirers, as possibly affording a new instance, on a great scale, of the effect of clearing and cultivating the earth's surface on atmospherical phenomena.

We return to our traveller who has quitted his keel-boat and landed at Trinity, a town or a something, near the mouth of the Ohio on the Illinois side, consisting, so far as we now recollect, of one house, more or less. This house is so constructed, that, when the waters overflow the bank, as they never fail to do every spring, the inhabitants retreat to the chambers, removing their furniture, and allowing the water to flow through the lower rooms. In the Spring of 1826, passengers going on

board steam-boats at Trinity were obliged to pass in a skiff, from the windows in the second story of this house. Many such houses are built along the lower part of the Ohio. The solicitude we have observed, when passing down the river and informing the inhabitants that it was rising above, has been a subject of curious and painful interest. We recollect that in one place the mistress of a rickety log hut, that seemed ready to fall of its own accord, pointed out to us the hole in the chamber floor, and the ladder, by which they had made a hasty retreat a few months before. From the *ground* floor to the chamber floor, the height was about ten feet, and the water rose in twenty-four hours from six feet below the bank, to within six inches of the chamber floor. This, it may well be believed, was a season of painful suspense to a mother with her family about her, and to the father too, who was at the chamber window with a skiff, ready to receive them if driven from that retreat. At last the watchful eyes of a little boy glistened with new joy. He had for some time insisted that the water did not rise, which the affrighted parents could hardly believe; but when he cried out, 'It is falling, it is falling,' tears of joy burst from the father's eyes, rough and fearless as he was; and in the course of twelve hours more, the family had descended to their residence in safety. These cabins are sometimes fairly anchored with stones; sometimes a great weight is laid on the roof; but more frequently the posts are trees, which are preferred, when they can be obtained in suitable places.

Our traveller proceeded up to St Louis and returned to Natchez. His description of these places is, as usual, correct, but contains nothing new. The following remarks show an observant mind, and will be thought not wholly destitute of novelty.

'There is certainly not any nation that can boast of a greater disposition for travelling than Brother Jonathan; and there is, again, nobody more at home than he, whether in a tavern or on board a vessel; as he is in the habit of considering a tavern, a vessel, or a steam-boat, as a kind of public property. [Jonathan is right here.] Yet on board a steam-boat he is very tractable. The great difference of fare between a cabin and a deck passage from New Orleans to Louisville, being for the former forty dollars, and for the latter eight, contributes to establish a distinction in this assemblage of people, placing those who are found too light in the upper house, and the more weighty in the lower. The first

have to find themselves; the others are provided with everything in a manner, which shows that *private institutions for the benefit of the public, are certainly more patronized here than in most countries.* If the pecuniary resources of the citizen of the United States do not reach a very low ebb, he will certainly choose the cabin, his pride forbidding him to mix with the rabble, though the expense may fall too heavy upon him. That economical refinement which the French evince on these occasions, is not to be seen in America. When I proceeded four months ago in the *Duchess of Angoulême* steam-boat from Havre to Rouen, among the hundred passengers who were on board, more than fifty well-looking people were seen unpacking their bundles, and regaling themselves with their contents,—bread, chicken, cutlets, wine, &c., a frugality which will hardly be found to contribute to the improvement of a spirit of enterprise. The Americans would be ashamed of this kind of parsimony, which must ever impede all public undertakings. Owing to this cause, the American steam-boats are in point of elegance superior to those of all other nations, and none but the English are able to compete with them.'

We observe by the Quarterly Review, that the greatest speed to which the English steam-boats have attained, furnished with the best engines of Bolton and Watt, does not exceed nine miles an hour. We are not able to say how rapidly American steam-boats *have been propelled through the water*, but we are quite sure that they have much exceeded this rate. We have our doubts, as well as the Quarterly Reviewers, as to the asserted fact of sixteen miles per hour. We have either known or been most credibly informed of boats going from fifteen to eighteen miles an hour, but they were, in all such cases, aided by a strong current. We will here state a few facts. The distance from Cincinnati to Louisville is one hundred and fifty miles. The steam-boat *America* left the former place a few minutes after six P. M. and reached the latter a few minutes before four the next morning, and stopped twice to take in wood. Without excluding the time thus lost, this boat must have run at a rate exceeding fifteen miles an hour. The river was at this time neither high nor low, but in what the pilots call *good boatable condition*, running most probably between four and five miles an hour. This was the first trip this boat ever made, her engine was new, and a part only of its power was applied. We speak of this boat in preference to others, simply from personal knowledge, and by no means as being

the swiftest on the Western waters. We have no doubt she might have been driven through still water twelve miles an hour with perfect ease. An intelligent and observant gentleman informed us, that from point to point, by measurement fifty-four miles, the *Car of Commerce* had run in three hours. He had himself observed the time of starting and of stopping. The captain of the boat could with difficulty be persuaded that he had made such speed, the boat being reputed, though good, not first-rate. The distance from New Orleans to Natchez is three hundred and twenty miles by water. Boats have repeatedly ascended against the rapid current from city to city in forty-two hours, nearly eight miles an hour. The precise distance from Louisville to New Orleans we do not know. It is generally computed at fifteen hundred miles. The shortest passage down, which we recollect to have seen noticed, was four days and a half, including stops, of which there are generally two in twenty-four hours, occupying an hour each at least. This will give an average of fifteen miles and nearly one sixth of a mile to an hour. The passage up, we believe, has been made in eight days and thirteen hours. This will give an average of very nearly eight miles an hour; and uniting the speed up and down, we shall find that these boats must have been propelled through the water, over eleven miles, on an average. The distance from New York to Providence by water is one hundred and ninety-six miles; from Providence to Boston by land, forty miles. New York papers were lately received in Boston *viâ* Providence in twenty-two hours. The time occupied by the land carriage, delay at the boat, &c., could not have been less than six hours, leaving sixteen hours for the steam-boat passage, which will thus average twelve miles and a quarter per hour. In all these cases we have our doubts as to the actual distance these boats would have run, through still water, unaided or unimpeded by wind. It is well known in the last instance, that the time of tide on leaving New York, and a favoring or opposing wind will vary the passage a number of hours. The passages on the Mississippi would seem to afford a fairer criterion for judgment, and so they do. But they are by no means a perfect test, as all will allow, who are acquainted with the Mississippi. It may seem paradoxical, but it is true, that the shortest passages from New Orleans to Natchez and Louisville, are made when the current is strongest, that is, when the river is highest. The reason is,

that then there are eddies setting up the river, for miles occasionally, and also that there is many a 'cut-off,' which at this time admits the largest boats, but which, when the river is low, is impassable. All this tends to render us doubtful, what is the actual distance our steam-boats accomplish *through the water* in a given time. We think the passages between New York and Albany solve this problem, much more satisfactorily than those in any other part of our country. Till the last season, the boats on the Western waters excelled them. We presume they are now on a par. From New York to Albany by land it is, we think, one hundred and fifty-three miles, varying but little from the distance by the river; call the latter one hundred and fifty miles. This passage was made repeatedly in the summer of 1827, within twelve hours, both up and down; and once we believe in eleven hours and a half, including the delay incident to landing passengers. This will give a speed of thirteen miles per hour, without allowing anything for loss of time. We have seen no reason to believe that any steamboat has fairly gone through the water at a rate beyond this. The average hourly run, in the shortest passages between New York and Liverpool, will vary from eight to nine miles, as the distance is computed from three thousand to thirty-five hundred miles. The most experienced captains have informed us, that they have never been able 'to get out of the best ship' more than twelve or twelve and a half knots an hour.

But we must return to our traveller, whom we left at Natchez. He pays a merited tribute to the intelligent, liberal-minded, and warm-hearted inhabitants of this city and the country adjacent. We refer to this place now, in order to speak of its pest, and the pest of the southern cities too generally, *the yellow fever*. The results of our observations upon the health of the Valley of the Mississippi are few, and mostly confined to its immediate vicinity. We are struck with one fact, rather contrary to expectation, that all the inhabitants whom we questioned, from the mouth of the Ohio downward, were agreed in this, that the most healthy spots were on the margin of the river, and the most unhealthy, the knolls and elevated hills, whether back or near the river. We shall not attempt to investigate the *quo modo*, but from repeated inquiries, we think the fact is as stated. We are not aware whether this favors or opposes any medical theory; and we do not suspect the settlers in Arkansas were much better informed than ourselves.

Our witnesses generally agreed that the country is healthy, subject to few diseases, and those mostly of the bilious kind, slight in degree and of short continuance. We were fully persuaded that the general belief as to their unhealthiness is incorrect. The facts which we could discover, in regard to the prevalence of the yellow fever at Natchez were, that, in those seasons when it made its most destructive ravages, there had been a great quantity of rich vegetable loam uncovered and exposed to the sun. This was occasioned by levelling the unevenness of the broken ground on which that city is built. In 1826, in addition to this cause, another was found in a large cellar full of putrid hams, near which, either in the same house or that adjoining, the fever first made its appearance, and from which it spread with alarming and destructive rapidity. So far as we could discover, there was nothing peculiar in the winds this season, as blowing more or less from the low and marshy parish of Concordia, than usual. The ordinary health of the country only a few miles distant, would *seem* to show, that the disease had its origin in some local and limited cause. In New Orleans the case stands thus. The most intelligent physicians, who have been longest in practice and most acquainted with the disease, acknowledge that they know nothing about its origin, nor the cause or combination of causes that produces it. As to the degree of heat experienced, or the state of the river, as high or low, or the quantity of rain that falls, these have at different seasons been so combined with contradictory results, as to satisfy intelligent observers, that, whatever may be this cause, it is not to be found here, though these may, in some circumstances, combine with other causes to produce this result. The only fact, on which we could find anything like a general agreement among intelligent observers, was this, that in those seasons when the fever was most destructive, the prevalent winds had been from the north; and that southern winds prevailing through the summer months and September, had never been attended with the yellow fever. Whether the facts are quite so broad as thus stated, we are not altogether certain, though we incline to that belief. The reader should recollect that southern winds at New Orleans blow from the Gulf of Mexico, and, it would not be strange, if they should carry health on their wings; and that northern winds come over marshes, swamps, and lagoons, charged, as he may readily believe, with miasmata, pestilence, and death. Yet, to the inquiry

why these winds produce this effect at New Orleans, and not on the margin of lake Ponchartrain, or at the plantations five miles above or below the city, no satisfactory answer has as yet been given. It would seem that some other cause must conspire with the direction of the wind to occasion the yellow fever. It is a well known fact at New Orleans, that this disease generally makes its appearance first in the vicinity of the river, on or near the Levee, or on what is there called the *Batture*. Since 1824, no yellow fever (except a few straggling cases of high bilious fever, nearly approaching the black vomit) has raged in that city. In the preceding winter and spring of that year, a large space between Tchoupitoulas street and the river, was filled up with mud taken from the river when low, and spread over a large surface, and thus exposed to the action of the sun. The succeeding summer was unusually hot, and the winds were generally from the north. The latter fact we give rather as highly probable, than as perfectly known to us. This season, as usual, witnessed the first cases of the yellow fever in the immediate vicinity of this new-made land. Considering the parallel case at Natchez, we confess that we feel inclined to ascribe more to the influence of this rich earth, thus exposed to the heat of the sun, than to any one or to all other causes. Yet who can answer this question; *Supposing the heat of that summer had been moderate, and the direction of the winds from the south, would the effect have been the same?*

Since the year 1824, very little earth has been laid open anew, as it was that year; the heat of 1825 equalled that of the preceding year, and no yellow fever has (as before observed) raged since 1824. Whether these facts, thus combined, afford any light upon this much agitated point, or whether they may serve to direct future investigation, we leave to the intelligent to decide. We remark, farther, what we have caught from general rumor, that the yellow fever which occurred at Pensacola a few years since, contrary to the expectation of every one, was thought to be owing to the putrefaction of a large mass of salt fish, exposed needlessly and without thought to a burning sun. Neither before nor since has the yellow fever visited Pensacola, the police having learned wisdom by terrible experience. The yellow fever has been unknown in Savannah since the draining of the rice-lands in its immediate vicinity.

In regard to the characteristics, the type, and the treatment

of the disease, the most experienced physicians in New Orleans allow there is great variety, and, in regard to the treatment, contrariety; the disease in different seasons greatly differing from itself (if *self* it can be called), and even in the same season exhibiting a widely different aspect. From all this we have sometimes been disposed to ask, if there may not have been some logomachy in relation to this subject, as well as others. We believe it is generally conceded by the most intelligent physicians in New Orleans, that this fever is *infectious* but *not contagious*, that is, the atmosphere of a given space may be so impregnated with noxious effluvia, that the disease is taken by breathing it, but that simple contact with the person diseased will not communicate the fever. If this be so, what more ridiculous than for the city authorities of Natchez to lay a quarantine on steam-boats and passengers from New Orleans; except a similar regulation by the latter city upon those coming from Havanna and St Domingo? We believe this latter city has grown wiser within a year or two past, and removed a worse than useless regulation. Facts, general and discriminative, in regard to what goes under the somewhat vague, but appallingly comprehensive term, *yellow fever*, as it exists at Tampico, Vera Cruz, Alvarado, Havannah, &c., should be collected and examined with a degree of care, which we suspect, after all that has been written and *speculated* upon this subject, it has not yet received. We will only add one remark that may startle 'Boston folks,' to wit, the unhealthy city of New Orleans, for the last four years, has been much more healthy than the metropolis of New-England.

We have, in our remarks, rather anticipated our traveller, reaching the capital of Louisiana and the South before him. His description of New Orleans is more full and more accurate in its details than any we have yet seen from either a foreign or an American hand. His topographical view is accurate; and his historical sketch of its condition under the Spanish government, the transformation consequent to its becoming American, its rapid growth and probable future extension, his description of its aspect, habits, and character, its mixed but unmingled population, is generally true. But we fear, had his acquaintance been more extensive, his commendations had rather been lessened than increased. His views of its society, as a whole, are, for the most part, correct; while his character of individuals is as generally erroneous. Pique, whim, caprice, party, prejudice,

have a wonderful effect even on fair minds in giving characters to those, who in religion or politics, either differ from ourselves, or agree with us. Second-hand information in regard to personal character is often of little worth. This is a blemish accidental in its nature, and not at all affecting the general merits of the book, or the designed impartiality of its author.

But we are obliged to pass over many interesting topics of remark, and hasten to a conclusion. We see by the London Monthly Review, received since the first portion of this article was written, that the author is put with the other anonymous scribbler, who is named first at the head of it. That reviewer, knowing nothing of the subject about which he was writing, and stumbling upon the 'Austrian's' unlucky stolen preface, very naturally concluded that his veracity was on a par with his honesty. The conclusion is reasonable, but it does not hold in the instance to which we are about to allude. The South Sea Bubble reënacted in London in 1825, and bursting in 1826, has brought into disrepute the most feasible and profitable propositions, if they be at all out of the ordinary course of business. Our author proposes to the capitalists of England, who wish to invest twenty-five thousand dollars, so as to quadruple it in the shortest time, that they embark in the sugar plantations of Louisiana. His views are thought by the reviewer either selfish or sanguine. We think he has stated rather too highly the usual income of sugar plantations. It is not common for planters to realize fifty thousand dollars from their sugar crops. Yet some do, and a few beyond that sum. General Hampton, we believe, has disposed of his sugars of one year for one hundred thousand dollars. But ten, fifteen, and twenty thousand dollars are the most common incomes. Now as to the expense, it may interest New England readers, and instruct English adventurers in search of a fortune, while it must give a pang to every considerate philanthropist, to have a few facts stated, from which to judge of the money-making probabilities by sugar cultivation.

Land suitable for growing the cane can be obtained in abundance for two, three, and four dollars an acre; and strong working hands, men and women, at an average of four hundred and fifty dollars, together with mechanics at six hundred dollars each. The annual cost of the slaves to their owners, even of those best treated, does not exceed fifty dollars. The usual annual return of profits from the labor of each working

slave, so far as we have been able to learn, varies from two hundred and fifty to three hundred and fifty dollars, the probable average is about two hundred and seventy-five dollars.

A French planter in Attakapas received for his crop of 1826, made by seven hands, nearly two thousand five hundred dollars. It is generally held that the molasses made must defray all the expenses of the plantation. As to the fixtures requisite for making sugar, recent experiments have shown conclusively, that impressions, heretofore entertained, have been erroneous. It can be cultivated, prepared and sent to market very nearly, if not quite, as cheap as cotton. Our author's opinion is erroneous upon this subject, and this unfavorable error will at least balance his other too favorable statements. We believe there are very few Americans, residing in the free states, notwithstanding we are charged by some foreigners with being beyond all other nations desirous of getting money, who would be disposed to adventure twenty-five thousand dollars in this way, even under these alluring prospects, and golden promises. Whether this reluctance would spring from satisfaction with present possessions, or from an unwillingness to hazard a certainty for an uncertainty, or from the fear of possible failure, or dread of the climate, or aversion to slavery, we shall not attempt to say. Perhaps most of these considerations would operate on New England men to prevent such an enterprise. Twenty-five thousand dollars in New England, is *an independent fortune;* it is so even in Boston. In London it is a mere trifle. We doubt not, with their just national detestation of slavery, that one hundred men could be found in London, to ten in New England, willing to establish themselves on Bayou Teche, with fifty negroes, under a cloud of musquitoes, in swamps that cannot be drained, and among alligators innumerable, under a broiling sun, and in a hot-house atmosphere, if they could only be reasonably persuaded that in ten years they could turn their five thousand pounds into fifty thousand. We are not at all anxious to have them go, either on their own account or our own. But, so far as our information extends, we agree with our author, that no part of the British empire presents such a prospect of immense returns for money invested, as Louisiana presents to the cultivator of sugar.

This assertion is now still more true since the revision of the tariff of duties. That this is not a visionary opinion, we think

the facts already stated warrant. We have no pleasure in stating these facts, relative to the profits to be drawn from the bones and sinews of other men, possessed of undying souls like ourselves. Before we quit the topic we would observe, that we dissent from the opinion of our author, who has only retailed the heir-loom opinion, which passes unexamined from father to son, that *white men cannot bear exposure to the sun in Louisiana*, and of course cannot cultivate the cane and make sugar. Now this, we happen to know, is untrue. White men, even from northern latitudes, and still more creoles, do bear exposure to the sun; do also cultivate the cane and make sugar in some parts of the state, though not to a great extent; enough, however, to show the entire hollowness and fallacy of this assertion.

The remarks of our traveller upon the climate of Louisiana are commonplace; and one of them might lead into error those disposed to emigrate. He represents the plantations as perfectly free from danger to immigrants from colder climates, if they use proper precautions. We now refer to his opinion without having the book at hand; but we were struck on reading it with the impression, that he had hardly expressed the whole truth. The fact is, however, that the climate is neither so salubrious as old settlers there would persuade you, nor by any means so noxious as is represented and thought at the North. The author states that, on one occasion, the thermometer fell twenty degrees below zero. We need hardly say this is a traveller's story; perhaps he mistook twenty degrees below the freezing point. In February 1822, we think, it stood at fourteen above zero, the lowest degree recollected by the present generation. The cold of this season killed all the orange trees in the state, which are just now beginning to bear again. June is the hottest and most oppressive month. Judge Martin, in the first volume of the 'History of Louisiana,' which contains also a history of the French and Spanish colonies from the Gulf of Mexico to the Gulf of St Lawrence, says that one hundred is the highest point ever reached. In the summer of 1824, on the second of July, it stood at ninety-five, and on the third, at ninety-six. In the summer of 1825, which was distinguished for its heat throughout the country, the highest point was ninety-seven. We have never seen evidence of a higher degree of heat. But the atmosphere of New Orleans, with the thermometer at ninety-five, is more oppressive to a northern man, than that of Boston at one hundred.

In concluding our notice of this volume, we will only add, that, after seeing the condemnatory notice of it in the Monthly Review, which has already been quoted in some of our respectable journals, and circulated through the country, we took it up again and read it, both with care and with an increased conviction of its designed impartiality and general correctness. We think it due to a foreigner and a gentleman, no matter whether 'of distinction' or not, to rescue his remarks from undeserved English censure, and American misapprehension. Were his volume republished in this country, it could not fail of being generally read, and of communicating more precise information in regard to the states, bordering on the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, especially of the states so little known of Mississippi and Louisiana, than any other volume with which we are acquainted, if, perhaps, we may not except the 'Ten Years' Journeyings in the Valley of the Mississippi.' Our author is not so good a landscape-painter as Mr Flint, but we think he takes a better profile. Mr Flint wrote from recollection and 'without book.' Our author took notes, and has made good use of them. The West, the South, and the North are already under great obligations to Mr Flint. We hope he will increase them still more, and that a liberal public will not suffer one of the most enlightened of its citizens to go unrewarded.

We intended to give an extract from the book entitled 'The United States as they are.' But it is needless. Its character may be given in two words, *vile trash.* The book entitled 'The Americans as they are,' seems to have been formed on the principle involved in its concluding sentence, with which we will close this article. 'Brother Jonathan is neither so bad as John Bull supposes him to be, nor so faultless as he fancies himself. *Medium tenuêre beati.*'

ART. IX.—1. *Letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting the Information required by a Resolution of the House of Representatives, of May* 11, 1826, *in relation to the Growth and Manufacture of Silk, adapted to the different Parts of the Union.* Washington. Gales & Seaton. 1828. pp. 220.

2. *A Treatise on the Culture of Silk in Germany and especially in Bavaria, or Complete Instruction for the Plantation and the Management of Mulberry Trees, and the Rearing of Silkworms.* By the Counsellor of State DE HAZZI, &c. Translated from the German. Washington. Gales & Seaton. 1828. pp. 108.

MR MINER deserves the gratitude of his country for the resolution moved by him in the House of Representatives, on the twenty-ninth of December 1825, on the subject of the encouragement which the culture of silk merited, and might receive from the national legislature. The report of the committee on agriculture, to whom this proposition was referred, was well adapted to stimulate the zeal of Congress; and, though very short, throws much light upon the subject, and contains sound reflections upon the necessity of cultivating all the national resources of the country. They enforce their arguments, by a statement of facts, which show that the decay of the resources previously derived from the principal branch of rural economy, rendered necessary a sedulous attention to other branches of industry, which may take the place of those on the decline. From 1817 to 1825, inclusive, the exports of bread stuffs fell from twenty millions, three hundred and seventy-four thousand dollars, to five millions, four hundred and seventeen thousand, nine hundred and ninety-seven; whilst the importation of silk goods was increased in the interval from 1821 to 1825, by nearly six millions. The whole amount of silk goods imported within those five years, is estimated at thirty-five millions, one hundred and fifty-six thousand, four hundred and ninety-four; and their export, in the same space of time, was below eight millions. The report of the committee terminated by a resolution, directing the Secretary of the Treasury to cause a well digested manual to be prepared, 'containing the best practical information, that can be collected, on the growth and manufacture of silk, adapted to the different parts of the

Union, containing such facts and observations, in relation to the growth and manufacture of silk in other countries, as may be useful.'

In compliance with this resolution a set of queries was prepared by Mr Rush, which, together with a copy of the resolution of the House of Representatives, were forwarded to the governors of the several states, and to a great number of individuals, enabled by their studies, or pursuits, to furnish exact and useful information upon the subject. The preparation of these queries was a work of great labor, and the manner in which it was executed does infinite credit to Mr Rush. The information, collected from the answers made to these queries, was embodied in a report, submitted in February last by Mr Rush to the House of Representatives, of which six thousand copies were ordered to be printed for distribution. By another resolution, a work in German by Mr de Hazzi (the second named at the head of the present article), and sent by him to Congress, was ordered to be translated into English; and of this work, also, six thousand copies have been printed. Both publications are accompanied by plates and wood cuts. Thus has Congress liberally provided for the collection and wide circulation of a mass of *data* concerning the culture of silk; and it now only remains for the persons already interested in this branch of industry, and for those who wish to share in its profits, zealously to avail themselves of the instruction thus afforded to them.

The Manual annexed to, or rather constituting, the report of the Secretary of the Treasury is made up of a variety of materials. Much has obviously been collected by means of personal inquiries of men practically engaged in the culture and manufacture of silk, and of silk-dyers, in this country. More has been extracted from the best theoretical writers on the subject (some of whom, as, for instance, Count Dandolo, were actively engaged in the breeding of silkworms, and in the rearing of mulberry trees, upon an extensive scale); and from printed accounts of the experiments which had been already made in this country. Not a little has been derived from the official correspondence of several governors, and private individuals, in answer to the queries of the treasury department. Among these last sources we shall particularly mention a letter of Governor Wolcott, not because it is the only one entitled to notice, but because it seems to leave nothing to desire, in regard to perspicuity and fulness of detail.

By means of the abovementioned materials, and the information gleaned from several French and English treatises, we shall present to our readers a sketch of the methods of raising mulberry trees, of rearing the valuable worms which feed upon their leaves, and of the culture of silk in general.

The mulberry tree is mentioned in various passages of Scripture. David was directed by the Lord to come upon the Philistines '*over against the mulberry trees*' in the valley of Rephaim. (2 Samuel v. 23.) Among the writers of classical antiquity, we find the mulberry tree mentioned in Ovid's Metamorphoses, in the story of Pyramus and Thisbe. Pliny the elder repeatedly speaks of the mulberry tree. He mentions the budding, and shooting of the leaf, as the surest indication that the winter, and the frosts, are over. The name of the fruit in Greek is *μόρον* and of the tree *μορέα*, and the name of *Morea*, which now belongs to the ancient Peloponnesus, is ascribed to the great quantity of mulberry trees, which are found there. The Greeks were acquainted with this tree, and with the silkworm, from the time of Alexander the Great; and Mr Phillips* is, therefore, in some degree, warranted in doubting the authenticity of the tradition, by which two monks are generally represented as having first brought the silkworm into Europe, in the time of Justinian.

But we must hasten to the period at which the mulberry tree was first introduced in England, the only country, in regard to which, in this respect, we have sufficient information. Before however, we enter on this part of our subject, we beg leave to say a few words on the nature of this tree.

It belongs to the Scabridæ, and is of the class Monœcia, and of the order Tetrandria.

The varieties are,

1. *Morus Alba*, the white mulberry tree, a native of China.

2. *M. Nigra*, the black mulberry tree, which is of the largest size. The fruit is of a dark red color, and furnishes a good wine. It is a native of Persia.

3. *M. Rubra*, the red mulberry tree, a native of Virginia.

A variety peculiar to Japan is called *Papyrifera*, because a kind of paper is made of the bark of it.

This tree, which seems especially destined by nature for the

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* *Pomarium Britannicum*, by Henry Phillips. Third edition, London, 1823.

feeding of the silkworms, harbors no other caterpillar, nor breeds any sort of vermin. The acrid bitterness, which belongs to the root, has been found a remedy against worms; and it is probable that the sap is impregnated with it, and gives to the tree the property, which we have just mentioned.

It seldom produces fruit before an advanced age; and this circumstance may have contributed to its neglect; but by grafting this inconvenience is removed. The mulberry tree attains a very great age. It thrives in every kind of soil, and no other tree of equal growth and beauty resists so well the influences of the sea atmosphere.

'Two or three grand specimens of this beautiful tree,' says Mr Phillips, 'standing in the most exposed situation of the north east coast of England, not only defy the enemy, but delight in their situation, throwing out their noble limbs in all directions, and assuming a foliage, rich, full, and tufted to its topmost boughs. One of them is of the greatest magnitude, though some of its vast limbs have been torn from it; but it is still in vigor, and, in point of richness of effect, the oak itself, is scarcely superior. They are abundantly prolific.'

We have, thus far, principally gathered our facts from Mr Phillips's *Pomona*, a work not less entertaining for the general reader, than useful for the practical gardener, or the tasteful land proprietor. We turn now to Mr Rush's report, where we find, in a few pages, an abundance of interesting details, which it would cost much time and labor to collect from other sources.

The red mulberry is considered as the only species indigenous in this country. The northern extremity of Lake Champlain is, according to Michaux, its most northern limit; yet it has also been found in Massachusetts. It abounds in all the states of the Union south and westward; and Dr James found it as far west as the lower part of the river Canadian.*

Doubts have existed in regard to the fitness of the red mulberry leaf for the feeding of silkworms. But experiments made in Louisiana and Missouri afford reasons for believing the fact, at least as weighty as the assertion to the contrary made by a Mr Delongchamp, which relates only to France. Besides, there is obviously a contradiction between his denial of the red mulberry's fitness for the feeding of the worm, and the

* *Annals of the Lyceum.* New York. vol. ii. p. 246.

fact observed by him, that it eats indiscriminately the leaves of both the white and red species.

Judge Bry, of Washita, has sent to the Secretary of the Treasury leaves of a species of the red mulberry, which are described in the *Manual* in the following manner;

'The leaves received, are three-lobed, three-nerved, unequally serrated; base, subcordate, entire; lobes, ovate, oblong, acute, or acuminate; sinuses, broad, with large, interjected, acute teeth; both surfaces rough.

'The leaves are larger than the red species; upper lobes more ovate, with base narrowed; no pubescence beneath; lateral lobes narrower than the middle. Teeth of the sinuses, sometimes entire, sometimes with a few unequal teeth on the side. Upper sinuses broader than the lower.' p. 34.

In a manuscript which lies before us, it is positively stated, that the white mulberry has never been seen in Louisiana; the writer thinks, however, that it would thrive there, the soil and climate being well adapted to its culture.

In Georgia the mulberry seems to grow in all its varieties. Beside the three principal species, there is also the paper or Chinese mulberry. They are found mingled in the native woodlands, and often of large growth. 'Every variety of our soils,' says a writer from Darien,* 'seems to suit the mulberry. They grow well upon the sea-coast, upon our *hammock* lands, and upon the pine lands a little in the interior; and I have seen them growing, and bearing abundantly, on the dikes that surround our alluvial lands, that were in rice.'

But the white mulberry is, on all hands, admitted to be the most appropriate for the rearing of the silkworm. For this species, Europe is indebted to Asia, whence the crusaders imported it. During the invasion of Italy under Charles the Eighth, the French became acquainted, at once, with this tree, and the advantages which are derived from it. The first mulberry tree was planted in France, near Montelimart; and nearly three centuries after (in 1802), the original tree was still in existence. In England it was first planted in the year 1548; Mr Phillips saw at Sion-House the original trees. He found their interior so decayed, that the timber crumbled on being touched; the propped branches were, nevertheless, so well nourished, that the fruit and the foliage were not inferior

* MS. letter to Mr Rush. Darien, Georgia, Oct. 14, 1826.

to those of the youngest trees. Of the plantations formed during the reign of James the First, many venerable remains are still seen in England. The author whom we last quoted, found a black mulberry tree in a garden adjoining Greenwich Park, which is supposed to be one of the oldest in England.

'It throws out,' says Mr Phillips, 'ten large branches so near the earth, that it has the appearance of half a score of large trees rather than of one; and, notwithstanding many of the projecting branches have been sawed off, still it completely covers a circumference of one hundred and fifty feet; and although the elder trees have fixed their abode in some parts of the trunk, and other parts are covered with ivy, yet it continues to give shoots as vigorous as the youngest tree, and produces the finest mulberries in England. It is a regular bearer, and the gardener assured me, that he gathered more than eighty quarts a week, during the season.'

The best soil for the mulberry tree, and especially the white species, is a dry, sandy, or stony one; and the more it leans to these qualities, the more proper it is for this culture. Moist lands, even when the trees grow luxuriantly, render the leaves less nourishing, by containing too much water, which, as will be shown, is one of the substances in the mulberry leaf, but not the most nutritious. In forming plantations, care should be taken to place them in a sunny exposure, and to shelter them against strong winds. Mr de Hazzi advises to place them upon declivities towards the east or south-east, and to screen them by other woods. Dust being hurtful to the trees, places near the high roads are not eligible. In the choice of soils, it may be generally observed, that such as are apt to cover the bark with moss, create what is called the 'disease of the heart' among the trees. Hedge rows must not be formed so close together, as to obstruct the free access of the air. To protect the mulberry against the consequences of night frosts, the same methods which are employed with other trees, as, for instance, straw mats and sprinkling with cold water before sunrise, may be used with safety.

To propagate them, several means are employed, namely, by seed, by roots, by layers, cuttings, and suckers; and to improve a variety, there are also several species of grafts, namely, the pipe-grafting, the budding, the crown-grafting, the grafting upon the branches, and near the roots.

The proper time of sowing depends upon the climate. This,

in Bavaria, is towards the end of April. But the land must have been broken up, and dug, in the preceding autumn. On the approach of spring, it must be well stirred. Drills six or eight inches asunder are then prepared for the seed, which, two days before it is sown, is steeped in water. In this moist condition, it is rubbed upon pack-threads, which are buried in the drills, or it is laid in them, after having been dried in the air. If the weather be very dry after the sowing, the seed-beds should be watered; and this must be done without delay, for the sprouting begins within twelve days after the seed has been deposited in the earth. There are, however, examples of a later developement, without any ill consequence. Three weeks would not be too late. To defend the seed-beds against night frosts, they should be lightly covered with brambles and twigs, which would also be serviceable for obviating the ill effects of an ardent sun. Lateral shoots are better taken off from the young plants, as they leave more vigor, and insure a greater concentration of the sap in the main stem. As much as it is necessary to attend, in the spring, to the watering and to the clearing of the weeds, care must be taken, towards the end of August, not to water too much on a rich soil, on account of the facility with which a second springing of the young plants might be promoted, and the difficulties they might encounter in ripening their wood, before the winter sets in. The seedlings, after having grown to the height of one foot, must not remain too close together, nor should lofty ones be permitted to overshadow a group of lower growth. Thinning and transplanting are the proper remedy against this inconvenience.

With transplanted plants, the course is nearly the same as with the young plants in their first beds; like them they must be covered either with straw mats, chopped straw, or dry leaves, and cleared of all weeds, and watered at proper times.

In the third year, the seedlings are fit for hedges. Plants destined to become full grown trees, are set out in rows two feet from each other. The branches ought to be shortened; the stem grows then quicker, straighter, and stronger. But they must not be lopped off indiscreetly, nor close to the stem, for numerous wounds might blight the tree.

'The best method to propagate the white mulberry trees,' says a writer from Louisiana, 'has been found to be from the seed. A large nursery is easily made; the plants can be taken up the sec-

ond or third year, and transplanted at a distance of twenty to twenty-five feet apart. Should the paper mulberry (M. Papyrifera) be found to be as good a food for the silkworms, as the other varieties, I think it could be multiplied much easier, and more abundantly from the sprouts, which never fail growing in quantity round the trees; they grow faster, and their thick foliage is a proof, that they would afford more leaves in their relative proportions of size than any other kind.' *MS. Letters.*

The second method of rearing the mulberry is by roots. This process requires great care.

The propagation by layers, does not differ from the process followed with other plants, except that the mulberry, though elastic, requires great care to prevent their breaking in laying down the tender branches. They should be bent down when the sap begins to rise. The layers often take root within a year, and they can then be cut off from the parent tree, in the ensuing autumn or spring, and transplanted.

Cuttings are best procured by pruning two-year old branches from straight trees; and perpendicular shoots are preferable to horizontal ones, for they grow pretty much in their original direction. The proper length is from six to fifteen inches; they are put down for two thirds of their length into the mould, which is pressed close about them, and carefully watered, if the weather be dry.

To prevent slugs and snails from injuring the plants (and a large number might be destroyed by them in a single night), hot lime or ashes are recommended, and should be put upon the beds, when they are somewhat moistened by rain. Soot may be strewed around with good effect, but not upon them, on account of its acrid principle.

Tall trees seem less proper for the rearing of the silkworm, not only on account of the difficulty of removing their leaves without injuring the parts against which the ladders are rested, and the jeopardy connected with this task, but it seems admitted on all hands, that the leaves of trees that are annually pruned, produce better silk. 'The stripping of the leaves,' says Hazzi, 'should not begin before the disappearance of the dew, and ought to be concluded before the setting of the sun. The hand should move from below upwards, though it would be easier to strip them in the contrary direction.

We transcribe the following passage from Mr Rush's letter, in regard to the formation of a mulberry hedge.

'Choose grafted mulberry plants of one year old, and place them eighteen inches apart, in a furrow prepared some months before. To these may be added grafted plants of two years old, which have grown well, and which have been cut off to increase their vigor; but they must be separated from the others, to prevent irregularity in the hedge. Cut them at four or six inches from the ground, leaving two buds opposite each other; remove all the rest. In this way, the stalk has two vigorous branches the first year. In the following spring, cut one of these two branches on the same side, at about one foot from the ground, so that each plant has a short and a long one. Bend horizontally on the same side also, one after another, all the preserved branches, and fix them with willow-withs, so that they may form a line parallel to the earth, and leave untouched the entire branches. Experience has taught, that, if their extremities be cut, they grow slowly, and even die. At the commencement of the third year, the plants will have branches to form a hedge. Then cut them about two feet from the ground, but do not use the leaves. This plan has the following advantages;

'1. The mulberry plants being grafted, and well arranged, and those of the first year being separated from those of the second, the hedge will grow with force and regularity.

'2. The plants which have been cut down will push out near to the ground, and furnish numerous branches. When a plant dies, replace it by layers from an adjoining one; if a new plant be substituted, it rarely succeeds. The leaves from the layers must not be pulled during the three first years.' p. 42.

The mulberry leaf contains five substances; the solid or fibrous substance, the coloring matter, water, the saccharine substance, and the resinous substance. The most important element for the feeding of the silkworm, is the fourth; and on the proportions in which these divers elements are combined, depend the weight and nutritive capacity of the leaf, which are not in the same ratio, compared with the quantity of silk obtained from the worms that have been fed upon them. The white mulberry, when planted on elevated ground, in a light soil and not damp, excels in the quantity, strength, purity, and fineness of the produce. But in regard to the white mulberry, a distinction must yet be made of the several species; one produces red, another black, and two produce white berries. One has deeply indented leaves; the other, less indented, but longer. Delongchamp recommends a species which he calls 'Colombasse' and 'Colombassette,' the leaves of which are small, thin, and silky, and the rose mulberry, with larger

leaves than those of the preceding species, and of a deeper green.*

Most of the writers on the subject agree, that this tree thrives in cold climates. It certainly prospers in Sweden and at Pekin, where the winter is severe. It flourishes in Russia; and that species which is designated by the name of Tartarian mulberry, in the Secretary's report, might easily, it is said in the same document, be reared in this country.

Lastly, according to Dandolo, the double-leaved mulberry seems the best for the culture of silk; 'the leaf is small, not very succulent, of a dark green color, shining, and contains little water; which may be easily ascertained by drying some of them; the tree produces them in great abundance.' But the wild tree has still an advantage over the grafted. According to experiments instituted by Count Dandolo, the former yields less of leaves; but seven and a half pounds of cocoons, proceeding from worms fed upon them, give fourteen ounces of fine silk, whilst the same weight of cocoons, the produce of worms fed upon the grafted trees, would yield two or three ounces less. Fourteen pounds and a half of the wild mulberry would be sufficient to produce one pound and a half of cocoons, whereas for the same quantity of silk-bags or cocoons, twenty pounds and three quarters of leaves of the grafted tree would be requisite. Diseases are also rarer among the worms in the one, than in the other case. However, the grafted tree gives a greater quantity of leaf; and it is probably on that account, that this method of improving is in great favor in Italy, and that even hedge mulberry trees are grafted. The several methods of doing this do not differ from those commonly followed, and especially in France, with the large chestnut. The document of Congress contains a brief recapitulation of them, with two wood cuts, which add to the distinctness of the text.

In regard to the quantity of leaf, the statements vary according to the species of trees, the different degrees of care that are bestowed upon their rearing, and many local circumstances. The accounts vary from forty to sixty pounds of silk, in one season, for one acre. According to Dandolo, twenty-

* Mr William Prince, of Flushing (Long Island), has, it seems, a provision of the best varieties of the white mulberry imported from Europe; and Mr Dusar, of Philadelphia, has also received a supply of young trees from France.

one pounds of mulberry leaves give one pound and a half of cocoons. He obtained the same quantity of cocoons, in Dalmatia, from fifteen pounds of leaf. Barham, in his 'Essay upon the Silkworm' (London, 1719), says,

'Having mentioned Mr Evelyn's computation, one mulberry tree feeding as many silkworms with its leaves, in one year, as made seven pounds of silk; according to that estimate, those two thousand trees, already planted in Chelsea Park, (which take up one third part of it) will make fourteen thousand pounds' weight of silk, to be commonly worth but twenty shillings a pound, those trees must make fourteen thousand pounds sterling per annum (which is but a small number of trees to what the company intends to plant). So that allowing the one half of fourteen thousand pounds per annum, nay, but a fourth part of that sum, and it will evidently appear, that the profit of this undertaking, if tolerably managed, will be the most considerable which was ever yet known in Great Britain.' p. 95.

This passage is curious, for a comparison of the prices, and as an illustration of the slowness, with which certain truths produce conviction; for nearly a century elapsed before the subject was taken up in England, in good earnest.

In the official and unpublished report from Louisiana, which we have already once quoted, it is observed,

'I could not say what quantity of raw silk might be produced, on one acre, in this state. I have no doubt, however, that the following calculation could be safely depended upon. It is looked upon as a fair average in Piedmont, Lombardy, and Tuscany (in the kingdom of Naples, the produce is greater), to wit; one acre will contain about one hundred trees, which will yield at least two thousand pounds of leaves; these will be amply sufficient to feed the worms hatched from two ounces of seed, or about eighty thousand worms. Two thousand five hundred worms will, taking all accidents into consideration, average, at least, one pound of silk. Thus, one acre is calculated there to a net revenue of from thirty to thirty-two pounds of silk.'

The mulberry tree was first introduced upon the American continent, for the purpose of the culture of silk, in the Colony of Virginia. James the First, having found it difficult to resist the clamors of the British merchants, who apprehended from this branch of industry, if introduced and extended in England, great danger to the commerce of the kingdom, (with as much good sense and foresight as the city of London displayed, when she petitioned Parliament against the use of hops and

Newcastle coal,) endeavored to introduce it into Virginia; and having himself composed a book of instructions on the subject, the royal patron of the culture of silk, caused mulberry trees and silkworms' eggs to be sent to the colony, and directed the Earl of Southampton to urge the cultivation of silk in preference to that of tobacco. The earl recommended, also, the plantation of vines, perhaps as a substitute for the narcotic weed, which was so offensive to his sovereign. In 1623, the colonial Assembly gave some directions to that effect; and thirty years after, it was further enacted, that every planter who should not have reared, at least, ten mulberry trees for every hundred acres of land in his possession, should be fined in ten pounds of tobacco. Premiums, in the form of the same produce, (which was indeed, at that early time, a substitute for money in Virginia, as much as sewing silk is, at present, a part of the circulating medium in one of the counties of Connecticut,) were offered for the prosecution of the silk trade, and the exportation of silk. Five thousand pounds of tobacco were promised to any one who should produce one thousand pounds of wound silk, in one year. In 1666, all statutory provisions of a compulsory or remunerative nature were repealed, because the business was in so thriving a condition, as no longer to require protection. A new attempt was however made, three years later, to encourage it further by bounties. But, finally, in 1669, the government ceased altogether to interfere in this business. In 1664, a member of the legislature, Major Walker, stated that he had seventy thousand mulberry trees upon his estate. We regret that we are unable to represent the actual state of this branch of rural economy in Virginia; Mr Rush's report merely mentions that the white species abounds, at present, in the eastern part of the state.

In Georgia, at the earliest period of its settlement, lands were granted, under the condition of planting one hundred white mulberry trees on every ten acres, when cleared; and the trustees of the colony transmitted from England trees as well as seed and silkworms' eggs. The first parcel of silk which was sent to the metropolis, weighed eight pounds. The public seal of the colony represented silk worms in their various ages; and had for its inscription, *Non sibi, sed aliis.* Mr Rush's Report contains the following passage from a manuscript register of the trustees of the colony, under date of 1736, a year after the

first silk was sent from Savannah to England; 'The raw silk from Georgia, *organzined* by Sir Thomas Lombe, was made into a piece of silk, and presented to the Queen.' From another entry in the same manuscript it appears, that in 1738 a rich brocade was made, and the silk from Georgia was dyed, which cost twenty-six pounds. The value of silk exported, from the year 1750 to 1754, was rated at eight thousand eight hundred and eighty dollars; and from 1755 to 1772, the quantity amounted to eight thousand eight hundred and twenty-nine pounds.* The last parcel, brought for sale to Savannah, it is said in Rush's Report, was in the year 1790; when upwards of two hundred weight was purchased at eighteen dollars and five cents, and twenty-six dollars and five cents, per pound.

We copy from the very instructive letter from Darien, which we have already quoted, the following historical remarks, and sound economical reflections.

'We must be surprised and astonished, at the rapid increase this culture had made, considering the very few hands, who were engaged in it; for in the year '52, the proprietors had relinquished their claim to the crown. With this change of government a change of views and objects took place. The colony was thrown open to emigrants from other states, who, removing into the country with their negroes, brought with them the objects and the habits of cultivation, to which they had been accustomed. Rice and indigo were introduced by these emigrants; and being objects upon which masses of population might be brought to bear at once, and upon which the year gave an immediate return, the culture of silk was literally smothered by these articles. We have been, unfortunately, too prone to these changes in cultivation. Indigo has given place, since the war of the Revolution, to cotton; yet indigo would, at this time, give twice the profit that cotton does; and will, no doubt, be returned to. As far as I can learn, the annual product continued in Georgia at about ten thousand pounds up to the revolutionary war. In the year '75, I am informed that the single house of Habersham and Harris exported to London eight thousand pounds of silk. There are still a few hundred weight produced annually by the remains of the families who originally cultivated silk.' *MS. Letter.*

In South Carolina, the culture of silk was taken up by ladies; and Dr Ramsay very justly did not think it beneath the dignity of history to mention, that Mrs Pinckney, who had introduced, ten years before, the indigo plant into that colony, took with

* Mr Charles Harris's letter to the Secretary of the Treasury.

her to England a quantity of excellent silk, the produce of her own cultivation, and sufficient to make three complete dresses, one of which she presented to the princess dowager of Wales, and another to Lord Chesterfield; the third dress was in the possession of her daughter, Mrs Horry, as late as 1809. The South Carolina silk is inferior to that of Italy, neither in strength, nor in beauty; but the quantity of raw silk exported in the space of six years, did not exceed two hundred and fifty-one pounds.

In Pennsylvania and New Jersey, the cultivation of silk began in 1771. Dr Franklin gave it a strong impulse by a letter which he addressed on the subject to Dr Cadwallader Evans, from London, January 15, 1770. The Philosophical Society, to whom he sent the work of the Abbé Sauvage, a summary of which has been published by Mr Odell of Burlington, resolved to petition the legislature for the encouragement of this new branch of industry, and proposed to raise a fund by subscription, for the purchase of cocoons and a *filature*. Eight hundred and seventy-five pounds were obtained in the first year, among the citizens, and this money was well employed. Unfortunately, the war of the Revolution put a stop to the scheme. But within the last three years, a new spirit seems to have been awakened in its favor; and nothing but a want of a market for cocoons obstructs its rapid progress.

Mr Nathaniel Aspinwall, who, about the year 1790, applied himself with a laudable zeal to the revival of the culture of silk in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York, had already introduced it into Connecticut, in or about 1760. To Mansfield, in the county of Windham, he sent from his establishment in Long Island, white mulberry trees and silkworms' eggs; and in New Haven he opened a large nursery of the trees. Through his exertions, aided by those of President Stiles, he induced the legislature of Connecticut to grant a premium for every hundred shrubs or saplings, which should be planted and preserved in a thrifty condition, for a certain number of years, and for all raw silk produced within the state. 'At present,' (says Mr. Z. Storrs, postmaster at Mansfield, in a letter to governor Wolcott,) 'three fourths of the families in Mansfield are engaged in raising silk; and make annually from five to ten, twenty, and fifty pounds in a season. It is believed that there are annually made, in Mansfield and the vicinity, from three to four tons.'

'Sewing silk,' observes governor Wolcott, 'is an article of general demand throughout the country; that which is imported is formed from imperfect materials, while that made at Mansfield, being from the best, was found to be lighter, stronger, and smoother, than its foreign competitor, and the whole quantity being less than the market demanded, it was readily received by the country dealers, and itinerant traders. Skeins of sewing silk, though separately of small value, are, in bunches, a species of currency equal, at the market rates, to gold and silver coins, and are exchangeable for any articles which are required in the district. The produce of silk thread or twist is said to be, at the present time (November 1826), from twenty-five to four or five hundred dollars, in different families; *and the farmers of this district have been hitherto, in a great measure, protected from the desolating consequences of the paper money issued from banks.* This happy result the people owe chiefly to the industrious habits of the women of Mansfield and its vicinity.' *MS.*

According to Mr Storrs, the price for young trees, in Mansfield, is from four to six dollars the hundred, and they can usually be obtained in plenty. The common estimate is, that four thousand worms will yield one pound of silk, and a full grown mulberry tree will give leaves, in one season, sufficient to feed six thousand. An acre of full grown trees, under the best cultivation, produces at least sixty pounds of the raw silk in one season.

No details are given in the congressional documents, about the actual state of the cultivation of silk and mulberry trees in the other states; but it seems that in Illinois, Ohio, Kentucky, New York, and the New-England States, Maine excepted, this branch of industry is not entirely neglected.

In regard to Louisiana, it appears from the unpublished memorandum of an intelligent citizen of that state, that

'The upper section, beginning as far south as Baton Rouge, on the eastern side of the Mississippi, and as far south on the west side as the highlands extend, is well adapted to the rearing of the silkworm. Cotton being likely to become a crop which will hardly pay for the labor of its culture, some other profitable employment is, or, at least, may happen to be a welcome substitute, and the culture of silk may become a preëminent one.'

Lettuce, currant, grape, and elm leaves are esteemed substitutes, in case of a great dearth, for the most natural food of the silkworm; but the silk they produce will be less and inferior. The hornbeam has also been tried in Piedmont as a succedaneum.

Having now disposed of the mulberry tree, we proceed to the worms which feed upon its leaves, and which are, as it were, its inseparable companions, at least in the eyes of manufacturers and economists.

Insects are strikingly distinguished from other animals, by a succession of changes in their organization and forms, and by their incapacity of propagating before their last metamorphosis, which, in most of them, takes place shortly before their death. Each of these transformations is designated by so many terms, that it may not be useless to observe to the reader, who has not previously paid attention to the subject, that *larva*, *caterpillar*, *grub*, *maggot*, or *worm*, is the first state of the insect, on issuing from the egg; that *pupa*, *aurelia*, *chrysalis*, or *nympha*, are the names, by which the second metamorphosis is designated; and that the last stage, when the insect assumes the appearance of a butterfly, is called the *perfect state*.

Independent of the three abovementioned changes, another is observable in the outer skin of these insects. The epidermis is often different in color from the skin which supplies its place, and the worm assumes thereby a new aspect. In its first stage, as a larva, the silkworm has a hairy skin, which, in the following moulting, on the contrary, is smooth, and its color too is altered.

In the able report of Mr Rush, the description of the insect is remarkably ample, especially in regard to the sexes of the silk caterpillar. The male and the female are obscurely white and hairy. But the antennæ are unequally spaced in the male; and in the female they are not so short, are less provided with bristles, and lie on her sides when she reposes. The males are also distinguished by two brown bands, more clearly marked on the upper wings. The female is larger than the male.

One of the most remarkable features in the organization of this wonderful insect, is the organ of vision. Their eyes, though immoveable, embrace, by a peculiar construction, all surrounding objects, and as Reaumur conjectures, serve also as a file to cut the threads of the cocoon, when the insect strives to escape from it. They are protuberant; and their surfaces consist of a multitude of hexagonal lenses, placed with the greatest regularity. When the eye is separated, and made clear, (we quote from Mr Rush's report) these hexagons are as transparent as crystal. Leewenhoeck having properly prepared, and fitted an eye to a mi-

croscope, could see through it clearly; but the largest objects viewed, were diminished to an incredibly small size. The steeple of the church in Delft, which is three hundred feet high, appeared, at the distance of seven hundred and fifty feet, no larger than the point of a needle, seen by the naked eye. Cuvier uses the expression *composite eyes*, to denote the multiplicity of lenses.

The body of the silk caterpillar consists of twelve rings, nine of which are provided, on each side, with breathing holes. These eighteen *spiracula* communicate with two air vessels, running parallel the whole length of the body, and performing the functions of lungs. The insect has sixteen feet, under the rings, eight on each side; and consequently not all the articulations or rings are endowed with feet. Each foot has a considerable number of hooks and claws; Malpighi counted forty; and those of the six first feet are curved to enable the insect to fasten itself. The mouth has two parallel jaws, with teeth which move horizontally.

But the most important part of this organization is the silk-hole near the lower lip. It terminates in a little *papilla*, that gives issue to the silk-juice, which, by the contact of the air, hardens into filaments. Two parallel tubes of equal size, of one foot in length, are the vessels in which the silk is formed. When the caterpillar is about spinning its silky covering (the cocoon), these vessels become filled with a glutinous matter, the color of which determines that of the silk, which again depends on the quality of the leaves. But it is not always the same throughout each of the two vessels; being, in the upper part, sometimes of a more yellow color than in the lower.

The silk caterpillar changes its skin four times, in consequence of its growth. These are great crises in its existence. The little animal suffers, languishes, and ceases to eat. It labors, however, industriously to overcome the trials which nature has imposed upon it. All its efforts tend to throw off its skin. At last, a slit becomes visible in its back, and the new skin may be seen through it. Soon the head appears through the opening, and at length the whole body is disengaged. The cast-off skin remains entire, like a transparent mould.

The intervals, at which the four moultings follow each other, depend on the climate or temperature, and on the method and the quality of the feeding. In this country, the first moult-

ing begins on the fourth or fifth day after the worm is hatched.

The appetite of the insect increases with its age; and is at its maximum after the fourth moulting. It has then attained its greatest size; and when the silky substance is elaborated in the reservoirs, the caterpillar ceases to eat, and soon diminishes again in size and weight. This fills a period of nine or ten days of its existence, beginning from the fourth casting-off of the skin; and now the insect begins to spin its silky sepulchre. But, in this operation, it proceeds with the greatest caution. It looks carefully for a spot upon which it can throw the first threads; and when it has made the choice, it glues one end of the threads, and by successive marches to and fro, but in various directions, it forms a netting, slight and loosely spun. After having finished this outward covering, it makes in the interior a succession of layers, to thicken thereby its spherical walls; and within three days, or three days and a half, the cocoon is finished. Were the cocoon wound circularly, and not zigzag, the unravelling, in the winding-off of the cocoon, would be regular; but probably the bag would be less strong.

In nearly the same space of time as is required for the formation of the cocoon, the caterpillar undergoes its second great transformation, and becomes a chrysalis. It first throws off its skin, with the head and jaws attached to it, and hardens on its exterior, though the interior remains soft. Its nourishment is already in its stomach, and consists of a yellowish mucus; but gradually the rudiments of the butterfly unfold themselves, the wings, the horns, and the legs becoming solid; a slight swelling of the body produces a rupture in the membrane that covers it, and by repeated efforts the butterfly is at length free; but, as yet, only within the cocoon. We have already mentioned Reaumur's remark, in regard to the help which the insect finds in the structure of its eyes, to file the cocoon. Other observers believe that it is assisted in this operation by a liquid which it discharges, and which dissolves the gum that holds the silk fibres together. In Mr Swayer's opinion, the moistening and the efforts of the head are both required, perhaps, to accomplish the task. Some believe that the extremity of the cocoon, through which the butterfly makes its escape, is always thinner than the rest.

The time requisite for the several changes, depends greatly on the temperature in which the eggs have been kept during

the winter. If the heat of the apartment has been well regulated, the first moulting takes place on the fourth or fifth day after the hatching; the second begins on the eighth day; the third takes up the thirteenth and fourteenth days; and the last change takes place on the twenty-second and twenty-third days. The fifth age lasts ten days, at the end of which the caterpillars have reached their ultimate growth, being three inches in length, and are prepared to spin their cocoons. Thus thirty-two days is the time that intervenes between the hatching, and the beginning of the cocoon.

Temperature, again, is one of the most determining causes of the continuance of the chrysalis. If the cocoons are kept in the temperature of sixty-six degrees of Fahrenheit, the butterfly makes its appearance after fifteen days; and it can be retarded to a month, as the Abbé Sauvage had occasion to ascertain, by depositing some cocoons in a vault.

The caterpillar's skin in a crumpled state, with the head, and jaws, and shell of the chrysalis, remains in the cocoon. Having gained their liberty, the moths of neither sex attempt to fly. The last great instinct of animated nature guides them to each other, and his destiny thus fulfilled, the male dies. The female crawls about, lays from two hundred to four hundred and fifty minute eggs, and dies also. The eggs, when first laid, are of a pale yellow, but in the course of eight or ten days they assume a reddish gray hue, and some time after that, a slate color. The unimpregnated and consequently sterile eggs remain yellow, and are depressed on their surface.

We must, from want of space, refer the reader to the document mentioned at the head of this article, for the enumeration and description of several varieties of silkworms. It will be sufficient to mention here, that there are, according to Dandolo's personal observation, first, small silkworms of three moultings; secondly, large silkworms of four moultings; thirdly, worms that produce exclusively white silk; and fourthly, silkworms of eight crops. This latter species is, perhaps, the same with that of which Arthur Young makes mention, (*Annals of Agriculture*, vol. xxiii, p. 235.)

In 1815, eggs were procured from Bengal, which bred three times a year. In a letter from Prairie Haute, in St Charles county, Missouri, it is mentioned that several crops were obtained, without artificial means, from eggs that had been procured from Philadelphia. At Bethlehem, in Pennsylvania, two crops were raised.

Mr Zalmon Storrs mentions, in his letter to Governor Wolcott, that there are at least three varieties of silkworms in Connecticut. The first is the dark brown or flask worm, 'which,' observes he, 'is considered the best, the largest, and makes the most silk. The second a pale white worm, nearly or quite the size of the first, but which does not live so long, or make as much silk; and the third is a smaller, pale white worm, which passes through its transmigration twice in one season, producing two crops of silk; but as it produces less silk than either of the others at one crop, it is not much used, though the silk possesses one property, which that of the others does not; namely, when spun and used in its native state, it retains its clear whiteness, and does not turn yellow by washing and exposure to sun and air.' *MS. Letter.*

The silkworms are reared in the open air or in laboratories. The first method is followed in some parts of China; and as the mean temperature of that country is not very high, it has been thought that there would not be any danger in adopting it in some parts of Europe. The Austrian government at one time directed the experiment to be tried by some of its regiments on the Illyrian and Wallachian frontiers. Mr Hazzi furnishes, *in extenso*, the reports of the commanding officers, and they are not of a nature to encourage any farther trial. Count Dandolo constructed, for his own use, a laboratory, which is now imitated in several parts of Italy. It is minutely described in his work *Dell' Arte di governare i Bachi da Seta*, and the most important details are transcribed or extracted in the congressional document. The principal object to be attended to in the erecting of such a building is, to construct it in such a manner, as to make it possible to regulate the degrees of light and air to be admitted into it, so as to correspond to the variable necessities of the worms. A free circulation of air is, however, the most indispensable condition of any room, or building, in which the business is pursued, on a great or a small scale. Considering the climate of this country, a cool and shady situation would be the principal point to be aimed at. An apparatus, invented by the Rev. Mr Swayne, offers this, among other advantages, that it requires a very moderate space, and that it can easily be kept clean, a circumstance essential to the health and preservation of the worms. Mr Rush's report contains a wood cut of this apparatus.

When the mulberry leaves are about to appear, the eggs are

washed either with the cloth upon which they lie, or after having been carefully scraped off. They are then dried, and as the weather is not at that season warm enough, they must be deposited either in a hot-house, or in a room perfectly dry, the temperature of which can be regulated by means of a thermometer. The most indispensable implements and articles of furniture are a stove, several boxes of thin boards or thick pasteboard, some wicker trays or tables intended to support the boxes, and a few portable ones for transporting the young worms from one place to another. The wicker hurdles must be far enough apart to prevent the insects from wandering from bed to bed. The temperature, during the first two days, ought to be kept up to sixty-four degrees of Fahrenheit, either by artificial heat or by creating a draught to cool the internal air, according to the weather. On each of the following days, till the ninth, the temperature must be increased by two degrees; and on the three following days, it should not exceed eighty-one degrees.

The worms are formed when the eggs begin to whiten. Papers pierced with holes, proportioned to the age of the insect, are then extended upon them, with small twigs of mulberry. Healthy worms, on their first apperance, are of a dark or chestnut color, and never red or black. As their whole existence depends upon the state of forwardness of the tree upon which they feed, and as a sudden change in the weather retards sometimes the shooting of the leaves, the hatching must be regulated accordingly; and the mode of retarding it, is to diminish the heat of the laboratory. Independent of the temperature, a great deal also depends upon the quality of the eggs. The best hatching takes place between the first and third days after the eggs have been laid in the boxes. It is very essential that the worms to be reared come forth on the same day; and those of the first and after the third day are equally useless, and ought to be cast away, since the difference of their growth would render it impossible to attend equally to their necessities. According to Count Dandolo, thirty-seven thousand four hundred and forty eggs weigh an ounce; and the worms proceeding from them require, until their first moulting, a space of about seven feet square; from that time till the second moulting, double that extent; till the third, about five times the first space; and till the fourth, eighty-two feet square. But when there is but a single room for the breeding, a greater attention must be paid to the temperature.

The worms are kept on wider trays, lined with paper, turning upwards at the edges, to prevent their falling out. The temperature ought to be kept at seventy-five degrees, the insects requiring less heat upon growing older. It is highly important however, to shelter them against sudden changes, and against transitions from moderate to violent heat.

In the breeding of no animal, is the exact quantity of food with which it must be supplied, of so great importance as in the rearing of the silkworm. Sanctorius, who passed a portion of his life on a pair of scales to ascertain the effects of perspiration upon the human body, cannot have managed his experiments with greater care than is necessary in the distribution of the mulberry leaves to the newly hatched insects. The silkworms proceeding from an ounce of eggs, consume, in their first age, seven pounds of leaves; in the second, twenty-one pounds; in the third, sixty-nine pounds; in the fourth, two hundred and ten pounds, and in the fifth, one thousand two hundred and eighty-one pounds (French weight). The leaves must be chopped very small during the first period, and gradually less in the three following. At each moulting, the worms eat little for a short time; they become afterwards very voracious, and at last they cease to eat. The quantity of cocoons depends so much on the feeding, that the worms of one ounce of eggs, to produce one hundred and ten or twenty pounds of cocoons, require about one thousand six hundred and fifty pounds of leaf; and when only one thousand and fifty pounds of food have been expended, the same weight of eggs will give only from fifty-five to sixty pounds of cocoons. It is not indifferent whether the same quantity of cocoons proceeds from one or more ounces of eggs, for the quality is, in the one case, always better than in the other.

The following comparative results are mentioned in the document of Congress.

'If one ounce of eggs shall have produced, by the means stated, one hundred and twenty pounds of cocoons, they will be fine; three hundred and sixty, at most, will produce a pound and a half; and eleven or twelve ounces, at most, of these cocoons, will yield an ounce of exquisite, fine silk. When only fifty or sixty pounds of cocoons come from one ounce of eggs, it may generally be presumed, that they are of an inferior quality to the above, and it will require four hundred, at least, to make one pound and a half; and above thirteen ounces of these cocoons, instead of eleven or

twelve ounces, to form one ounce of silk. Moreover, when the worms have not been properly managed, there is no certainty, as to the quantity of the cocoons that will be gathered; and it happens continually, that the same cultivator will, from the same quantity of eggs, and the same quality of the leaves, obtain, at one time, a number of cocoons, at another time few, and sometimes none.' p. 64.

It would be impossible for us to go into any further detail of the rearing of the silkworm. Nothing but a general glance can be given, in the few pages that are allotted to us for treating of a subject so extensive, in which repetitions are unavoidable, and which does not admit of conciseness. Most of the writers on this subject, have, independently of a minute exposition of the daily proceedings in the feeding and treatment of the worm, recapitulated their directions in tables, in which are indicated, in the fewest words that can be employed, the task of each day, though the several ages of the insects; the quantity of food that must be administered; the temperature and the space which the worms require; and the care which must be taken for their cleanliness and the preservation of their health. Such a table may be found in the report of Mr Rush, borrowed from M. Bonafon's Treatise 'on the rearing of silkworms.' (Paris, 1824.) We regret that our limits do not permit us to lay it before the reader.

We take it now for granted, that the worms have attained their perfect maturity, though many dangers have beset their existence, and a host of enemies,—fowls, mice, rats, weasels, ants, and spiders, may have lain in wait for them, and notwithstanding the various diseases to which they are liable. We suppose that they have already a deeper yellow color, that their rings have a more gold-like hue, and that their muzzle has become of a brighter red than before, which are the signs that they are near the close of their fifth age. The fumigations which must also have taken place during the former ages, should now be repeated twice a day, the air frequently renewed, and the attention to cleanliness redoubled. Generally on the last day of the fifth age they cease to eat, and move their heads as in search of something. They become transparent like ripe, yellow plums, and seek a change of place; their skins become wrinkled, and their bodies soften.

Bundles of twigs, which must be ready and arranged in bunches, are then put above the wicker trays, so as to touch

the lower part of them, and bent in the form of an arch, to enable the worms to climb up without falling. On the first day they often need some assistance in that migration, and much care.

When the worms begin to spin their cocoons, it is very essential that no noise should disturb them in their labor, otherwise they would break their thread, and the cocoon would, consequently, be less perfect. Though the formation of the cocoons requires only three days, or three and a half, it is, nevertheless, thought prudent not to take them from the hurdles before the eighth or ninth day after the worms' first rising. They are then laid in baskets, and the floss, in which they have been formed, is taken off. A selection is made for future breeding, whilst the rest are destined for the reel. For the former purpose, two ounces may be saved out of one pound and a half of male and female cocoons. There are, besides, double cocoons, which, according to Sauvage, invariably produce a moth of each sex, and, according to Mr Nysten, contain moths of both sexes in unequal proportion. The seed cocoons are laid on tables, in layers, disposed in such manner as to be accessible to the air; the temperature of which must not exceed seventy-three degrees. In this state of the atmosphere of the laboratory, they lose in ten days seven and a half per cent. by the dying of the chrysalis alone.

We must omit saying anything in regard to the last period of the silkworms in the state of moths, their coming forth, the laying of the eggs, and the means by which these may be preserved. It will be sufficient to mention, that 'fourteen ounces of cocoons produce, on an average, an ounce of eggs, which supposes a hundred pair of moths.' (*Doc.* p. 105). Eight pounds of cocoons, of the first quality, yield from sixteen to eighteen and a half ounces of silk. Fifty-five pounds of the second quality produce one hundred and nine ounces of raw silk. In Languedoc, one quintal of cocoons (104 lbs. Amer.) yields from nine to ten pounds of spun silk; and the produce of one ounce of eggs varies between five and ten pounds of silk. (*Trans. Soc. Arts.* London. vol. XLIII.)

Before the cocoons can be reeled, the floss or loose silk which covers the outside, must be stripped off; the white ones must be separated from the yellow; the good from the useless (and there are nine different qualities in regard to the silk they yield.) The sorted cocoons are thrown into hot water, the

temperature of which must be regulated according to the quality of the food upon which the caterpillar has been fed, and the firmness of the cocoons. This process serves to kill the moths; and, therefore, if the cocoons can be reeled off, as soon as they are formed, and before the moths are evolved, it becomes unnecessary, and the reeling is then easier, and the silk of a superior quality. But when it has become indispensable to kill the chrysalides, it may be done, not only by steam, but also by the heat of an oven. Both methods are described and discussed in the report. In Italy, the cocoons are, for the same purpose, exposed to the ardent heat of the sun, during three days. Each cocoon consists of a single thread, the length of which varies from nine hundred to one thousand and two hundred feet.

The reeling is not equally easy with all sorts of cocoons, a vast deal depending on their quality and the temperature of the water employed for the soaking. Mr Rush's report is accompanied with a plate representing an apparatus, which it would be necessary to copy in order to give the slightest idea of the manner of using it; and, in the document, not only is this done with great accuracy, but the explanation hardly admits of an abbreviation. Those who have no idea of the thousand little attentions which this business requires, will wonder on reading the fifteenth chapter of this copious and elaborate performance. It contains, also, much valuable information about various engines, reels, and looms, the most recent improvements in that branch of machinery. We cannot but greatly applaud the care which has been bestowed in annexing a sufficient number of plates for the better understanding of the text.

We have now gone as rapidly and directly as possible through the two stages of the culture of the silk—the raising of the mulberry tree, and the breeding of the silkworm; and we do not enter into the consideration of the fabrication of silk stuffs, for which the country is perhaps not yet prepared. It will be, at first, sufficiently beneficial to possess raw, carded, and spun silk in sufficient quantity for sending considerable supplies abroad. We find in a statement of the raw silk imported into England, from all parts of the world, that in 1814, it amounted to one million, six hundred and thirty-four thousand, five hundred and one pounds; and in 1824, to three millions, three hundred and eighty two thousand, three hundred

and fifty-seven.* Italy, which is not better situated in regard to the culture of silk than a large portion of the United States, furnishes to the English fabrics about eight hundred thousand pounds' weight. The Bengal silk is complained of by the British manufacturers, on account of its defective preparation; by bestowing more care on his produce, the American cultivator could have in England the advantage over the British East Indies. It is a fact well worthy of notice, and the accuracy of which seems warranted by its having been brought before a Committee of both Houses of Parliament, that the labor in preparing new silk affords much more employment to the country producing it, than any other raw material.† It appears from an official document, that the value of the imports of raw silk into France, during the year 1824, amounted to thirty-seven million, one hundred and forty-nine thousand, nine hundred and sixty francs.‡

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* The official values of these imports are £703,009 and £1,464,994.

† According to Arthur Young, the province of Valencia produced, in 1787, two million pounds of silk, the value of which he rates at two million pounds sterling; a sum equal in amount, at that epoch, to all the other productions of that portion of Spain.

‡

Cocoons,		39,255
Soies grèges,	Douppoins	78,975
	Autres de toute sorte	6,504,960
" moulinées,	Douppoins	72,710
	Autres de toute sorte	25,658,640
" teintes,		46,665
" bourre	écrue	1,241,172
	filée (fleuret écru)	3,504,475
	filée (fleuret teint)	108

Tableau des Douanes Royales de France.

ART. X.—1. *Geschichte der Moldau und Wallachey, nebst der Historischen und Statistischen Literatur beyder Lander.*

History of Moldavia and Wallachia, with the Historical and Statistical Literature of the two Countries. By JOHN CHRISTIAN VON ENGEL. 2 volumes. 4to. Halle. 1804.

2. *Ἱστορία τῆς Βλαχίας Πολιτικὴ καὶ Γεωγραφικὴ, ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀρχαιοτάτης αὐτῆς Καταστάσεως ἕως τὸ* 1774 *Ἔτους. Νῦν πρῶτον φιλοτίμῳ Δαπάνῃ ἐκδοθεῖσα τῶν τιμιωτάτων καὶ φιλογενῶν Ἀνταδέλφων Τουνουσλῆ.*

Political and Geographical History of Wallachia, from its Oldest Establishment to the Year 1774. Now first printed at the Expense of the worthy and patriotic Brethren Tunusli. Vienna. 1806. 8vo.

THE attention of the civilized world is fixed, with no small degree of interest, at the present moment, on the provinces, of which we propose to say something in this article. The contest which has recently commenced between the Porte and Russia, has sprung from the relations of these provinces to the two great powers; and here is the theatre of the first events of the struggle. The first work which we have named at the head of this article, is a portion of a larger one, entitled a 'History of Hungary and the Neighboring Regions,' a work of prodigious industry and learning, the most valuable on the subject treated, within our knowledge. The second work, on the history of the two provinces, is a meagre and almost worthless sketch, in modern Greek, scarcely repaying the trouble of a perusal.

The earliest history of the tribes, which occupied the space between the Danube and Dniester, on the one hand, and the frontiers of modern Hungary on the other, is wrapped in obscurity. From their appearance in authentic history, they were known under the name of Getæ and Daci, and their country was called Dacia. About the year 88, the Romans declared war against them, and Domitian marched against Decebalus, their king. The disgraceful peace which followed, was of short duration; and Trajan was finally moved, by the turbulence of these tribes, to undertake their entire subjection. He threw a bridge across the Danube, took the capital of their prince, the modern Belgrade, and constituted the

country as a Roman province. Roman colonies then and afterwards were established in Dacia, from whom, combined with the native inhabitants and subsequent Bulgarian conquerors, the modern population may be considered as descended. The incidents of this war were sculptured upon the shaft of the historical column, erected in honor of the victories of Trajan, and much information touching the appearance, dress, arms, and military character of the ancient inhabitants of Wallachia and Moldavia has, in this singular manner, been perpetuated.* The language of the Wallachians of the present day, and the denomination by which they call themselves, are proofs of their descent. Their name, in their own tongue, is *Roumuni.* Eustace affirms, that, when one of these modern Romans offers to enlist in the Austrian service, he answers the usual question, what countryman he is, with the words, 'Romanus sum.' This is altogether fabulous, or if such a thing ever happened, the individual spoke, not his native Wallachian, but the ancient Latin, taught in the schools of Transylvania and Hungary. Any one, who will inspect only so much of this dialect as is given in Adelung's 'Mithridates,' will see, that it is not so like the Latin as the Italian is. In addition to the mixture of aboriginal Dacic and Latin, the Slavonian conquerors of a later period have furnished a full contribution to the language,

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* The following stanzas from the Fourth Canto of 'Childe Harold,' will remind the reader of the fate of the Dacian captives, when brought to Rome.

'I see before me the Gladiator lie;
He leans upon his hand,—his manly brow
Consents to death, but conquers agony,
And his drooped head sinks gradually low,
And through his side the last drops, ebbing slow
From the red gash, fall heavy, one by one,
Like the first of a thunder-shower; and now
The arena swims around him,—he is gone,
Ere ceased the inhuman shout, which hailed the wretch who won.

'He heard it, but he heeded not,—his eyes
Were with his heart, and that was far away.
He recked not of the life he lost nor prize;
But where his rude hut by the Danube lay,
There were his young barbarians all at play,
There was their *Dacian* mother,—he, their sire,
Butchered to make a Roman holiday—
All this rushed with his blood.—Shall he expire
And unavenged? Arise! ye Goths, and glut your ire!'

as well as to the natural stock of the Wallachians of the present time. What few books they have, are printed in the Slavonian character. The origin of the name of *Wallachians*, *Valaques*, *Βλάχοι*, is unknown. It is not improbable that it connects itself with the history of their barbarous conquerors, from the *Volga*, in the ninth century, and is but another form of the name Bulgarians, still given to a tribe of these conquerors, which settled about the same time on the right bank of the Danube. A plausible hypothesis makes the *Gypsies*, which exist in greater numbers in Hungary and the Dacian provinces than in any other part of the world, remnants of the population existing in these provinces before the conquest of the Bulgarians, and by them reduced to the condition of serfs. Many of this degraded race lead a *Nomadic* life, but many others are attached to the soil, constituting the principal wealth of the Wallachian and Moldavian Boyards. They are called by the Turks *Zingari*, by the Wallachians *Katrivelos*. Their French name *Bohémiens* points to the region, in which they first attracted the notice of the cultivated nations of the west of Europe. What circumstance gave them their English name of *Gypsies* or Egyptians, we do not know.*

The line of Hospodars, or princes of Wallachia and Moldavia, goes back to the close of the thirteenth century, when Radul Negris, a prince of Transylvania, who crossed the mountains which separate that country from Wallachia, entered the latter province with his court and army, established himself there, and built the cities of Tergovista, Bucharest, Kimpolungo (*Campus longus*, a specimen of Dacian Latin), Petesti, and St George. Negris, or Negro, took the title of Wod, or Waywode, importing *governor*, and which is used in this and other parts of the Turkish empire, to the present day. The name of Hospodar, also a title of the governors of Moldavia and Wallachia, is of Slavonian origin.

The government thus established by Radul was a despotism like that of the ancient dukes of Russia, mitigated by the power and influences of the Boyards or nobles. On the death of the Waywode, his son or heir succeeded, not without a formal election on the part of the Boyards. After the conquest of

* We are aware, that a popular hypothesis makes them a wandering tribe from Hindostan. It seems difficult, on this supposition, to account for their concentration on the left bank of the Danube.

Moldavia and Wallachia by the Turks, and their reduction to the state of provinces tributary to the Porte, the same constitution of government subsisted. If the suffrages of the Boyards were divided, the Porte gave the investiture to the candidate who bid highest. This continued to be the practice till about a century since. In 1714, the Porte took the matter into its own hands, and nominated Constantine Mavrocordato to the place of Hospodar.

The chief wealth of the country, and the power of the state, are divided among the prince, the nobles, and the clergy. The nobles are of several orders, bearing their distinctive names. From the first order are selected the twelve great officers of state, whose names and functions it would occupy too much of this brief sketch to repeat. We will only observe, that the first of these, *the Great Ban*, the governor of Krajova, a kind of viceroy to the Hospodar, presents the remnant of a once sovereign title, of which a trace also is seen in the designation of a neighboring province, the *Bannate* of Temeswar.

The clergy are numerous; and the metropolitan, who is subject to the patriarch of Constantinople, and the two bishops of Rimnic and Bouzec, are dignitaries of great influence. The churches, monasteries, and other ecclesiastical houses are exceedingly numerous, and endowed with an undue proportion of the wealth of the country. They serve, however, as they do in all the christian countries tributary to the Porte, as eleemosynary establishments. Heavy contributions are levied from them, on the succession of a new prince; and no inconsiderable branch of Wallachian and Moldavian politics consists in the contests between the Hospodars and the priors of the monasteries, for the division of the substance which they unite to plunder from the people.

The government established by Radul in 1229 subsisted till 1383, when one of his successors by the name of Mirza, wearied with the constant state of warfare with the neighboring powers, and seeing the rapidly increasing ascendency of the Turks, placed himself and his principality under their protection, engaging to pay them a tribute, but stipulating for an undisturbed enjoyment of the rights of the people. This compact was of short duration. The Turks demanded an increase of tribute, and an addition to it of one hundred slaves. Mirza revolted, defeated the Sultan who marched against him, and reinstated the country in a condition of independence, which lasted seventy-seven years.

After a state of frequently renewed hostilities, the Waywode, Laiota Basaraba, in 1460, again submitted the province to the Porte; and the capitulation then entered into, has remained to the present day, a sort of Wallachian *Magna Charta*. Our limits do not permit us to quote it entire, but the diligent student of the constitutional law of the Dacian provinces will do well to peruse it in Engel. It stipulates for the independence of the province on payment of a tribute;—one Turk alone to be allowed to enter the principality, namely, the receiver of the tribute, and he under an escort from the Hospodar; the prince to have the right to make peace and war, and the power of life and death; Wallachians travelling in Turkey to be free from all taxes; the Hospodars to be chosen according to the ancient laws of the principality.

The provisions of this charter were renewed, at the confirmation of each new Waywode, and, with greater or less fidelity, observed till the early part of the last century. Till this period, the principality, under its native Waywodes, sustained armies, made war and peace with its neighbors, and enforced the respect of its rights from the Porte. In 1714 Brancovano, the last of the Wallachian princes chosen in accordance with the ancient constitution of the state, was assassinated, by order of a Turkish vizier, then present with his army at Bucharest, and Nicholas Mavrocordato was named by the Porte his successor.

The distinction which a prince of the same name and family has attained in the present Greek revolution, induces us to dwell a moment upon the history of his ancestors. Alexander Mavrocordatos, the father of the Hospodar, studied medicine at Padua, at the age of twelve, and acquired a knowledge of the principal languages of Europe. He published a treatise on the circulation of the blood, which had been discovered about fifty years before by Dr Harvey, also a pupil of the school at Padua.* Although he obtained a high reputation at Constantinople as a physician, he abandoned the medical for the political career, and on the death of Panagioti Nicusio, was

* The treatise of Mavrocordato bears this title; 'Pneumaticum Instrumentum circulandi Sanguinis, sive de Motu et Usu Pulmonum. Authore Alexandro Maurocordato Constantinopolitano, Philos. et Med. Doctor.' Its dedication to Ferdinand the Second, Grand Duke of Etruria, bears date Bologna, 1664. Harvey began to lecture on the circulation of the blood in 1616, and published his discovery in 1628.

made drogoman of the Porte. In this capacity, he assisted at the negotiation of the treaty of Carlowitz. His services on this occasion procured him an appointment to the Turkish council of state. During his life, and by testamentary bequests, he founded a Greek school at Constantinople, which he placed under the care of Jacob Manos of Argos, a learned man of the Aristotelian school. A. Mavrocordatos died in 1709, leaving behind him a Roman history, an ecclesiastical history, and other curious and valuable works.

The administration of his son Nicholas commenced at Bucharest in 1716. He inherited his father's talents, but was an oppressive prince, imposing burdens on his subjects, and surrounding himself with the needy Greeks of the Fanal. War broke out at this time between the Porte and the Austrians, Wallachia was overrun, and Mavrocordato carried a prisoner into Transylvania. During his confinement, his brother John, a wise and beneficent prince, was named by the Porte in his place. In about two years the latter died, and Nicholas, released from his captivity, reässumed the government. Taught by experience, his policy became milder and more benevolent. He devoted himself to the welfare of his subjects, and to literary pursuits, and died peaceably at the close of an administration of eleven years.

From this period, for a space of fifty years, the government of this and the adjoining principality, was, as it were, set up at auction, to be bought by the Greek princes who would pay most for it to the Porte, and who afterwards found their indemnity in extortions from the people. About the middle of the eighteenth century, the policy of Russia toward the Porte began to form and develope itself. These two provinces immediately presented themselves to Russia, in the interesting light of frontier regions of approach to Turkey, inhabited by a christian population of the Greek church, and claiming certain rights by ancient capitulations. For some time prior to the war of 1769, emissaries were sent by Catharine the Second into every part of Christian Turkey, and particularly into the ultra Danubian provinces. In 1769, an army, under Prince Galitzin, appeared on the Dneister, and another under Count Romantzof in the Ukraine. After various but decisive successes on the part of the Russians, the Wallachians formally submitted themselves to the empress in 1770. The same year took place the expedition of the Russians against the

Morea under Orlof, which proved in its result so disastrous to the Greeks. This war was brought to a close in 1774, by the treaty of Kainardji. Wallachia was restored to the Turks, but its privileges were solemnly guarantied, and placed under the protection of the Russians.

The Wallachians now flattered themselves that they should recover their ancient right of nominating their Hospodars; but the Porte made no scruple of appointing a Greek of Constantinople, Alexander Ypsilanti, to this place. His reputation, as a man of talents and political skill, was high. In 1774, he received the investiture of the province, and in February 1775 made his *entrée* into Bucharest. His administration was mild and paternal. The laws resumed their sway, agriculture was encouraged, the arts were cultivated, population increased, and during the seven years of his administration, the general welfare of the principality was promoted to an unexampled degree. But the cupidity of the Turkish government was too much interested longer to forego the bribes to be paid by the aspirants to this government; and in 1782, Alexander Ypsilanti was, on frivolous pretences, deposed.

A troubled interval succeeded, marked by a rapid succession of Hospodars, some of whom held the place but a few months; and during this period occurred the war of 1791, between the Porte on the one side, and Russia and Austria on the other, and the insurrection of Passevend Oglou, Pacha of Widin, in 1797, which was attended by great sufferings in the neighboring province of Wallachia. In 1802, Constantine Ypsilanti, the son of Alexander, was named Hospodar, and on the demand of the Russians, representing the ruinous consequences of the frequent changes in these governments, the term of the administration of a Hospodar was fixed by the Porte at seven years. It was but a short time, however, before the Porte violated its engagement, and deposed Ypsilanti. He succeeded in making his escape into Russia, and war ensued between that power and the Porte in 1806. His parents unfortunately residing in Constantinople were immediately seized. His father was put to death, his property confiscated, and his palace, in the beautiful suburb of Therapia, assigned to the French ambassador, General Sebastiani. Alexander Manos, the brother-in-law of Constantine Ypsilanti, was put to the torture, and compelled to save his life by the payment of vast sums of money, and John Negris, the lieutenant and near relative of

Constantine, was reduced to the same extremity. A Russian frigate had been sent into the Bosphorus, to enable the father of Ypsilanti with his family to escape. But circumstances preventing them all from embarking, and the father having been made by the Porte responsible for the other members of his family, he generously refused to take advantage of the means of escape provided by the Russian government, and nobly met his fate.

Constantine Ypsilanti having, as stated above, escaped with his family from Wallachia, and taken refuge in Russia, was by the emperor declared prince of Moldavia and Wallachia, and raised to a high command in the army, with which the invasion of Turkey was undertaken in 1806. The intrigues of the Russian generals, and particularly of Milaradovitch, and other causes operating in the interior of the imperial cabinet, induced the Hospodar to demand permission to leave the army, and withdraw to St Petersburg. His son Alexander, by whom, as we shall presently relate, the first movements of the present Greek revolution were undertaken, was then but sixteen years old, and entered the Russian service in the imperial staff.

After a duration of about six years, the war was brought to a close, by the treaty of Bucharest, in 1812. The signing of this treaty, at such a moment, is a striking illustration of the nature of the Turkish policy. After combating her 'natural enemy' single-handed for six years, it seemed a strange policy to make peace with him, at the moment when Napoleon was falling upon him with all his forces. To the obvious considerations of expediency, the French emperor added the strongest importunities, to prevail on the Sultan to make common cause with him. No seeming temporary advantage, however, could induce the Porte to swerve from her maxim, that the safety of the Ottoman Empire consists in a balance of the Christian powers. The Porte had had some experience of Napoleon in Egypt, and on her Illyrian frontier; and had no disposition to try what he would be, after having trampled down the power of Russia as he had that of Prussia and Austria. The treaty of Bucharest was accordingly signed, and the southeastern armies of Russia rushed up, toward the Polish frontier.

The young Ypsilanti had distinguished himself in the Turkish war, and still more in that against France. At Culm he lost his right arm; and so marked was his merit, that he was ad-

vanced to the rank of a Russian major general, at the age of twenty-six years. His family was not, however, as might have been expected, restored to its dignities in Wallachia, by the treaty of Bucharest in 1812. John Karadja was made Hospodar of Wallachia, and Scarlato Kallimachi Hospodar of Moldavia. The latter was accompanied into his principality by his brother-in-law, Constantine Negris, in capacity of one of the high officers of state. The family of Ypsilanti remained at Kiew; and Constantine died suddenly in 1815, on his way from Petersburg to that place, not without suspicions of being poisoned.

Seven years, as we have already observed, had been fixed by the Porte, as the period of the Hospodarship, in accordance with the Turkish custom, by which the Pachas are regularly transferred or displaced, at the expiration of the same term. Karadja's period consequently expired in 1819. Perceiving, in 1818, some symptoms of an intention, on the part of the Porte, to anticipate the close of his administration, by the application of the bowstring, he escaped with his whole family into Transylvania, traversed Austria, remained some time in Russia, and finally established himself in Tuscany, where he is still living. In his suite, on his escape from Wallachia, was Alexander Mavrocordato, who, on the breaking out of the Greek revolution, instantly repaired from Italy to Greece, and has acted a conspicuous part down to the present day.

Karadja was succeeded in the Hospodarship by Alexander Soutzo, the head of the Greek family of that name; a family hostile to that of Ypsilanti; and to the intrigues of which with the Porte, prior to 1806, the flight of Constantine Ypsilanti into Russia was, in no small degree, imputable. The seven years of Kallimachi, Hospodar of Moldavia, having also expired, he was succeeded by Michael Soutzo, the son-in-law of Karadja.

It was during the administration of the two Soutzos in Wallachia and Moldavia in the year 1821, that the present Greek revolution burst out in these provinces. The immediate impulse to the revolution was given by the *Fraternity* (Εταιρεία), which had, for some years, been in existence and in active operation, both within and without the limits of Turkey. The plan conceived by this patriotic fraternity was vast. It aimed at nothing less than the expulsion of the Turks from Europe, and the formation of a grand federative republic out of the provinces of European Turkey. These provinces were to consti-

tute the eight following states, namely, Candia and the other islands; the Morea; Eastern Greece, extending up to Macedonia; Western Greece, including all Albania and reaching to the Austrian frontier; Servia; Dacia, comprehending Moldavia and Wallachia; Bulgaria; and Thrace. The capital and seat of the Federal Congress was to be Constantinople; and the constitution of the United States of America was, in general, to be the model of the government.

Such was the plan of the revolution, known, however, in all its features, to a few only of its most active leaders. A large portion, even of the initiated, were taught to anticipate rather a restoration of the Greek Empire; and this coloring was given to the enterprise, to allay the jealousy, with which the European sovereigns would regard it, when the explosion should take place. Alexander Ypsilanti was selected as the head of the revolution. The hatred of his family to the Turkish government, his military character and experience, and above all his rank in the Russian army, and favor with the emperor from whom the patriots fondly looked for aid, designated this prince as the most suitable leader of the revolt. Previous to entering upon the active developement of his plans, conferences were held between the Emperor Alexander and Ypsilanti. To what extent the emperor was made acquainted with the movements in agitation, is not known; but it has been universally asserted, by the personal and political friends of Ypsilanti, that he was promised support from the emperor. It is in fact the general opinion of the present day, that the emperor had conceived friendly purposes toward the Greeks, but that the revolutions in Spain, Piedmont, and Naples, by creating a fear of an universal subversion of thrones, produced a change in his feelings and policy, which, backed by the dissuasions of Austria and England, induced him to remain passive.

Thinking himself safe in the acquiescence, if not in the aid of Russia, Alexander Ypsilanti repaired to Odessa in 1820, and entered into communications with the Transdanubian provinces. Michael Soutzo, the Hospodar of Moldavia, influenced by one of his counsellors, Jacovaki Rizos, an excellent patriot and a man of genius, frankly embarked in the project. Alexander Soutzo, the Hospodar of Wallachia, refusing to engage in the revolutionary counsels, and threatening to denounce them to the Porte, was immediately taken off by poison, by his physician, a zealous member of *the fraternity*.

On the death of Alexander Soutzo, the revolution broke out, but by a strange coïncidence, without the concert of its leaders, and by a movement, in itself unconnected with their plans, although instantly taken up and seconded by them. Theodore Wladimiresco, a Wallachian of humble origin, but who had served in the last Russian war, raised the standard of revolt. He complained of the extortions, by which the people were vexed; he held out in his proclamations the hope of assistance from Russia; and crowds flocked to his banner. Confidence was given to the movement by the accession of Caminari Sava, who with four thousand Albanians was stationed at Bucharest as the head of the police of that city. The war between Ali Pacha and the Porte had already been raging for a twelvemonth, and consequently furnished a most powerful division in favor of the patriots.

Alexander Ypsilanti, with a corps of members of the *fraternity*, or (for convenience' sake, to give them their Greek name) of *Hetærists*, on whom he had bestowed the appellation of the *Sacred Band*, passed the Pruth, and published his first proclamation at Jassy, the capital of Moldavia. The people of Moldavia welcomed his arrival, and repaired to his standard. In concert with the Hospodar, a provisional government was organized, the members of which were called the *Ephori*. But a proclamation was soon published by the Russian consul, at Jassy, echoing that of the emperor from Laybach, declaring that the movement of Ypsilanti was without any sanction from the emperor. Terrified at the probable consequences of this disavowal, Soutzo at once abandoned the cause of the revolution, and escaped with the military chest to Odessa.

Ypsilanti meantime had left Jassy, and was on the march to Bucharest, when he was overtaken by news of the defection of Soutzo, and by orders from Russia, addressed to him as a Russian general, to quit the principalities. This intelligence was of course in the highest degree unfavorable. Relying, however, upon the coöperation of his countrymen throughout Greece, and the success of his brother Demetrius Ypsilanti, who was already in action in the South, he resolved to persevere. On the tenth of April, he entered Bucharest and was received with enthusiasm. His army equalled in numbers that already assembled by Wladimeresco. The Sacred Band, however, which was entirely composed of young Greeks, who had received an education in the West of Europe, and who were

animated by the most ardent spirit of patriotism, was the only part of his army on which he could place full reliance. This corps was under the immediate command of Nicholas Ypsilanti, the youngest brother of Alexander.

Wladimiresco had, by this time, resolved to lay down arms, which he had taken up without any concert with the Grecian patriots, and without any zeal in their cause. He had already entered into conference with the Turks, and promised, if they would send an army, that he would join it, with the troops under his command. To prevent the discovery and punishment of this treachery by Ypsilanti, Wladimiresco drew off at his approach, and took a station at the Convent of Kotroczene, near Bucharest. An interview between him and Ypsilanti took place, which awakened the suspicions of the latter, and letters of the traitor to the Pacha of Braïlow were intercepted, which confirmed his guilt. He was arrested by Geordaki, in his headquarters, condemned to death by a court martial, at which Ypsilanti himself presided, and the sentence was carried into execution on the seventh of June. His soldiers generally embraced the cause of the revolution.

Ypsilanti now withdrew to Tergovista, with the purpose of taking the upper road to the Danube, crossing into Servia, and raising that populous province. Servian deputies had for some time before presented themselves at his head quarters, assuring him that, as soon as he should cross the Danube, their countrymen would declare for the revolution. Ypsilanti, having despatched agents to inform himself more particularly as to the state of affairs among the Servians, awaited their return; and this delay is perhaps the most obvious error committed by him, under the difficult circumstances in which he was placed. It was, however, an error on the side of prudence, inasmuch as his communications would have been cut off and his whole force left at the mercy of the Turks, had his reception in Servia been otherwise than favorable. On the other hand, a hearty coöperation, on the part of that province, would have of itself gone far to insure the success of the main movement.

While Ypsilanti thus lay seemingly inactive, the Ottoman army, under the command of the Pacha of Braïlow, took possession of Bucharest, and thence moved against the patriots, at Tergovista. On the fifteenth of June, the armies came within sight of each other for the first time. The Turkish force amounted to about thirty thousand, and that of Ypsilanti, in-

cluding the troops of Wladimiresco, to eighteen thousand. The order of battle was admirable, and did credit to the military talent of the Grecian commander. Having secured the heights, Geordaki was posted on the right wing, and Caminari on the left. They were to have charged the enemy simultaneously in flank; and the success of Geordaki proves the correctness of the disposition. But Caminari Sava deserted to the Turks at the onset, Constantine Ducas, who commanded a portion of the centre, failed to obey orders, and the battle was lost. A portion of the Sacred Band had an opportunity of distinguishing itself to the greatest advantage, in the course of the day, and the captain Soutzo, the son of the Hospodar of Wallachia, who, as we have observed, was supposed to have lost his life by poison, fell one of the first victims in the cause. In consequence, however, of the extensive defection mentioned, it became necessary for Ypsilanti to retreat. This was effected in good order; and as a portion of the Sacred Band, not having been called into the fire, was ready for action, the Turks, who had felt the prowess of this battalion, deemed it expedient not to press the pursuit.

It was the intention of Ypsilanti to return to Rimnic, beyond the Aluta. The gold of the Turkish Pachas, however, had prepared the way for new defections, among the Wallacho-Moldavian chieftains, and their army being reïnforced, they began to press hard on the rear of the retreating patriots. Another action was accordingly resolved upon. On the nineteenth of June, Ypsilanti halted his army at Dragachan, near the Aluta, at the foot of an eminence; and took a position to await the approach of the enemy. The Sacred Band was placed in the centre, dressed in deep black, with a death's head and the crossed bones upon their caps. Nicholas Ypsilanti commanded them. His brother Gregory, at the head of a force of about two hundred regular cavalry, was stationed on the left wing of Nicholas, and about seven thousand troops were placed on the right and in the rear. The greater part of these, at the first sound of the trumpet, either passed over to the enemy or fled. The Sacred Band, the pride and the glory of the Greeks, whose name will be for ever recorded in her annals, basely deserted and left to combat alone against thousands of barbarous enemies, sold their lives dearly. They repulsed with crossed bayonets several charges of the Turks. Nicholas Ypsilanti, surrounded with the dead, fought almost

alone on horseback, against numerous Turks, endeavoring to take him alive, till the arrival of the captain Geordaki with a few Albanians, who drew him out of the fire, by the bridle of his horse. A small portion only of the patriots escaped from this field of blood.

Alexander Ypsilanti, with the remnant of his forces, reached Rimnic on the twentieth, and as there was no longer any possibility of success in the provinces, he disbanded his troops. Being near the frontier of Austria, he sent to demand pasports to traverse that empire, on his way to the South of Greece. The pasports were granted him, but scarcely had he set foot within the the Austrian dominions, when he was arrested, and confined, at first in the fortress of Mongatz, and afterwards banished to Theresienstadt. Having languished in this place several years, he received permission about a twelve month since to repair to Vienna, where he soon died of a slow fever, the consequence of his long and cruel confinement.

Another corps of the Hetærists, with the same sable uniform, was organized in Moldavia, under the command of George Cantacuzenus. An older brother of the same name had accompanied Demetrius Ypsilanti to the south of Greece, but after the first year of the revolution, left the country and the cause, and repaired to Dresden, where he is said to be still living. If these Cantacuzeni are the descendants of the imperial family, whose name they bear, they have certainly taken a part unworthy of those, whose ancestors, but a few centuries since, sat on the throne of Constantine the Great, and Justinian. They are more probably of Dacian descent, and, like the greater part of the Wallacho-Moldavians, really felt but little interest in the cause. At the approach of the Turkish army, George Cantacuzenus deserted the battalion under his command, and crossed the Pruth. His place was immediately filled by a brave Hetærist, named Anastasius.

Ismael Pacha, having entered Jassy on the twenty-sixth of June, with sixteen thousand men, immediately marched against the Hetærists under Anastasius, who, to the number of but four hundred, were fortifying themselves at Stinka on the Russian frontier. Here they threw up a small semicircular redoubt, with the Pruth in the rear, and two pieces of cannon at the angles. A contest commenced at break of day, with equal obstinacy on either side, but with an overwhelming superiority of numbers on the part of the Turks. The Greeks were ani-

mated by a report, which had reached them, that Ypsilanti was marching on Adrianople, and sustained the combat till noon. By this time, the incessant discharge of the two fieldpieces had rendered them useless, the Turkish cavalry burst in, and half the brave band being already killed, the redoubt was carried by assault. The remnant of the Greeks, about to be surrounded, plunged into the Pruth and swam to the Russian side, where a large army of Russian troops was stationed, cool spectators of the conflict. Several of the fugitives, as being in the Russian service, were arrested and sent into the Crimea.

Thus terminated all organized movements, in the cause of the revolution, in the Transdanubian provinces. The Turkish armies, indeed, which had been sent to suppress the insurrection, committed such excesses, as led to a Guerilla warfare on the part of the oppressed population. This furnished the pretext for new outrages on the part of the Turks, and during the year, which elapsed after the revolt was suppressed, the unfortunate provinces were a prey to the most frightful military oppression. So extreme was the condition of the inhabitants rendered, as to produce at length the interference of Russia, demanding for the provinces the privileges stipulated by so many treaties. These demands were systematically evaded, or reluctantly and inadequately complied with, and laid the foundation for a protracted, unsatisfactory, and finally a broken negotiation, which has at length terminated in war. The first fruits of this contest, have been the occupation of the provinces by the Russians, and the organization of a provisional government under their authority. How many lives, how much suffering would have been spared, had Russia seconded the movement of Alexander Ypsilanti, and taken this step eight years ago. When the Austrian and the English cabinets are thrown open, and the causes of this delay made known, will they be found such, as to furnish a justification for this wide propagation of misery, and this waste of human blood?

We shall only observe, in conclusion, that there is but one supposition, that will vindicate the characters of Alexander Ypsilanti and his associates, from the charge of a want of judgment, approaching to fatuity. That supposition is, that they had reasonable expectations of countenance from Russia. With these expectations, it was perfectly natural to organize the revolution from the Russian frontier, downward to the South of Greece. Without it, nothing could be worse calcu-

lated, than to begin the war of Grecian independence, in provinces whose population is not Greek, whose language is not Greek, who, except as Christians, have no bond of union with Greece, who habitually rely on Russian protection, and could not be expected to take a step, after Russia should disavow the cause. So obvious are these considerations, as greatly to strengthen the belief, that Ypsilanti really received (as his friends have uniformly asserted) encouragement to hope for the countenance of the Emperor Alexander.

And here we drop the subject; this not being the time nor occasion to enter on the great theme of the revolution in Southern Greece. For that, we put ourselves under the able guidance of Dr Howe, and hope to follow him, through some of its interesting scenes, in another number of our Journal.

Art. XI.—1. *United States*, an Article in the London Quarterly Review for January, 1828.

2. *Message from the President of the United States, transmitting the Correspondence between this Government and that of Great Britain, on the subject of the Claims of the two Governments to the Territory west of the Rocky Mountains.* March 15, 1828.

3. *Message of the President of the United States, transmitting a Report from the Secretary of State, and the Correspondence with the Government of Great Britain, relative to the Free Navigation of the River St Lawrence.* January 7, 1828.

4. *Letter from the Secretary of State, transmitting, pursuant to a Resolution of the House of Representatives of the nineteenth ultimo, a Copy of the Maps and Report of the Commissioners, under the Treaty of Ghent, for ascertaining the Northern and Northwestern Boundary between the United States and Great Britain.* March 18, 1828.

Our relations with England form, and ever have formed the most important part of our foreign politics; and will continue to do so, till some great change takes place in the general political system of the world. Our origin as British colonies gives to the intercourse between the two countries, alternately

something of the cordiality of kindred, and something of the bitterness of family quarrels. The relation of the two countries to each other, as the two first commercial and naval powers, has a tendency, in a time of general war, to bring them into collision; a tendency increased by community of language, and other circumstances of external resemblance. Our geographical situation as neighbors, has given rise to serious controversies, as we shall have occasion to show more particularly in the progress of the present article;—controversies, some of which we are not likely to have with any other foreign power, none of which we can have with any European power; but which are already of a grave, not to say a portentous character.

Whether we advert to these matters of present fact, or look back upon our whole past history,—the struggle of the colonies, as such, with the mother country, the revolutionary war, the near approach to a renewal of hostilities, prior to the treaty of 1794, the collisions which resulted in the war of 1812, and the controversies which have since sprung up;—it must be owned, that our relations with Great Britain ought to be a great, a prominent point of attention with the American statesman. That they must be so, would follow *a priori*, from the general state of the political system of the world. Nothing it is true, is wholly indifferent to us, which essentially changes the condition of any member of that family of nations to which we belong. The passage of the Russians across the Pruth, nay, the petty movements in the Morea before they crossed it, have been felt in our markets; but towards England, we stand in a relation of action and reaction so strong, so comprehensive, so intense, that it can never for a moment be lost sight of.

These considerations make the subject, at all times, a proper one for a journal devoted to the interests of America. It is a subject, which is pertinent to the character of our Review, in every connexion but that of the party politics of the day, and from them we wish and intend to borrow no light. It is, of course, easy on almost any topic, so vast and various, to find ground of plausible cavil. We may be sure of this, if we will look into parliamentary history, and find (on matters, of which the lapse of time has made us unprejudiced judges) what gross injustice wise and good men have done each other, by indiscriminately denouncing the measures of their political opponents. While this rests within the limits of domestic politics, it is an

evil which may be borne; or at any rate, it is one that cannot be helped. Parties must subsist in free states; and where there are parties, they must be unjust to each other. But it is possible, we think, to take the foreign relations of the country out of the grasp of ordinary party politics. There are at least some great points in the foreign policy of the country, on which it is absolutely necessary, that all parties should unite. These points are indubitably our relations with Great Britain. This country cannot do itself justice, unless it present an united front toward that government. Her preponderating naval power seeks only a pretence to traverse us; she puts forward as essential to the maintenance of that power, pretensions irreconcilable with our honor and interest. She has, from the extremity of the Windward Islands to Halifax, a perfect line of military stations in front of our coast; while she plants her posts across the continent, and flanks us from Eastport to the mouth of the Columbia. The person, who thinks that a foreign power, thus intrenched on our borders,—in the command of all the resources of the British empire,—and actuated by the spirit, which has so long governed her cabinet, can be met with divided councils, mistakes the first principles, which decide the political movements of powerful states. Parties may be assailed, prostrated, and rallied; and temporary advantages gained and lost; but every lesson in our history teaches to beware how we again permit our relations either with France or with England to become the pivot of our domestic politics.

We have been particularly moved at this time to consider the subject, in consequence of some remarks upon it, in a late number of the British Quarterly Review. It is well known, that this Journal is to a certain degree semi-official, in its character. It almost without exception speaks the sense of the English government. Some persons connected with the administration of affairs, have the credit of being regular contributors to its pages. The public offices and archives of state are habitually opened, to furnish materials for articles contained in its numbers. It is also in itself a journal of circulation too wide, and influence too great, to be left uncontradicted in serious mistatements.

We know too well how periodical works are, of necessity, made up, to wage war with everything that may offend our taste, or injure the character of the country. An unlucky article may find its way into any journal, however discreet. But

for the general tone and tendency of a journal, somebody ought to be responsible. In a case like this, a spirit of gross misrepresentation, in a quarter where so great an influence is concentrated, ought not to pass unrebuked. Men possessing the ear of the British public, and of the readers of the English language throughout the world, ought not to be allowed by our American reviews, to persist, without correction, in serious, repeated, resolute attacks upon our character, government, and country. The tone of the Quarterly Review has fluctuated toward the United States. Never cordial, it has sometimes sunk into a kind of cold neutrality, and especially since it passed out of the hands of its original editor. There is, however, some unhappy spirit that haunts its pages; which is occasionally laid for a time, but after a space, comes back again with new devices of malice. This evil genius of England and America,—for England has more to fear and deprecate than we have, in the growth of an embittered feeling between the two countries,—who long ago outraged the decent part of the British public, and all America, and all the friends of America, by the infamous libel, in the forty-first number of the Quarterly Review, has recently 'come again'; and in the number for last January, taking for his text the childish trash of Lieutenant De Roos, and an unhappy forgery, called *The United States as they are*, manufactured in Grub-street, has not only vamped up anew several of the old slanders, in which dignified and edifying labor we should not and shall not disturb him; but has undertaken, fantastically enough, to give an account of the character of our diplomatic intercourse in general, and of our relations with England in particular. The ignorance of the subjects treated is the least prominent feature, in this account, as we shall presently see; the spirit in which it is executed deserves a severer censure than respect for ourselves will allow us to give it. Before proceeding further, we must here make a considerable extract from the article in question.

'It is the obvious policy of the governing powers of a country like that we have been describing, to cultivate peace and amity with all the world; and this desire is always strongly professed, in the messages of the president. In their diplomatic intercourse with European states, however, (we make this remark with much pain and regret) they are generally prepared to start so many points of controversy, to put forward so many unfounded claims and extravagant pretensions, many of them so contrary to the es-

tablished law of nations; their self-interest is so predominating a feature, and pursued with so much urgency and perseverance, without the least regard for mutual concession or mutual accommodation, that the word *reciprocity* would seem to be banished from their diplomatic code. Under an affectation of humility and republican simplicity, no absolute monarchy can be, in point of fact, more ostentatious and vainglorious, than the government of the United States. A cold, calculating tone of argumentation marks all their official intercourse with foreign nations. Perhaps it would be deemed inconsistent with stern republican simplicity, were the president or his ambassador guilty of any of those little acts of courtesy and mutual civility, which subsist, in the diplomatic intercourse, between the organs of the monarchical governments of Europe.'

Thus far is general. The things alleged are vague, and no facts are specified. The charges are even somewhat contradictory. It does not readily appear, how an 'affectation of humility' can consist with the abstinence from 'acts of courtesy and mutual civility,' without which, in their proper place, no appearance of humility could be kept up. It is the first time we have ever heard, that the President of the United States, at any period, would consider it a crime to practice the usual acts of courtesy and mutual civility toward foreign ministers. We are ourselves strongly inclined to think, that for one act of courtesy, which passes from any monarch in Europe toward any foreign minister, ten have been exercised by every president of the United States toward every foreign minister, accredited to this government. In fact, the intercourse of the President of the United States with the foreign ministers is like his intercourse with all other gentlemen (the only intercourse that becomes men of sense in any country), that of perfect equality, as of man with man. Can as much be said of the sovereigns of Europe? However, we need not waste more words on this part of the remarks of the writer in the Quarterly Review. It is enough to say, they have little meaning and no truth. It will be observed that the assertion of this reviewer covers the whole diplomatic intercourse of the United State with all nations. Bnt as most of his subsequent specifications refer to matters now in controversy with England, and as the British press has manifested no little preposterous exultation on the subject of the fancied felicity of the negotiations of Mr Canning with Mr Gallatin, we think it not superfluous to subjoin the following remarks of Lord Dudley, in a letter to our minister of the first of October, 1827.

'The undersigned [Lord D.] takes pleasure in recognising in both these letters of Mr Gallatin, and especially in the inquiry which closes the second of them, the same spirit of good will and conciliation, which in the midst of discussions involving no small difference of opinion, has characterized Mr Gallatin's correspondence with the British Government.'

What a comment does this official admission of a British minister form upon the libellous statement of the anonymous writer, who undertakes to describe the style of the American diplomacy! We shall only add that we know that the British government was not less pleased with the temper of Mr Rush's correspondence, during the eight years of his mission.

We proceed with our quotation.

'England, more than any other power, has experienced this frigid and exacting temper on the part of the United States, ever since that precious treaty of Ghent, which gave to them all that they asked, and much more than they had a right to expect. Not contented with this, the republic has since put forth claims of the most unreasonable nature; and in the discussions that have taken place, evinced a litigious disposition on points, that can scarcely fail sooner or later to bring the two nations into collision. We mean such points as Great Britain never can concede, and which can have no other object, if persevered in, than to serve as so many pretexts to join the enemy against us, in any future war, as she did in the last. The following are a few, among the many subjects, to which we allude;

1. A new code of maritime law,
2. The settlement of a boundary line,
3. The claim to the Columbia river,
4. The free and uninterrupted navigation of the St Lawrence.'

In attending sufficiently to the above remarks, to make the extract of them, we begin to find that we have to do with a person too little informed on the subjects, which he undertakes to treat, to deserve a refutation. In the treaty of Ghent (it seems) Great Britain yielded all that the United States asked! The only inference which can be made from this remark, is, that the writer knows nothing about the negotiation of the treaty of Ghent. That treaty, like most other treaties between powers standing on any footing of equality with each other, was a compromise. Each party proposed things, on which it did not insist; and receded from terms at first brought forward as essential.

But it seems the United states got all they asked by the

treaty of Ghent, and '*not contented with this*, the republic has *since* put forth claims of an unreasonable nature;' and the first of these, is 'a new code of maritime law, branching out into the subjects of impressment, blockade, and the right of search!' These are the *new*, unreasonable claims, which America, having got all her old demands satisfied in the treaty of Ghent, has *since* brought forward. Is it possible, that there is a junior clerk, in the office of the under secretary of state for foreign affairs, who does not know, that these were the very causes of the war of 1812; and that they formed a much more prominent part of the discussions, between the two governments, before that event, than they have done since the peace of 1815? The following are the subjects of most prominent negotiation between the two powers, since that period.

1. The commercial intercourse between the two countries.
2. Commercial intercourse between the United States and the British colonies.
3. The suppression of the slave trade.
4. The indemnity for slaves, carried away by the British, after the treaty of Ghent was ratified.
5. The mouth of the Colombia river.
6. The navigation of the St Lawrence.
7. The Northeastern boundary.

We do not say that the other subjects have not been discussed. Some of them, and particularly the subject of impressment, was, for instance, a matter of negotiation in 1818; but not one of them has been, for the first time, broached since the peace of 1815; and the subjects we have mentioned have been certainly the most prominent subjects of negotiation, between the two countries, for the last thirteen years.

But this is not all. Out of these seven subjects, two, the first and the fourth, have been settled to mutual satisfaction, and the first with scarce any collision of opinion. The third was the subject of a convention, negotiated in compliance with a resolution nearly unanimous, of the house of representatives of the United States, and approved by Mr Monroe, but not acceptable to two thirds of the senators; the fifth has twice been the subject of a convention, wherein the two parties agree to leave the territory in *statu quo*. The seventh has been by convention referred to arbitration. On the second, the parties have negotiated, but without success, it is true; but the United States claimed nothing, as of right. On the sixth alone, they

are at issue, on a question of naked right, without any approach to a compromise or settlement. And now what becomes of our many new unreasonable claims, which Great Britain never can concede,—and which are reserved by us as pretexts to join the enemy in the next war?

1. But let us look a little farther, and see what this writer makes of his specification. His first unreasonable demand, broached by us since the peace, is 'a new maritime code,' branching into the subjects of impressment, blockade, the right of search after contraband of war, and the practice of privateering. On the first point, we will not at present follow the writer farther than to say, that every word, which he says upon it, shows that he is wholly unacquainted with the state of the controversy. On the second branch, it seems (and Heaven make us duly grateful) the republic agrees with the monarchy; 'her ideas of a legitimate blockade agree pretty nearly with our own.' On the third branch, *contraband*, he has not a word to say, to show that the American government claims anything not equally claimed by the British. On the fourth, it seems, we have had the temerity 'to launch a novel proposition of a very singular nature—that belligerents should abstain from commissioning privateers and from capturing private property at sea.'

Here we would, in the first place, remark, that we do not recollect that this proposition of the American government, to abolish the practice of privateering, forms the subject of any discussion between the two governments, which has been published in America or in England. If we are correct in this opinion, the writer in the Quarterly Review derives any knowledge which he may have of such discussions, from permitted access to the archives of his government. This fact, if it be one, while it justifies the notice we are taking of him, shows into what sort of hands that government may forget itself so far as to play.

But, it seems, America 'has launched a novel proposition of a very singular nature,' or, to talk English, has made a proposal to abolish privateering and private war on the ocean. This project is, if you please, chimerical and absurd. But is it arrogant? is it an unreasonable claim? is there any want of reciprocity in it? Would not America, even in the ordinary acceptation of the terms, be the loser by adopting the principle? Does not our privateering force bear a much greater proportion to our entire means of hostile action, than the privateering force of any other country?

Again, has this proposal been accompanied with any menace? Has America made it a condition of friendly intercourse with any other power? Has she ever broached it, or 'launched' it, in any but the most respectful manner to any power? What then is the meaning of this ribaldry, about '"a pretty considerable" enlargement of the principle, which she has long endeavored to establish, that the flag of a neutral shall cover all property on board, except contraband of war?'

We ought not to pass this last assertion, without stating, that it is not true, as those who place credit in this writer might infer, that the United States deny the right of search for enemies' property. At the same time that they wish to establish, by common consent, the opposite principle, that 'free ships make free goods,' they have in all their late treaties (for it is not alone 'in a treaty with some young republic on the American continent which calls itself Guatemala,' * that the United States have introduced the principle), in which the rule of *free ships free goods* is adopted, inserted a clause restricting its application to those powers that recognise it. See the twelfth article of the treaty of 1819, with an old kingdom on the European continent, which calls itself Spain.

It is true that the United States have proposed to Great Britain to agree, by treaty, to the above named rule. Instead of being a novel proposition on our part, Great Britain is the only power, which has shown a disposition to persevere in the opposite principle, for no other reason than that alleged by this writer, that she is the most powerful at sea. Almost every other nation has acquiesced in the British doctrine, by the compulsion of circumstances. France alone has never yielded the point, and still contends with earnestness generally against the right of search, and for the principle once asserted by the armed neutrality, that free ships make free goods, a principle now ridiculously called by this writer a new American pretension.

We shall presently say a few words on the matter of impressment. Meantime, we shall not let this writer, artfully or in his ignorance, confound the right of search with the pretended

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* What a piece of impertinence in this republic it would be, to call itself by the name, which has designated the country since its discovery! As it happens, however, the 'young republic' calls itself no such thing.

right of impressment. In resisting this pretended right, the United States do not contend against the right of search for purposes, in which we, as well as other nations, have acquiesced. We admit the right of search, in reference to objects, which we have admitted to be liable to capture and condemnation, such as enemies' property and contraband articles. We deny the right of taking out of neutral ships persons of any kind, with one single exception; and consequently we deny the right of searching for them. And this single exception strengthens the general principle. The fifteenth article of the treaty with Spain of 1795, concluded under General Washington's administration, after providing that everything should be deemed free and exempt from capture, which should be found on board the ships of either of the contracting parties, stipulates, 'that the same liberty shall be extended to persons, who are on board a free ship, so that although they be enemies to either party, they shall not be made prisoners or taken out of that free ship, *unless they are soldiers and in actual service of the enemies.*' The same provision will be found in the convention with France, article fourteenth, negotiated in 1800, under Mr Adams's administration; in the twelfth article of the treaty with Colombia; in the fourteenth article of the treaty with Central America; and in Mr Madison's instructions to Messrs Monroe and Pinkney in 1806. These treaties, however, are all with powers, which admit the principle of *free ships free goods.* But inasmuch as between Great Britain and ourselves, we admit that enemies' property is liable to capture and condemnation, we are not prepared to deny, and are not aware that our government has denied, that the principle ought not to be extended to the persons of enemies; rendering them liable to be taken out of neutral ships, although not soldiers in actual service.

But, to return to the subject of private war, it seems that to abolish privateering is to this writer a very singular and a *novel* proposition. Could it have been believed that such a suggestion would have found its way into a leading journal of the metropolis of English literature? The practice of privateering, so consonant, in this writer's opinion, with 'the established law of nations,' has been denounced as no better than piracy, by almost every writer on the law of nations, from Albericus Gentilis, who taught in England in 1582, down to Martens. Lord Clarendon declares, that privateers were a people 'how

countenanced soever, or thought necessary, that do bring an unavoidable scandal, and *it is to be feared, a curse*, upon the justest war, that was ever made at sea.' In addition to these authorities, which really take off a little from the edge of the *novelty* of this very singular proposition, first launched according to this writer, since the treaty of Ghent, by the republic, it is to be remembered that Dr Franklin stated as long ago as 1785, that 'the United States, though better situated than any other nation to profit by privateering, are, as far as in them lies, endeavoring to abolish the practice, by offering, in all their treaties with other powers, an article engaging solemnly, that in case of a future war, no privateers shall be commissioned on either side, and that unarmed merchant ships shall pursue their voyages unmolested.' Nor is it less true, though it seems it is unknown to this writer, that a stipulation to that effect was embraced in the treaty of 1785, concluded between the United States and Frederic of Prussia, and commended for that very article, by every respectable civilian, who, since that period, has treated the topic. And yet this is a novel and a very singular proposition, launched by the republic, since the peace of 1814, among the many other new unreasonable claims! *

It appears then, after sifting the four branches of which this writer says our proposed new code of maritime law is to consist, that impressment is the only one, where he makes out anything of a case, and his case there is wholly different from that which he intended to make out, which was one of unreasonable pretensions, brought forward by America *since* the treaty of Ghent. But let us see what his case is, on the subject of impressment.

'With the general question of impressment,' says he, 'we apprehend that America, having no concern, has no business to interfere. It is the king's prerogative, and as ancient as the monarchy itself; and if the right, on the exercise of which, in time of need, the very salvation of the empire must depend, is to be abandoned, let us yield up "this tower of strength" to the clamor of our own democrats, rather than those of the United States.'

Now, out of charity to this writer, in the penury of his knowledge of the English language, we concede him a part of

* See an elaborate and most judicious article on the subject of privateering in No. XXVIII. of this journal, written by the lamented Mr Gallison.

what he means, though nothing of what he says. When he says, that America has no concern with 'the *general* question' of impressment, that it is 'the king's prerogative,' &c. he evidently means the *special* case of impressment of British subjects within British jurisdiction. With this special case we have no concern, and *therefore* do not intend to interfere. The king of England may claim and exercise, as long as he pleases, the right of sending a gang of ruffians to knock down the first of his subjects, whom they meet on Tower Hill, and hurry him on board a ship-of-war, very possibly the day of his discharge from a seven years' service. With this right, America never has, and probably never will interfere. She has, however, the same kind of reason, on the score of common humanity to interfere even in this special case, which Great Britain has to interfere with the slave trade of other nations. A late respectable British writer* boasts, that Great Britain has made the proscription of this cruel traffic the *sine quâ non* of her intercourse with the new American states. It would be difficult to name any principle of public law or common sense, by which Great Britain is authorized to set up this *sine quâ non*, which would not authorize America or any other power to interfere, even in the special case (which this writer calls the general question) of British impressment within British jurisdiction. We do not say that humanity or expediency equally require an interference in the two cases, but we speak of principles of public law. But our writer proceeds,

'If the United States have any plan to offer, by which American seamen may be protected against serving in our fleets, and British seamen from entering into theirs, Great Britain will undoubtedly be ready to discuss it. As for those certificates of citizenship, which any British seaman could purchase for a dollar, America must be well assured, that Great Britain never can consent to relinquish her claim to the services of her seamen, in time of war, upon such slender pretences and in the absence of anything like proof; but, we believe, her practice has invariably been to discharge American seamen from her employ, whenever they have been able to substantiate their American citizenship.'

'*If* the United States have any plan to offer, Great Britain will undoubtedly be ready to discuss it!'

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* Mr Ward, late chargé d'affaires at Mexico, in his work on that country.

The subject of impressment, the remonstrances of the United States against the exercise of this pretended right, and proposals of conciliatory arrangements to avoid its practice, instead of being a novelty started since the treaty of Ghent, form a prominent topic in the diplomatic correspondence between the two governments, almost from the time of the adoption of the federal constitution. Mr Thomas Pinckney addressed lord Grenville on this subject as early as January, 1793. Mr Jay followed it up in a letter to the same respectable minister, of July, 1794. Mr King, in November, 1796, had the same subject under discussion with lord Grenville, who refused to give up an American impressed seaman, on the ground that 'he had married and settled in Bristol'; a cogent commentary on the British doctrine of inalienable allegiance! In a letter to the American secretary of state, dated fifteenth March, 1799, Mr King says, that in a late conference he had stated to lord Grenville, 'that on this subject the American government had *again and again* offered to concur in a convention, which we thought practicable to be formed, and which should settle these questions, in a manner that would be safe for England and satisfactory for us.'

In 1800, Mr Liston, the British minister in America, proposed the project of a treaty relative to the reciprocal delivery of deserters, which Mr Liston imagined would put an end to impressments, and which was disapproved by Mr Pickering, secretary of state, and rejected by Mr Adams, because it was not satisfactory on this head. This supplementary treaty was proposed in pursuance of the twenty-eighth article of the treaty negotiated by Mr Jay, which contemplated the addition of further articles, to remove the difficulties which remained unadjusted by that treaty, of which this of impressment was one. In September, 1800, John Marshall, then secretary of state, instructed Mr King on the subject. In 1805, Mr King approached very near to the conclusion of a convention with lord Hawkesbury and lord St Vincent on this subject, which was mutually acceptable. Great Britain, by this agreement, was to abandon the practice of impressing out of American vessels. Lord St Vincent, after the terms were agreed on, took a night to reflect upon them, and determined to except 'the narrow seas' from the operation of the agreement. Mr King, justly surprised at this preposterous revival of the antiquated absurdity of the doctrine of the *mare clausum*, refused

to accept the modification. In the following year, a plan of a convention on the same subject was offered by Mr Monroe to lord Hawkesbury, who neither accepted nor rejected it, although we have the authority of Mr Monroe for saying, that 'nothing occurred in their conferences to justify an inference, that he (lord Hawkesbury) thought the proposals of the United States unreasonable.' This offer was renewed to lord Harrowby, who treated it in the same way, postponing the subject from time to time, for the decision of the cabinet, and never giving an answer. Under Mr Fox's ministry, Messrs Monroe and Pinkney used the greatest urgency with the lords Holland and Auckland, to induce them to agree to the substance of the project submitted by Mr King to lord St Vincent, but without success. Relying on the supposed conciliatory temper of the whig ministry, Messrs Monroe and Pinkney were induced to conclude a treaty, without any stipulation on the subject of impressment, and this omission led president Jefferson to reject it, without consulting the senate. In the interval between the negotiation and the intelligence of the rejection of the treaty, the Fox ministry was dissolved, and Mr Canning succeeded lord Howick as secretary of state for foreign affairs. The attempt to settle this question was renewed; but whatever might otherwise have been effected, the affair of the Chesapeake and the subsequent misunderstandings of the two governments arose, which resulted in the war of 1812. When we consider that the refusal of the British commissioners to accede to the proposals of the United States on this subject, was the substantial cause of the rejection of the treaty of 1806, it is not unreasonable to trace the war of 1812 mainly to this cause; and yet this writer calls the refusal of the United States to submit to the impressment of her seamen, a new unreasonable claim, which she has set up, since the treaty of Ghent.

2. Thus dexterously does he acquit himself on this head. The second of our *new* claims of a most unreasonable nature (the reader will hardly believe that we quote the words faithfully), is 'the settlement of a boundary line.' What a most unreasonable government this republic is! The line itself is not, in these words, objected to. It is not now the offence, that the United States claim too much or what does not belong to them. But to ask for any boundary at all, to deny the right of the British government to come as far and take as much as they please, is arrogant and unreasonable.

But we will be more just to this writer, than he is to himself. We will take him at what he meant; not at what he says. He did not intend (though he says it), that the settlement of a boundary line between the two countries is in itself a new and an unreasonable claim; but that *the* line, on which the United States insist, is not the true one, nor supported on reasonable grounds.

Let us see what are the writer's facts under this second head; bearing in mind that the point he is to prove (on the most favorable construction which his words admit), is, that on the subject of the boundary line, we have, since the treaty of Ghent, advanced unreasonable claims. He states, that

'This line of demarcation has been drawn by commissioners under the treaty of Ghent, most unfairly, and in every way disadvantageous (?) to the interests of Great Britain and her North American colonies. Whether it was wise to appoint an American citizen, resident in America, to be the commissioner on the part of Great Britain, is not for us to determine,—nor do we mean to accuse him of any undue partiality; but the general opinion certainly is, that we have, by some means or other, suffered ourselves to be *cheated* out of a vast extent of territory.'

We pass the indecent language in which this is expressed, as it merely concerns the manners of the writer, and is of no consequence to the argument. As it is impossible to get at anything like the merits of the question, or the facts of the case, from his imperfect, confused, and inaccurate statement, we will first lay before our readers a sketch of what was provided to be done, on this subject, by the treaty of Ghent.

There are several questions of boundary, totally distinct from each other, referred to in that treaty, and several commissions, totally distinct from each other, provided for, which this writer, from ignorance of the whole matter, confounds together. In the first place, it was doubtful to whom the several islands in Passamaquoddy bay ought to be assigned, under the true construction of the treaty of 1783. The fourth article of the treaty of Ghent provided for raising a joint commission, consisting of one English and one American commissioner, to decide the question relative to these islands, which question, in the event of a difference of opinion between the commissioners, was to be referred to a third friendly sovereign power. Under this article Thomas Barclay, a British subject, was appointed British commissioner, and John Holmes Amer-

ican commissioner; and on the twenty-fourth day of November, 1817, they made a report, giving to the United States Moose Island, Dudley Island, and Frederic Island, and to Great Britain all the other islands in the bay. 'In making this decision,' the commissioners remark, 'it became necessary that each of the commissioners should yield a part of his individual opinion.' There is certainly thus far no trace of 'a line of demarcation drawn most unfairly, and in every way disadvantageous to the interests of Great Britain.'

Thus far is concerned the question of boundary relative to the islands. The more important question concerns the continental boundary, and this was divided into three portions. The first portion of the boundary was that, which began at the mouth of the St Croix, and extended to the St Lawrence, that is, the boundary between the states of Maine and Vermont, and the British provinces. The second was that portion of the boundary, which began at the forty-fifth degree of latitude on the St Lawrence, and extended through the lakes Ontario, Erie, &c. to the water communication between the lakes Huron and Superior. The third portion began where the last finished, and extended through lake Superior to the most northwestern part of the Lake of the Woods. The first portion of the boundary was referred, by the fifth article of the treaty of Ghent, to a separate commission, of which we shall presently speak again. The two other, or western portions of the boundary were referred as separate questions, by the sixth and seventh articles of the treaty, to another and a separate commission. This last commission consisted of P. B. Porter in behalf of America, and Anthony Barclay on the part of Great Britain. They made their report on the twenty-second of June, 1822, containing their decision on the sixth article, in which they mutually agreed. It is too long to be here inserted; but it is sufficient to say, that it was formed on the principle of mutual compromise. It decides the whole immense boundary of the United States, from the forty-fifth degree of latitude on the St Lawrence to the mouth of Detroit river. The surveys of this boundary line, handsomely executed in the lithographic manner, were published, in pursuance of a resolution of the House of Representatives at the last session of Congress. In this portion of the boundary line, our writer finds a stumbling-block of no ordinary magnitude. It seems that the commissioners had the temerity to decide, that Barn-

hardt's Island fell within the American boundary; and it farther happens, that the only navigable channel of the river St Lawrence falls between Barnhardt's Island and the right or American bank of the river. On these facts the writer in the Quarterly Review makes the following judicious and temperate remarks;

'Then, again, by some unlucky chance, an island, at the foot of the Long Sault Rapids, has been ceded to the Americans [it was owned by them from the settlement of the country], which throws the whole of the deep water of the St Lawrence within the American limits; while, on the Canada side, the water is so shallow as scarcely to float a canoe. We are, therefore, at the mercy of the American government, whether we shall be permitted to navigate that part of the river which is between Kingston and Montreal, or not; and to obviate this difficulty, we are driven to the enormous expense of making a canal of communication.'

We cannot but remark here on the disgusting levity, with which this writer says, that the island in question was ceded *by chance* to the Americans; plainly avowing a purpose on the part of England of claiming everything which is for her interest, and ascribing it to chance alone, if that interest is ever swerved from. What shadow of a reason can the writer assign for supposing, that this important point in the boundary was left to the decision of chance? Was this the way, in which the British commissioner, agent, astronomer, and surveyor did their duty to their government? We are happy to express our belief, that that government is grossly libelled by by the writer, when he insinuates, that its agents were instructed never to admit anything favorable to America, and that it could only have been by chance that any such admission was made.

Another remark we make with pleasure, as Americans. Notwithstanding our right to navigate the St Lawrence is denied by Great Britain, and our claim even treated by this writer with disdain, the government of the United States has never attempted to shut the passage between Barnhardt's Island and the American bank on the British navigation. Although the navigation of the river from Kingston to Montreal is, by the confession of this writer, 'at the mercy of the American government,' that unreasonable, selfish, grasping government has never attempted to retaliate upon the *liberality*, which excludes us from the navigation of the river, within the British

limits. This forbearance, however, is of course temporary; unless a reciprocity on the part of Great Britain shall make it permanent. We shall not, certainly, allow them to pass through our waters, unless we are permitted to navigate theirs. So much for the sixth article of the treaty of Ghent, which concerned the middle portion of the boundary, and in regard to which the commissioners agreed in their report, which was made eight years ago, and is final. Our well informed writer has mixed up this matter, which is the only part of the continental boundary between the two governments that is settled and fixed, with the various points of controversy under the fifth article, on which no settlement has yet been had, and of which we shall presently speak.

By the seventh article of the treaty of Ghent, the same commissioners, who were to be appointed under the sixth article (of which we have just given the history), were 'to fix and determine according to the true intent of the said treaty of 1783, that part of the boundary between the dominions of the said powers, which extends from the water communication between lake Huron and lake Superior, to the most northwestern point of the Lake of the Woods,' &c. On this part of the boundary line, the commissioners were unable to agree, and reported some time ago the fact of their disagreement, to to the respective governments. As this writer does not appear to be aware of the existence of this commission, and does not betray a knowledge of the points of disagreement, and as we have still much matter to present to the reader's notice, we forbear to dwell upon the topic.

The main and great question of boundary is, then, that which arises under the fifth article of the treaty of Ghent; a subject of real and rapidly growing importance, which has already awakened a keen sensibility on the part of Maine and Massachusetts, and is destined, we fear, to be made by Great Britain a subject of most serious national controversy. When we contemplate the magnitude of the question, we are struck with the shocking levity with which the author in question treats it. His prejudices as an Englishman we would cheerfully pardon, not doubting that they are counterbalanced by ours as Americans. But that one so ignorant, should find access to such a channel of communication, on such a subject, makes us painfully feel the degradation of the British press. We have already quoted some vague and entirely erroneous generalities,

with which he commences this topic. When he descends to particulars, we find the following statements;

'The general opinion is, that we have, by some means or other, suffered ourselves to be *cheated* out of a vast extent of territory. [What a fine thing it is to practise 'little acts of courtesy and mutual civility' in national disputes!] In the first place, a line has been drawn contrary, it is said, to the letter and spirit of the treaty, which deprives us of about TEN MILLIONS OF SQUARE MILES of the very best land in the province of New Brunswick.'

Now we will not trouble the reader, at present, with one word on the merits of the boundary line. In our April number, we entered at some length into the discussion. Whoever has read that article, can judge of the letter and spirit of the treaty. To say that the boundary claimed by the British is consonant with the *letter* of the treaty, is to insult the reader's common sense. The most that any man can, with gravity, claim on the British side, is, that the spirit of the treaty of 1783 sanctions their claim. We do not, for a moment, allow even this to be the fact, but, on the contrary, maintain the opposite. But to say, that the letter of the treaty is with them, is to say, what no man, with or without his name, who has any self-respect, ever said before. Even this writer hesitates upon the allegation, and qualifies it with 'it is said.' By whom? we should like to know. But we pass the merits of the question.

The land in controversy is, says this writer, 'about ten millions of square miles.' Ten millions of square miles! being a space a little more than three times as large as all Europe; a trifle less than all Africa,—and yet forming a corner of New Brunswick! But this writer meant ten millions of square acres, not square miles; and of this estimate, we have only to say, that the real quantity is nearer six and a half millions of acres; enough in conscience, but something less than ten. As times go, three millions and a half of acres of 'the very best land in New Brunswick' are not to be despised; and the writer ought to thank us for tossing them in, at the very moment that he accuses us of cheating him out of them.

But all this is nothing to his main assertion. Will the previously uninformed reader believe, that after all this Billingsgate of 'cheating' the English out of a vast extent of territory, of 'swindling England out of her rights' (for this vile language he employs in the same paragraph), after all this clamor about the 'line of demarcation, which has been drawn disadvanta-

geous' (to use his elegant dialect), 'drawn contrary to the letter and spirit of the treaty,' 'drawn too far to the northward,' and by which poor England 'has been deprived of ten millions of square miles,' no line has been drawn, no boundary has been settled, nothing has been taken from England, nothing given to America? The British commissioners proposed their line; the American commissioners proposed theirs. They could not agree, and in pursuance of the fifth article of the treaty, and of a special convention negotiated to carry it into effect, the whole controversy has been referred to the arbitration of a friendly third power. And yet with the unquestioned knowledge of these facts (for who could know what the writer does of the subject, pitiably little as that is, and not know what we have now stated), he dares to call the American government and people 'cheats' and 'swindlers,' because our commissioners presumed to offer their construction of the treaty; and that indubitably the right one.

But he does not escape us here. If he has a name; if he is any body, in whom sense and shame are not extinct, worse is yet to be told. After an incoherent allusion to the subject of Barnhardt's Island, which is settled under the sixth article of the treaty, among matters unsettled and in controversy under the fifth, he goes on;

'And, with regard to that part of the boundary line which is to run along the forty-fifth parallel of latitude, from the Connecticut river to the St Lawrence, it appears that the line has been drawn about thirteen miles too far to the northward, and thus taken from us, if admitted, not only a portion of Lake Champlain, and the Isle aux Noix, but also a commanding position on one of its shores, called *Rouse's Point*, which the Americans had begun to fortify. This fortress, it appears, would favor an attack on Canada; while, on the other hand, the position is innocent as to any purpose for invading the American territory from the side of Canada. [Why?] The Americans, however, were so anxious to retain this position, as to have recourse to the assertion of a principle, which, we believe, is as new, as it is ingenious in diplomacy. They maintained, that all boundary lines were to be settled on true scientific principles, and, therefore, that the line of demarcation should be drawn according to the *geocentric* latitude, which would throw the fortress within their limits. They almost deserve it for their ingenuity; but England must not thus suffer herself to be *swindled* out of her rights.'

Such is the text, and a note to this precious passage runs in the following terms;

'We believe the fact of the case to be this. The American agent was lamenting greatly the loss of the fortress, on which our agent jocularly observed, that if the geocentric latitude was assumed, they might still hold their fort. The agent mentioned this to Mr Gallatin, who knew as little of *geocentric* latitude as himself; but he spoke of it to Mr Monroe, the president, who was equally ignorant with both. They found, however, on consulting one of their mathematicians, that the fact was certainly so; and therefore the claim was seriously insisted upon, on the ground that all boundary lines ought to be settled on scientific principles. Thus it is to joke on treaties with brother Jonathan.'

Much we fear, before he has done with this joke, this writer in the Quarterly will find that it is a much more serious thing than he had thought. In the first place remark the man's stolidity. He speaks of our claim '*if* admitted,' 'England must not suffer herself to be swindled,' 'they almost deserve it,' &c. and this, with reference to a line, which he had just said was actually drawn, and had cheated the English out of their territory. It ought also here again to be remarked, that as far as we know, no part of the report of the commissioners, under the fifth article of the treaty of Ghent, has been published. In this country it has not, and, we presume, not in England. There is no source, therefore, from which the writer could have drawn that part of his romance which is founded on fact, but the archives of the British government. We again allude to this point, because we fear our readers will think him beneath their notice.

But to the facts. The boundary between the two governments from the St Lawrence to Lake Champlain was the forty-fifth parallel of latitude. The place called Rouse's Point was supposed, on both sides, to be south of this parallel. It had ever been considered as a part of Champlain township, in the county of Clinton, New York; and as such was occupied and settled by the Americans. Subsequent to the late war, a fortress at great expense under Mr Monroe's administration was erected on it. The fifth article of the treaty of Ghent provided for the settlement of the whole boundary, and by observations taken, it appeared that Rouse's Point was north of the forty-fifth degree, and consequently fell within the British limits, if the line was run by these new observations. The astronomer of the

American commission (Mr Hassler, an eminent Swiss mathematician, better acquainted no doubt with the principles of his science, than the interpretation of treaties) suggested to the American agent Mr W. P. Bradley of Vermont, that the forty-fifth parallel of geocentric latitude fell to the north of the same parallel of *observed* latitude, and would throw the fortress within the American territory. In consequence of this suggestion, Mr Bradley was induced to submit, in one of his arguments before the commission, *as matter of doubt*, whether the forty-fifth degree of latitude should not be determined, in conformity with the geocentric and not the observed latitude. But this pretension has never been sustained by the government of the United States, notwithstanding this writer has the hardihood to assert, that it was set up by special instructions from the president. Mr Van Ness, the American commissioner, did not sanction it; it consequently forms no part of the claims of the United States, *even as disagreed to* by the British commissioner. Mr Monroe, contrary to the positive and specific assertion of this writer, was not consulted about it. Mr Gallatin (whom the writer also names and insults), to whom he pretends that the American agent mentioned the matter, was our minister in Paris during all the time that the commission sat in America, had just as much to do with that commission as the Cham of Tartary and no more, and never heard of the argument in question (advanced by Mr Bradley in 1820), till he was appointed minister to England in 1826; and when he did find it in the records of the commission, instantly pronounced it untenable! We are now ready to join with this poor writer, and say, 'Thus it is to joke on treaties with Brother Jonathan.' We may mistake, but are inclined to 'calculate,' that it will be some time, before we hear of *geocentric latitude* from the Quarterly Review again.*

* There is, amidst the malice of the fabrications we have exposed, a little pitifulness, which we will also point out, as we go along. It seems this precious piece of science was graciously communicated by the *British* agent, to the American, who knew nothing of it; that Mr Gallatin knew nothing of it, and Mr Monroe knew nothing of it, and all received the wondrous intimation of geocentric latitude as a god-send. The moral of this exultation is, we suppose, that while American presidents and ministers know nothing about *geocentric latitude*, British princes and ministers have it at their fingers' ends; particularly, we suppose, under the present scientific administration of

Having thus shown what the American government and people do not claim in this matter, we will state in a word what they do, and it is this; that so much of the line established prior to the year 1776, as being in the latitude of forty-five degrees, and the boundary between the then provinces of New York and Quebec, as had been actually surveyed prior to that year, under the joint authority of the two provinces, was not, by the treaty of Ghent, intended to be again surveyed, but is, and ought to remain, as heretofore, the boundary between the two powers.

It must be known to many of our readers, that the commissioners under the fifth article of the treaty of Ghent, Mr Van Ness on the American, and Mr Barclay the elder on the British side, after a protracted discussion of the subject, disagreed in the report to be made. The article provides, that, in the event of such disagreement, the whole matter should be referred to the mediation of some friendly sovereign, to whom both parties should submit their statements, arguments, and surveys. To carry into effect this provision, a convention was negotiated by Mr Gallatin last fall, the ratifications of which have been subsequently exchanged,—and measures have been taken, on the part of the United States, and, we presume, on that of Great Britain, to bring the question before the arbitrator. This is the juncture, which is seized by the British government, to throw open their archives to this anonymous libeller, and thus put it in his power, as far as possible by means of a literary journal circulating throughout the world, to poison the public mind on this subject, to prepossess the arbitrator, and to anticipate the fair reciprocal argument of the case, by this one-sided, calumnious statement. Such is the course pursued on that side of the water, by way of teaching benighted America the value of those 'little acts of courtesy and mutual civility, which subsist in the diplomatic intercourse between the organs of the monarchical governments of Europe.'

3. The third of the new unreasonable claims, which Ameri-

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that government. On this we shall not decide; but merely observe, that we believe the British agent was a North American, educated at Harvard College, near Boston; and the British astronomer a German, educated at Göttingen. So much for the glory reflected on the science of Englishmen, by their profound acquaintance with geocentric latitude!

ca is charged, by this writer, with setting up, is 'the claim to the mouth of the Columbia river.' On this subject he expresses himself as follows:

'The claim, which the Americans set up to this river, rests on an assumed priority of discovery, by the exploring party, under Lewis and Clarke; and to the enormous extent of territory, on the principle that the discovery of a mouth of a river conveys to the country, in whose name the discovery is effected, a right to all the territory traversed by the waters communicating with it, in which no settlements have previously been made. On these "waters," however, many of our trading posts of the North-West Company were established long before the exploring party discovered that Columbia, the mouth of which had been surveyed, by order of Captain Vancouver, at least ten years before the said party had crossed the Rocky Mountains. Can, then, the American government have the modesty to persist in urging Great Britain to surrender her title to the whole extent of coast between the fifty-first and the forty-second degree of latitude, the latter being the northern boundary of Mexico, when Nootka lies within those limits;—that Nootka to which, at the risk of a war, she successfully maintained her right in 1790?'

On this extraordinary passage, we first remark, that the writer is endeavoring to make out the case, that America, since the treaty of Ghent, has set up new and unreasonable propositions to be taken advantage of hereafter, as an excuse for taking sides against England, in any war in which she may be engaged. Our claim to the Columbia river is one of these new unreasonable pretensions. And yet the government of the United States concluded with the British government a convention in 1818, by which it was agreed, that both parties should remain in possession of their rights; and at the moment this writer was penning his article for the January number of the Quarterly Review, that agreement had by a new convention, which has since been ratified, been extended to a further term of twelve years. Does this look like a systematic policy of bringing forward and urging unreasonable propositions? Is this a moment, when it is decent to make such a charge against the American government?

We observe, in the next place, that the American government has repeatedly offered to the British government to constitute the forty-ninth, and not the fifty-first degree of North latitude, the boundary between the two powers. This line would leave 'that Nootka,' which is so precious in the

eyes of England, within her boundary. For the rest, we do not conceive that the mere fact that Spain was frightened into the treaty, by which Nootka was conceded to the English, in 1790, forms a very powerful reason, either why Great Britain should never abandon, or the United States never claim a boundary line, which should transfer Nootka from one power to the other. We believe that, at a somewhat earlier period, England came about as near a war, for the right to certain uninhabited rocks called the Falkland Islands. Does this pledge her honor never to permit those islands to become a part of the territory of the powers on the adjacent continent?

The account, which this writer gives of the ground of the American claim to the mouth of Columbia river and the region watered by it, is neither consistent with the truth, nor with itself. He says 'the claim, which the Americans set up to this river, rests on an assumed priority of discovery by the exploring party under Lewis and Clarke.' But this discovery of Lewis and Clark is only one of the grounds, on which our claim rests. The writer adds, that we rest our claim to a very extensive territory watered by the river, on the principle, that the discovery of the mouth of a river conveys a right to the territory drained by it. But Lewis and Clark did not discover the mouth of the Columbia. That discovery was made by Captain Gray, fifteen years before. In this way an account inconsistent with itself is given, within the compass of two sentences, of the nature of our claim.

It is a little curious that the only argument, suggested by this writer, in favor of the British pretension to carry their boundary to the Columbia river, is, that the North West Company had taken up posts on the waters tributary to the Columbia, and that Vancouver had explored the mouth of that river prior to the expedition by Lewis and Clark; and this is an argument precisely the same, as that which he ascribes to the United States and in them denounces as unreasonable and arrogant.

This whole subject will be found ably discussed in the documents, submitted at the first session of the nineteenth Congress, containing the instructions of Mr Adams and the correspondence of Mr Rush; in two reports from a select committee, of which Mr Baylies of Massachusetts was chairman, also made during the first session of the nineteenth Congress; and in the documents submitted at the late session of Congress containing the instructions of Mr Clay and the correspondence of Mr

Gallatin. From the documents named, a full view may be drawn both of the American and British argument. We are well content to leave the right of America in the premises to the vindication which has been made of it. Meantime, that our readers may see how gross an imposition is attempted on the credulity of the public, in the brief, incorrect, and supercilious account given of this matter, by the writer whom we have in hand, we submit the following sketch of the argument, by which the American claim is or may be supported.

Laying out of view the right, supposed to be acquired from the bulls of the Papal See (to which neither party in this question has appealed), the civilized nations of Europe, in appropriating to themselves the vacant or uncivilized territories of America, proceeded on these principles; first, that discovery vested a right in the nation making the discovery, and, secondly, that this right extended beyond the limits of the mere point, at which the discovery took place. How far beyond that point this right extended, was of course a matter not easily settled, nor reducible to fixed principles. In the case of an island of ordinary dimensions, the power which discovered and took possession of it, at any point, was considered as the rightful possessor of the whole island. In the case of discoveries on the continent of North and South America, some arbitrary limits seem at first to have been assumed, which, modified by geographical or political convenience, were finally recognised by treaties. At the basis of these limits, lay of course the principle, that prior discovery and occupation gave a prior right; and the charters granted by the English sovereigns to their maritime adventurers authorized them only to take possession of lands, not occupied by the subjects of any other Christian power. Thus, while the English charters to the south on the American continent were bounded by the assumed limits of the French or Spanish possessions, they were granted westward from sea to sea. Among the geographical circumstances, which qualified the principle of prior discovery and occupation, was this, that a state discovering and occupying the mouth of a river laid claim to the country watered by it, or drained by its branches. It is plain, that these three principles must sometimes clash with each other. The region claimed by one power, as being included within the reasonable precincts of a spot first discovered, might belong to a second, as being drained by a river, first discovered and explored by this

second power; and to a third, as crossing the path of the parallel of latitude, between which its claim was extended from sea to sea. Conflicting titles must hence arise, to be settled only by agreement.

On these principles, the controversy relative to the North Western Coast is to be decided, and how do they apply? Spain, at a very early period, discovered, conquered, and settled Mexico to a high degree of latitude, on the Pacific Ocean; and with an indefinite claim to the territory northward, on the coast of that ocean; and this claim was never seriously contested, from the time that Cortez set his foot on the continent, to the year 1790. In consequence of the discovery and exploration of the Mississippi river by French subjects, Louis the Fourteenth granted Louisiana in a charter, which made it extend to all the region watered by that river and its tributaries, of which the Missouri was understood to be one. The English charters to the North American colonies generally ran from sea to sea. There was consequently a collision on the part of England both with Spain and with France, in respect to the western boundary of her possessions in America. On the north, the boundary between France and England was also undefined. These collisions led to constant controversy between the governments, but were successively settled by treaty. By the treaty of Utrecht between England and France in 1713, provision was made for a commission, to run the boundary line between the French and English colonies; and by this commission, it was, from the Mississippi westward, made the forty-ninth degree of latitude.

By the treaty of Utrecht between Spain and England, the latter power obliged Spain to stipulate that she would retain her American possessions in the condition they were in, under Charles the Second of Spain; and that she would not cede nor sell any portion of them to France nor to any other power.* The right of Spain to an indefinite extension of the coast of California northward, in the time of Charles the Second, was just as undoubted, as the right of England at the present day to an indefinite extension northward on the coast of Labrador.

By the treaty of 1763, the Mississippi was acknowledged as the western boundary of the possessions of Great Britain.

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* Histoire abrégée des Traités de Paix, par Koch et Schoell. Tom. II. p. 122.

Consequently all claim, which Great Britain could have to the North Western coast of America, either from prior discovery, settlement, or conquest of the Atlantic coast, ceased at least to the south of the forty-ninth degree of latitude.

No controversy, we believe, ever arose between France and Spain, as to the western limits of Louisiana, and the United States have become the peaceable possessors of the rights of both these powers, north of the Mexican limits, and especially have succeeded to all the rights of Spain, on the Western and North Western coast, north of those limits.

Spain then, as we have observed, claimed by right of discovery, conquest, and occupation, an indefinite extent on the Western coast of North America, nor was her claim ever called in question till the Nootka Sound affair in 1790.* The English had made discoveries on her coast, but had attempted no settlements. The Russians had established some factories in high northern latitudes, with respect to which Spain came to an amicable understanding with her.†

A party of Englishmen, resident in the East Indies, formed the project in 1786, of opening a trade in furs and ginseng, between China and the North Western coast. Two vessels were, in execution of this project, despatched to the coast, of which one was afterwards lost on the return, and the other made a good voyage. In 1788 two or three other vessels were fitted out, for the same trade, and carried with them the means of erecting a temporary trading-house at Nootka. It does not appear that this project had any sanction from the British government; and it is also proper to observe that Nootka Sound was first discovered, entered, and explored by a Spanish government ship in 1774, and then called San Lorenzo; the name of Nootka was afterwards given it by Captain Cook.‡

In the year 1789, the Mexican viceroy sent an expedition to establish a settlement at Nootka, under the command of Don Esteban Martinez. This he effected, erecting a small fort and other proper buildings. He found here one of the English ships, the Iphigenia, under Portuguese colors, and with a pasport

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*See the sketch of the history of this affair in Humboldt's *Essai sur la Nouvelle Espagne.* Tom. II. p. 475.

† Manifesto of Count Florida Blanco, the fourth of June, 1790.

‡ See 'Voyages made in the Years 1788 and 1789 from China to the North West Coast of America, by John Meares,' the individual entrusted with the execution of this project.

from the governor of Macao. The commander of the Spanish frigate permitted her to depart, on signing a bond to pay the value of the vessel, should the government of Mexico declare it a lawful prize; all foreign trade with the Spanish colonies being prohibited. A vessel in company with the Iphigenia was detained; and two months after, arrived the Argonaut and the Princess Royal, English vessels, furnished with the requisites for establishing a temporary settlement. Against this the Spanish commander protested, the Englishmen persevered, and the Spaniard, as it was his duty, captured their vessels and sent them to St Blas, where the pilot of the Argonaut committed suicide.

The viceroy of Mexico behaved with equal lenity and discretion; and on the plea, that the English trespassers were ignorant of the rights of Spain, and on account of the friendly relations between the two countries, the vessels were given up and allowed to refit. They were permitted to return to Macao, giving bonds to abide the decision of the new viceroy, who was shortly expected to arrive, the Count Revillagigedo, who on his arrival discharged the bonds.

As soon as the news of the detention of the first vessel reached Madrid, the Spanish ambassador at London was directed to make it known to the British court, and demand the punishment of the trespassers. This was done February 10, 1790. In his memorial, the Spanish ambassador stated, that besides the general claim of Spain to the whole coast, her public ships had visited and taken formal possession of Nootka Sound in 1774; as they had in fact also done both there and at other places on the coast, in 1755 and 1779. Indeed, vessels had been seized by the Spanish cruisers on these coasts, as far back as 1692.

A portion of the Spanish claim, as explained by the British government, was certainly unreasonable; that is, the right of Spain to monopolize the navigation and the fishery of the South Sea. This interpretation of their claim was, however, instantly disavowed by the Spanish government. The seizure of the British vessels, with the subsequent call on the British government to punish the offenders, was also an irregular proceedure, unfortunately too well calculated to enlist the unanimous feeling of the English people, against even the rights of Spain. The English ministry, accordingly, took up the matter on the point of honor, and refused to discuss any question of right, till reparation was made for the insult. An *ex parte* statement

was made by the minister to Parliament, the papers in the case, though loudly called for, in both houses, were refused; and partly in resistance to that portion of the real or supposed pretensions of Spain which was unreasonable, but still more on the point of national honor, an almost unanimous support was at first given by Parliament to the government. A vast armament was immediately authorized, of which the expense amounted to about fifteen millions of dollars, and Spain was fairly frightened into the convention of the twenty-eighth of October, 1790. We shall presently recite the provisions of this convention, which bear on the question. When it came to be discussed in Parliament, it was severely censured. Its character may sufficiently be seen from the debate.

The minister boasted, that 'a new continent was open to the commercial spirit of the English and a new sea declared free to their navigators.' Mr Pulteney made this memorable remark; 'If it was true, as had been stated, that the advantages obtained by the convention had been *extorted* from Spain, it was by no means improbable they might again become the subject of dispute. What had been unwillingly granted could not be expected to be satisfactorily or permanently enjoyed.' Mr, now Lord Grey observed, not less to our present purpose, that he was astonished 'to hear that the possessions ceded to this country by the convention had been obtained contrary to the engagements of former treaties. This was in effect to deny our right to those possessions, as the only criterion of that right must be the former treaties.'*

In the house of Lords, the Marquis of Lansdowne was still more explicit.

'Some young gentleman in China,' said he, 'attached to geography and a little commercial advantage, fit out a vessel called the Sea Otter, for the North West coast of America. Some Bengal adventurers fit out two other ships, with fine names, under Portuguese papers and colors. Some speculative merchants, men of letters perhaps, fit out two other ships, and the whole sails under the command of a young gentleman of the name of Meares, who is instructed, and instructs his followers, in terms becoming the form and pomp of office, to violate a system regarding Spanish America, *which it has been the policy of Europe and in particular of this country to adhere to for ages.* Occurrences arising out of this enterprise of a few individuals, begun without any due war-

* New Annual Register for 1791.

rant for it, form the ostensible ground of a dissension with Spain. We arm in a manner regardless of expense, and summon Spain to submit, in a manner alike unprecedented and insulting.'*

Such was the opinion of British statesmen, on both sides of the question; the ministry boasting that by a prompt and powerful demonstration of force, they had driven Spain to an all important concession; and the opposition denouncing this encroachment on rights, which the treaties and the acquiescence of two hundred years had guarantied to Spain.

Such were the auspices under which this convention was negotiated and such its character, in the opinion of its friends and its enemies, in the British Parliament. The provisions of that convention, which bear on this question, are these. By its third article it was agreed, 'that the respective subjects of the two parties should not be disturbed or molested, either in navigating or carrying on their fisheries in the Pacific Ocean, or in the South Seas, *in places not already occupied* for the purpose of carrying on their commerce with the natives of the country or of making settlements there.' By the fifth article, 'it is agreed, that as well in the places, which are to be restored to the British subjects by virtue of the first article (Nootka Sound), as in all other parts of the Northwestern coasts of North America, or of the islands adjacent, situated to the north of the parts of the said coast already occupied by Spain, wherever the subjects of either of the two powers shall have made settlements, since the month of April, 1789, or shall hereafter make any, the subjects of the other shall have free access, and shall carry on their trade, without any disturbance or molestation.'

On these provisions of the convention of Nootka Sound, the English government, at the present day, founds the following pretensions;

(1.) The United States cannot claim under their treaty with Spain any greater right than Spain had; and as the Nootka convention has no reference to the discoveries of either party and is unlimited in its duration, the United States cannot resort to any Spanish discovery, in support of their title.

(2.) Since, at the time of concluding the Nootka convention, Louisiana belonged to Spain, and she made no exception to

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*Parliamentary History, vol. xxxiii, p. 942.

the provisions of the convention, as encroaching on the natural extension of the limits of Louisiana, or on the boundary fixed in the forty-ninth degree of latitude, in pursuance of the treaty of Utrecht, the United States can now claim nothing on the coast as a part of Louisiana.

(3.) This convention is the national law of the Pacific Ocean, and threw open the coast to all nations for the purposes of trade and settlement.

(4.) Actual occupancy and general convenience are therefore the only grounds, on which an arrangement can be made between England and America.*

These are the British pretensions, which in other terms amount to this, that the United States have no more claim to the mouth of the Columbia river, and the adjacent coasts north and south, than Great Britain or any other nation. On the other hand the United States maintain, that they have succeeded to the right of Spain to an indefinite extension of the coast of California. The lowest southerly point, to which Spain ever brought this claim, was Prince William's Sound, in the sixtieth degree of north latitude. They maintain that, as the possessors of Louisiana, they have a claim at least to all the coast south of the forty-ninth degree of latitude, on the same principle of natural extension, on which the English colonial charters were granted from sea to sea. Finally they claim the mouth and course of the Columbia river, by the right of prior discovery, which was made by Captain Gray, in a Boston ship, who entered and named the river; by the right of prior exploration, which was effected by Lewis and Clark; by the right of prior settlement, which took place in the establishments at the mouth of the Columbia river, prior to any British establishment on the coast or in the interior, south of the fiftieth degree.

Our limits will not permit us to follow out the arguments, by which these principles of our claim may be supported. We will confine ourselves only to one or two remarks, on the Nootka Sound convention.

The first is, that to this instrument Spain and Great Britain were the only parties. It therefore does not bind the United States, except so far as their right is derived from Spain. It leaves untouched our right to the coast, as the western boun-

* Mr Gallatin's letter to Mr Clay, Nov. 16, 1826; in document No. 199 of the House of Representatives, in the first session of the twentieth Congress.

dary of Louisiana, and our right as the first discoverers and explorers of the country.

In the next place, the Nootka Sound convention was not intended to affect any territorial claim, but related to the right of fishing, trading, and making a settlement of commercial factories, on the coast. It could not have looked to the decision of any claims to sovereign jurisdiction. These were left in the state in which they were found, to be decided on their own principles. It provided only, that while the country remained in its state of nature, it should be open to the trade of all nations. It certainly could not have been the intention of either of the parties, that when a partition should come to be made, no regard should be paid to the rights of prior discovery and exploration, and juxtaposition. Were such the meaning of the convention, it would follow, that the Western coast of America was now to be divided, not between the United States, England, and Russia, but among all the powers of the civilized world, who choose to claim a *pro ratâ* share. This view of the subject is confirmed by some part of the debate on the Nootka convention. Though the language of ministers was not uniform, it was not distinctly pretended that Great Britain had obtained a jurisdiction over any part of the coast. Mr Fox stated the effect of the convention to be, that Great Britain was authorized 'to navigate the Pacific Ocean and South Seas unmolested, for the purposes of carrying on our fisheries and to land on the unsettled coasts for the purpose of trading with the natives.'* In the same manner, Mr Pitt stated, 'that though what Great Britain had gained consisted not of new rights, it certainly did of new advantages. We had before a right to the southern whale fishery, and a right to navigate and carry on fisheries in the Pacific Ocean, and to trade on the coasts of any part of northwestern America. But that right not only had not been acknowledged, but disputed and resisted; whereas by the convention, it was secured to us; a circumstance, which, though no new right, was a new advantage.†

Lastly, we observe, that there is strong ground to deny the validity of the Nootka Sound convention. We will not take the British principle advanced on other occasions (although certainly valid against the British government), that the war between Spain and Great Britain abrogated the convention of

* Parliamentary History, vol. xxviii, p. 992. † Ib. p. 1002.

1790. But we take the ground, which Lord Grey took in 1790, that the convention was extorted by force. We take the ground, that some of the British ministry took, that it was not founded on any previous right; and we deny that either Spain, had she ever become powerful enough to contest it, would have acquiesced in the convention, or that the United States, in succeeding to her rights, are bound to do so. One of the rights of Spain in the premises, to which the United States succeeded, is that of redressing her wrongs, which unquestionably they will do, in all points touching their own interests and honor. We are far from advocating the doctrine, that the faith of treaties is to be made to depend on the subsequent and arbitrary discretion of either of the parties. But if, as the English ministry in 1790 boasted, they had, by the Nootka convention, *extorted* a new world from Spain; if, as the most distinguished member in opposition averred, it was confessedly not founded in right but in power; then surely the United States, not a party to that convention, will never allow it to bar her just title, resting on all the foundations by which a title can be acquired. Let it, however, be finally remembered, that the United States have never urged the extreme of their right in this matter. They have been willing to settle the controversy, on principles of mutual convenience and accommodation. They have offered to the British government, to continue the boundary on the forty-ninth degree of north latitude, along which it runs east of the Rocky Mountains; and should that line strike the navigable waters of the Columbia, they have offered to make the navigation of that river free to the British. Such is the proposition, which the British government refuses, and which this writer pronounces to be a new and unreasonable claim.

4. The fourth and last subject mentioned by this writer, as one on which the United States have advanced *new and unreasonable* pretensions, is the free and uninterrupted navigation of the St Lawrence. This claim is rejected by the British, on the ground that the mouth and lower part of the river are in the British dominions; it is claimed by the United States, because the river is the natural outlet to the great inland waters of the country, and the claim, in the opinion of this writer, is not only unreasonable, but new. It was our purpose to say something also on this topic, but space fails us. The unreasonableness of the claim may be estimated by those who will look at the instructions of Messrs Adams and Clay, and

the correspondence of Messrs Rush and Gallatin, as communicated to the House of Representatives at their last session.* We confess, that whatever else might be said against the claim, we do think our brethren on the other side of the water might at least allow it to be reasonable, that there should be some outlet from our great interior seas to the ocean. As to the novelty of the claim, it may be judged of by a few considerations.† In 1783, Great Britain stipulated for the free navigation of the Mississippi to its mouth; although, below the thirty-first degree of latitude, both banks belonged to a foreign power, and it was barely possible, that its sources were in the British dominions, which, it has since appeared, is not the case. In 1784, the attempt of the Dutch to appropriate to themselves the navigation of the Scheldt, was resisted by all Europe. In 1815, the navigation of the Rhine, the Neckar, the Maine, the Moselle, the Maese, and the Scheldt, was declared free to all nations at the congress of Vienna. So much for the *novelty* of the pretensions of the United States, to descend their inland waters to the ocean.

The shortsightedness of the British policy, in denying our right to navigate the St Lawrence is not less conspicuous, than its unreasonableness. While the point has been in agitation, the commissioners, as we have already remarked, have mutually established a distribution of the islands of the St Lawrence, which, as this writer himself states, carries the navigable channel of that river between Montreal and Kingston, within our exclusive jurisdiction.

Does the British government intend to teach us, that we have a right to interdict the navigation of the river where it passes through our territories, and to provoke us to exercise that right?

There is one conciliating hint in this connexion, which we ought not to pass unnoticed.

'There is something whimsical and not very consistent in this free republican government appealing perpetually to the "rights of nature," in whose territories every sixth man is in a state of

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* Document No. 43.

† Considering that this writer professes himself acquainted with all our foreign negotiations, we should have thought that Mr Jefferson's argument *on the natural right* of a free navigation of the Mississippi, contained in the American state papers, would at least have deterred him from placing our claim to the right of navigating the St Lawrence among the novelties broached since the treaty of Ghent.

absolute and unmitigated slavery, and which, by a series of encroachments and usurpations, has driven back the original possessors of those territories, and so nearly exterminated them, that before the present century expires, they will probably have become rare enough for the people of Washington, or New York, to

"Show an *Indian* as they show an ape."'

And this taunt from Englishmen; the people under whose authority the United States were settled, and the inhabitants of the Atlantic coast exterminated; the people by whose laws slavery was introduced and established in America; whose king put his *veto* on the ordinances, adopted by our assemblies, to suppress the slave trade;—by Englishmen, whose government for generations, went higgling from France to Spain and from Spain to France to monopolize the right of supplying the foreign West Indies with African slaves, the most guilty form in which that traffic could be pursued;—by Englishmen, the owners, at the present day, of the West Indies, where not every sixth man is a slave, but possibly every sixth man is free, and the five others are held 'in absolute and unmitigated slavery' by the bayonets of English freemen;—by Englishmen, who have introduced *their* code of 'the Rights of Nature' into Hindostan; and after having found the power and the will to destroy an empire, once the most mighty in the East, to reduce to wretched pageants a hundred proud and warlike native princes, to dispossess every small landholder of his fee simple, and thereby convert 'a third of the country into a jungle for wild beasts,' in short to establish a pure despotism over one hundred millions of people, have at last discovered, that there is one thing, in which they dare not 'disturb the prejudices of the natives,' *the burning of live women on the death of their husbands.* We suppose that Hyder Ally and Tippoo Saib, and the Peishwah and Scindiah and the Great Mogul himself, had no 'prejudices' against being overthrown, trampled down, pillaged, and destroyed. Such are the exploits of the government, that turns its anonymous writers into its archives, to hunt up matter, whereon to point against us a taunt at slavery and the extermination of the Indians!

But it is time to dismiss the subject. If any reader is inclined to think we have gone beyond the limits of moderation, let him but cast his eyes over the article, which has called forth these remarks, and advert again to the proof we have furnished, that it must have been written in the bureaus of govern-

ment. There is one suggestion of this writer, on which, although we have quoted it, we have made no comment, simply because it is of an atrocity too depraved to be coolly contemplated. In reference to the controversies between the two governments, America is charged with evincing 'a litigious disposition on points, that can scarcely fail, sooner or later, to bring the two nations into collision; we mean such points, as Great Britain never can concede, and which can have no other object, if persevered in, than to serve as so many pretexts to join the enemy against us, in any future war, as she did in the last.'

It would be no more than fair to ascribe to a consciousness that such is the policy of the British government, this reckless assertion that such is the policy of the American; although the single circumstance, that war in the United States must be declared by a majority of Congress, which is perpetually changing, and cannot, with an approach to precision, be calculated on four years in advance, shows the absurdity of the intimation. Such a charge we do not, however, make. We shall content ourselves with saying, that if the time unhappily should arrive, when the two countries shall be plunged into war, on all or any of these subjects, it is from England that the first denunciation has proceeded of an event so inauspicious.

Art. XII.—*Johnson's English Dictionary, as improved by Todd, and abridged by Chalmers; with Walker's Pronouncing Dictionary, combined; to which is added Walker's Key to the Classical Pronunciation of Greek, Latin, and Scripture Proper Names.* Boston. Charles Ewer and T. Harrington Carter.

One of the principal excellences of a new Dictionary is to be looked for in the completeness of the Vocabulary. As we do not propose to give the history of English lexicography, we shall date all its improvements in this, as well as in other particulars, from the time of the great work of Johnson, which deservedly constitutes a large portion of his fame. Before that time, the Englishman was not provided with a Dictionary equal to the demands of a language, which had become at

once so copious and so much cultivated; nor with one sufficiently full in the collection of words. To supply this defect was the first great difficulty that attended the labors of Johnson. 'The deficiency of dictionaries,' he remarks, 'was immediately apparent; and when they were exhausted, what was yet wanting must be sought by fortuitous and unguided excursions into books, and gleaned, as industry should find, or chance should offer it, in the boundless chaos of a living speech. My search, however, has been either skilful or lucky; for I have much augmented the vocabulary.' He fixed, as he says himself, the works of Sir Philip Sidney, (who died in 1586) for the boundary, beyond which he made few excursions. He retained faithfully the language of poetry as far back as Shakspeare and Ben Johnson, though not without sufficient cautions annexed respecting the use of many words. The poetry of his age, no less than that of the age preceding, abjured everything antiquated in English phraseology; and perhaps Johnson's decisions concerning words *not used*, and *obsolete*, are not of much value; nor have they been very scrupulously regarded. A living language is always mutable, and the English language is singularly so. Some new words are acquired which supplant their predecessors, and old words are sometimes revived, and again grow into favor. It is manifest, therefore, if we pass over in silence the imperfections necessarily incident to a dictionary of any language, that a responsibility must be assumed or reposed somewhere, for improving and perfecting from one time to another the vocabulary of a living language. Something of this has been attempted at different times in English; by Ash, too much in some respects, and too little in others; by Mason, in his Supplement to Johnson, not enough, and not very successfully as far as he proceeded; a little by Walker, and more by Webster; and most of all by Todd, who, we confess, wins something of our favor, by the manner in which he speaks of the great English Lexicographer. 'After all,' says he, 'what the present editor has done, he considers but as dust in the balance, when weighed against the work of Dr Johnson.'

We come now to speak more particularly of the words added by Mr Todd to those in Johnson's Dictionary. Chalmers, in a notice prefixed to his *Abridgement*, informs us, that it contains every word in Todd's edition of Johnson, and above fourteen thousand more than were given in Johnson's

Abridgment; that the whole forms the most extensive vocabulary ever published; and that, in consequence of the additions introduced by Mr Todd, it becomes a complete glossary of the early English writers. 'Mr Chalmers's work,' says Mr Worcester, 'was formed from Mr Todd's first edition. His second edition, which was published in February, 1827, contains nearly a thousand additional words, and was received in season to have these inserted in the Appendix of this Dictionary. These, together with the other words newly added, increase the excess above the number of words in Dr Johnson's Abridgment, to upwards of fifteen thousand.'

Johnson, indeed, in his Abridgment, omitted, we believe, at least three thousand words, which were contained in his great work. But still it must be quite an appalling fact to the common English reader, that so many thousand words are added, that were not before contained in his manual; and he will be apt to think it very marvellous, that he is able to read and understand everything in his own language, while he is furnished only with a vocabulary which is so defective. But the mystery will in a great degree vanish by a little explanation; and it will be curious to those who have not examined the subject, to see how such an unknown treasure has been acquired.

It is a fair subject of inquiry, how far back the Lexicographer should go for the materials of his work. If Chaucer is fairly entitled to the appellation of 'Father of English heroic verse,' it would seem to afford a sufficient reason for inserting his words, however antiquated or obsolete. Though much of his poetry comes so near a dead language, that some of the poets of the last century translated portions of them into modern phrase, yet certain words and expressions of his are often revived, and contribute their share to preserve that distinction, which exists between the language of poetry and the language of prose. The language of Britain, which had undergone so much revolution, seemed in the time of Chaucer to have gained little consistency in orthography or grammatical construction. Though he wrote nearly two centuries after the Norman conquest, yet so heterogeneous, in the mean time, were the materials of which the language was composed, and so little had it been cultivated, that it was a kind of wilderness, that required the hand of art to subdue it, and demanded great efforts to polish and adorn it, after it had lost much of its

former rudeness. Chaucer perhaps did less than might have been expected of him towards the accomplishment of this vast work. The subjects of his poems were of a popular kind, and, like most other poets, his object also was to please. And we cannot but think, from a comparison of some of his poems with the gleanings of other writings in prose, nearly contemporaneous, that a mixture of phraseology is found in his compositions, more unnatural than was required by the state of the language when he wrote, if not bordering upon affectation. Like many other poets, in attempting to shun what was trite, he appears to have fallen into some ungraceful singularities; and in avoiding vulgar diction, to have been occasionally betrayed into the use of pedantic phraseology. It is difficult, however, to form a very precise judgment in the case; for so little can be gathered from contemporary writers, that Chaucer himself is generally referred to, for ascertaining the condition of the English language, at the time when he wrote. One thing, however, is sufficiently manifest, namely, that his writings contribute a portion to that old *thesaurus* of poetic phrase, which, combined with more modern diction, produces a luxuriance of style, that gives to the English language a distinguished eminence.

Another copious source of increase to the English vocabulary is the improvements and inventions in arts and sciences; the extension of commerce and the prevalence of war; and a growing intercommunity of fashion and literature among the nations of Europe. Now there can be no question, that the more general terms, such as the names of the arts and sciences, and their subdivisions, should be introduced, though it is difficult even here to preserve consistency and relative proportion. But any endeavors of the lexicographer to collect and explain all the technical terms in medicine, law, commerce, arts, and general science, would result in additions more cumbrous than useful. Dr Campbell maintains that technical words are not to be considered as a part of language, and are not entitled in general to admission into a dictionary, claiming the merit of a standard. As a general rule, this is the most safe; and the exceptions must be left to the judgment of authors and compilers, who will find it sufficiently hard to satisfy themselves. Upon any plan, however, words of the kind we have mentioned, must be somewhat numerous, and must increase from age to age, as long as a language shall live. Thus, to take a

palpable instance, since the time of Johnson; to the word *Galvanism*, which is introduced, as it should be, by Mr Todd, he must add, as he does, *Galvanick*, *Galvanize*, and *Galvanometer*. Without any careful search or effort, many words of this sort must present themselves, which demand a place in a dictionary. Akin to these are the names of sects, and what pertains to sects and parties, in philosophy, and religion, and politics. Johnson was very sparing in the introduction of these even as they existed in his time; but to show what a fruitful addition they make, we need mention only a few words first inserted by Todd, which will suggest many more of a similar kind. Thus *Pythagorean*, substantive and adjective; *Pythagorical*, *Pythagorick*, *Pythagorism*. *Arian*, substantive and adjective; *Arianism*, *Arianize*. *Jacobin*, substantive and adjective; *Jacobinical*, *Jacobinism*, *Jacobinize*. The few words of this kind which were introduced by Johnson, as far as we have observed, were inserted rather as common appellatives, and as expressive of the qualities, of those who resembled a sect, than for the sake of the sect itself, or the founder of it; as may be seen in *Cynick*, *Cynical*; *Epicurean*, *Epicurism*.

We have said, that war and the military art have been among the productive causes of new words; and it is not a novel suggestion. More than a century has now passed since the authors of the Spectator reprobated the corruptions that were taking place in the English language, in consequence of the existing war with France. *Pontoons*, *fascines*, *marauder*, *corps*, *chamade*, *cartel*, and others, are among the words which met and successfully resisted the vollies of wit and humor which were directed against them by those authors, and acquired a place in Johnson's Dictionary. These and others of the same class, it appears, were just creeping into our language, when Addison and his coadjutors were taking cognizance of literature, and morals, and manners, in the Spectator. That such words were then uncommon, appears from what the Spectator subjoined to a letter which purported to be written by a young gentleman in the army to his father. 'The father found it contained great news, but could not guess what it was. He immediately communicated it to the curate of the parish, who, upon the reading of it, being vexed to see anything which he could not understand, fell into a kind of passion, and told him that his son had sent him a letter that was neither fish, flesh, nor good red herring.'

The late wars and political relations between the countries of Europe have added somewhat to the list of similar words.

A very large number of words compounded with *in*, *im*, and *un*, for the most part in a privative sense, and some of them being mere varieties in the initial spelling, and being also interchangeable, are added to Johnson's list, by Mr. Todd. Of these we believe there are not far from a thousand. There are also seventy or eighty compounded with *all*, as *all-admiring*, *all-approved*, &c. And if we add to them other words variously compounded, such as *high-aimed*, *high-swollen*, *slop-seller*, *grass-green*, *choir-service*, *dram-drinker*, *plain-hearted*, *manor-house*, *manor-seat*, &c. which are found throughout the book, we shall swell the catalogue of compounds to a great amount. How far such compounds are entitled to admission into a dictionary, we will not decide very peremptorily; but they scarcely deserve to be called new words, or additional words. There are many words of this kind in Johnson, and consistency seems to demand, therefore, that, as far as they are well authorized, a subsequent compiler should insert such as are not already recorded. But it is very manifest that there is no end to caprice and fashion in the composition of such words, and that it is impossible for a dictionary to keep pace with the fancies of writers in their formation and use.

Another prolific source of increase to the English vocabulary is the analogical formation of words of different classes. Such for instance as adjectives in *able* or *ible*. There is something worthy of a passing notice in this kind of words, denominated by Horne Tooke 'potential passive adjectives.' This name is for the most part descriptive of their meaning. They were originally learned words derived from the Latin words in *bilis* through the French. But we have not been satisfied with forming those merely which we borrowed from the Latin; for having once found the convenience of the form, that analogical process, which is always taking place in some degree in the changes and improvements of language, has given the same form to many genuine English words; such, for instance, as the familiar terms *teachable* and *tameable*. When it was first adopted from the Latin, it was thought necessary to translate it for the common reader, into an equivalent expression. As in an old manuscript version of the New Testament, which we have seen cited, supposed to be written in the reign of Edward the Third, is found the following, among other examples

of the same kind; 'From henceforth, brethren, whatever things be amyable, or' (with the explanation annexed) 'able to be loved.'

The dictionary before us shows, that, being in full possession of this form, words of this kind have been multiplying in our language, as occasion or convenience demands. Thus we find, *forgivable*, *deprivable*, *unpleadable*, *bewailable*, *devisable*, *enjoyable*, *extirpable*, and a multitude more.

Again words terminating in *ful*, denoting abundance or excess, constitute a considerable addition to this dictionary. Among these are *abuseful*, *deviceful*, *taleful*, *faultful*, *toilful*, &c. So also those terminating in *less*, expressive of the diminution or absence of something. We have witnessed the prevalence of fashion in this class of words, and their consequent tendency to increase. In the dictionary we are examining, we find, among numerous others added for the first time, *flameless*, *waveless*, *brimless*, *rayless*, *passionless*, *passless*, *lossless*, and many more.

Another class which we shall mention consists of substantives in *er*, sometimes *or*, denoting agency, such as *blackener*, *blandisher*, *caller*, *desolater*, *despoiler*, *desponder*, *fluter*, which are introduced among many others of the same kind, by Mr Todd. There are no limits to terms of this description, and a vast many pass without animadversion in conversation, and might do so in writing, which have not found a place in any printed vocabulary.

Then, again, there is that boundless catalogue of abstract nouns formed from adjectives, usually by the termination *ness*, sometimes *ity*. Words of this kind are constantly increasing, and must continue to increase. Many, it is difficult to form an estimate of the number, are added by Todd. *Inhability*, *abstractedness*, *fabulousness*, *involuntariness*, *manifoldness*, *unqualifiedness*, *unsupportableness*, are a sufficient sample of the additions of these long words.

So also adverbs from adjectives by the addition of *y* or *ly* make a considerable addition; as *abstinently*, *bigotedly*, *calumniously*, *inherently*, *unobservably*, &c.

Again, there are additions occasioned by repeating the verb, when it is used both as a transitive and an intransitive. Johnson was not very exact in this particular, and Walker was negligent, overlooking sometimes what his predecessor had done correctly in this way. There are additions also of verbs

converted from nouns, as, *to extinct, livery, quick, quip, rook;* so likewise of nouns from verbs without any change, as, *abbreviate, fluster, foreshew;* of adjectives from substantives, as, *absorbent, fiscal;* of substantives from adjectives, as *bitter, desperate, positive.*

Last and not least in this enumeration, are the active participial nouns, which are added to the vocabulary by Mr Todd, to a great extent; such as *biting, fading, deserving, despising, ingratiating, interfering, loathing.* These additions are of questionable utility, though, if they are admitted at all, it may be done upon very slight authority. We are sure that we could furnish a large catalogue of such additions. Indeed, if we examine the nature of these words, not only in English, but in other languages, we may readily perceive how easily they perform the office of substantives, and how hopeless it is, by singling out a part of them, to do justice to the whole class.

We have thus given something like a classification of some of the principal additions made to the English vocabulary, by Mr Todd. The classification is not complete, but it is sufficiently so, to account in a great degree for the fact of such a large increase of words, and to quiet much of the alarm which this increase might occasion to those who are not accustomed to speculations of this kind.

'The vocabulary,' says Mr Worcester, the editor, 'with the definitions, &c. is formed chiefly by a union of Mr Chalmers's Abridgment and Walker's Pronouncing Dictionary; but with the omission of Walker's definitions, except with regard to those words in his Dictionary (not much exceeding one hundred in number), which are not found in Mr Todd's edition of Johnson.'—'The Appendix contains all the words newly added by Mr Todd in his second edition; a number of words that are found in the body of the dictionary, here repeated for the sake of some correction or remark; a few words of unquestionable authority which were omitted by Dr Johnson and Mr Todd; and some words which are more or less used in America.'

It is manifest from this account, that the Dictionary thus edited by Mr Worcester, contains the most complete vocabulary in our language. And the following remarks of the editor show how the benefits of Walker's system of pronunciation are extended to this enlarged dictionary.

'To the words contained in this dictionary, which are not found

in Walker's, the pronunciation has been added, according to Walker's principles, as far as those principles could be applied; and this was easily done with respect to most of them.'—'With respect to many words of doubtful pronunciation, or concerning which orthoëpists differ, and particularly those, respecting which Walker has omitted to exhibit this difference, the editor has introduced the pronunciation of others, with the names of the authorities, enclosed in brackets, yet, in all cases, making use of Walker's method of notation.'

The whole apparatus of Walker concerning pronunciation is furnished in this dictionary, not excepting his 'Key to the Classical Pronunciation of Greek, Latin, and Scripture proper names,' and his 'Observations on the Greek and Latin Accent and Quantity'; so that the worst charge against it that can be made, if any, is that of superfluity. In his Preface, Mr Worcester, while he speaks of Walker with that high commendation which he deserves, has made certain strictures upon his system of pronunciation, which appear to us to be just and discriminating, but which we have not time to remark upon in this place.

In regard to orthography, Mr Worcester has assumed no responsibility farther than by making a few valuable improvements for the sake of consistency, which he has carefully specified. Some debateable ground on this subject is open for philological critics. There will always probably remain a variable orthography in some words, such as *choose* or *chuse*, *intire* or *entire*, *despatch* or *dispatch*, and others that might be mentioned. We find cases of this kind, in other languages, where we should expect it less than in English. But the examples of fluctuating orthography are now so few, as to occasion little inconvenience.

We intended earlier to examine the dictionary before us, and to give the fruits of our researches at greater length. We have sufficient knowledge of the history and the progress of the work, so far as Mr Worcester was concerned in it, to enable us to speak with confidence upon the subject. In the execution of the plan adopted, he has been laborious, faithful, and judicious. The materials of which the body of the work, the English Dictionary, is composed, we have spoken of sufficiently to show how they have been combined. And our readers will be satisfied, we think, that this is the most complete manual of the kind that has yet appeared, and competent to all the purposes for which it was intended.

Another opportunity will soon be afforded us of recurring to this subject, if we shall have the resolution to meet it, in the great and long expected work of Mr Noah Webster. His extensive and ardent researches in philology are well known, and calculated to excite the impatient curiosity of the scholar. We shall certainly welcome all productions of this kind, which shall tend to make the English language more studied and better understood; and we shall not feel the less grateful to the authors of them, because they labor in a vocation, which to most scholars is far from being attractive.

ART. XIII.—*Yu-Kiao-Li, ou les Deux Cousines;* Roman Chinois, traduit par M. Abel Remusat; précédé d'une Préface où se trouve un *Parallèle entre les Romans de la Chine et ceux de l'Europe.* 4 vol. 12mo. Paris. 1828.

'You have made me bounce off my chair,' said lady Bradshaigh in a letter to the author of Sir Charles Grandison, 'you have made me bounce off my chair with reading that two good girls were in love with your hero, and that he was fond of both. I have such despicable notions of a divided love, that I cannot have an idea how a worthy object can entertain such a thought.' It is so long since we indulged ourselves with a reperusal of the celebrated work in question, that we are not able to say from our own recollection how far her ladyship's censure of the conduct of Sir Charles and his two *enamoradas* is justified by the standing rules of the code of romance, and the multiplied reports of cases illustrating it, that occupy the shelves of the circulating libraries. But if such was the horror of this sentimental person at the mere imagination of a double attachment, what would have been her astonishment and indignation, had Richardson wound up the novel, by actually marrying his pink of moral perfection to both the fair pretenders? The least violent result of such a proceeding would doubtless have been the immediate termination of the quiet little practical romance, which her immaculate ladyship (without disparagement to the claims of good Mrs Richardson) was enacting in connexion with the ingenious bookseller. Such, however, is in fact the

catastrophe of the Chinese novel to which we are now to invite the readers attention.

The hero *Sa-Yupe*,* a young man far more learned and accomplished than Sir Charles, and not less handsome, elegant, and virtuous, after running the gantlet for the space of four volumes, through the long train of cruel fathers, cross uncles, eccentric fortune-tellers, stupid rivals, and knowing chambermaids, which, it seems, form the regular staple of an oriental as well as an occidental novel; besides passing with brilliant success several literary examinations, and making a great deal of first-rate poetry,—achievements which the heroes of our romances, and, we fear we may add, the writers of them, would probably, in most cases, decline attempting,—is finally rewarded for his merit and trouble, with the hands of the two cousins, *Houngiu*, or *Red-Jasper*, and *Lo-Mengli*, *Dream-of-a-Peartree*, whom he espouses on the same evening, both being by general acknowledgment among the prettiest and most amiable young women, as well as the best poetesses of the Celestial Empire. We are informed by the translator, that the work before us is not singular in this respect; and that this mode of disposing of their heroes and heroines, at the end of the story, is rather a favorite one with the Chinese laborers in this seductive dapartment of the literary vineyard.

Richardson does not appear to have been much alarmed by lady Bradshaigh's bouncing, and is reported as having, in his answer to the letter from which we have made the above extract, thrown out hints that polygamy itself was not so bad a thing, as she seemed to suppose,—a principle more lax than we should have expected from the author of 'Pamela' and 'Clarissa,' although we have lately been surprised with something of the same kind from so exemplary a character as Milton,—and which, as we understand the matter, is vicious as a reply to her ladyship's objection, since the doublemindedness of Sir Charles must, on our view of the subject, be justified, if at all, as an exception from the general rule, and not as an example of it. However this may be, it is obvious that the question of morality does not come into view in reference to

* In this and the other Chinese words introduced in this article, the vowels express the sounds usually given to them in English; *a* as in *make*, &c.

a foreign production, which faithfully represents the manners of the country where it is written. The fault, if there be one in this respect, lies with the lawgivers and moralists rather than the poets of China.

Leaving this point, therefore, entirely out of the case, we may inquire with propriety, which of the two systems be preferable for the purpose of poetical machinery, and whether the plan of allowing two heroines to a hero, be equally judicious—considering merely the effect of the novel as a work of art—with that of confining him to one, according to the uniform and immemorial practice of the western world. It is generally admitted that the *denouement* of a story is by far the most difficult part of the fable to manage. Dryden, towards the close of his career, was reduced to such distress on this point, that he is known to have bestowed, in the bitterness of his soul, repeated imprecations on the man who invented fifth acts; and such has been of late the great demand for new novels, that the dealers in this article are evidently reduced to their wits' ends for catastrophes. Sir Walter Scott complains loudly of the straits to which he is driven, for means to disentangle his plots; and it must be owned that some of his productions do but too strongly corroborate the statement. If the Chinese system could be proved to be preferable to ours, or even positively valuable in itself, (and a dispensation could also be obtained on the score of morality) the generation of novel-writers would find, for a time at least, a very sensible alleviation of their present embarrassment, and would be supplied with a new and most convenient and seasonable resource for varying the tenor of their concluding chapters.

But notwithstanding our willingness to consult the accommodation of these meritorious persons, to whom we are all so much indebted for their unwearied efforts to amuse us, we cannot, in conscience, hold up to them much prospect of relief from this quarter; and we are compelled, however reluctantly, to dissent from the opinion of the able and ingenious translator of the work before us, who is evidently inclined to believe that the introduction of the system of a plurality of heroines would have the effect of a sort of discovery in the science of novel-writing, and would tend to throw a new and agreeable light over the whole field of romance; which, as he seems to suppose, is, in its present state, if not absolutely a place of skulls (which are far from being out of the question), rather too lib-

erally watered with tears and blood, to suit the taste of the more nervous and sensitive class of readers. We owe it to the high character of M. Abel Remusat to quote his remarks upon this point, and shall afterwards suggest, with suitable deference to his superior knowledge and judgment, our reasons for entertaining a different notion.

'A union of three persons, cemented by a conformity of taste and character, constitutes,' says M. Remusat, 'in the opinion of the Chinese, the perfection of earthly happiness, a sort of ideal bliss, reserved by Heaven for peculiar favorites as a suitable reward for their talent and virtue. Looking at the subject under this point of view, their novel-writers not unfrequently arrange matters so as to secure this double felicity to their heroes at the close of the work; and a catastrophe of this kind is regarded as the most satisfactory that can be employed. Without exposing ourselves to the danger incurred by one of the German divines, who was nearly torn to pieces by the mob of Stockholm for defending polygamy, we may venture to remark, that for the mere purposes of art, this system certainly possesses very great advantages. It furnishes the novel-writer with an easy method of giving general satisfaction to all his characters, at the end of the tale, without recurring to the fatal though convenient intervention of consumption and suicide, with us the only resources, when there happens to be a heroine too many. What floods of tears would not the Chinese method have spared to the high-minded Corinna, to the interesting and poetical Clementina! From what bitter pangs would it not have relieved the irresolute Oswald, perhaps even the virtuous Grandison himself!'

Notwithstanding the plausibility of these considerations and the high authority upon which they are offered, we are satisfied that they involve a material error; which lies in confounding the interest of the novel reader and writer with that of the personages of the tale, and supposing that everything, which tends directly to promote the immediate comfort and well-being of the latter, must also redound to the advantage of the former. This idea, though in our view not only false but directly the reverse of the truth, has been entertained by others as well as M. Remusat, and in particular by the committee of blue-stocking ladies, with whom Richardson was in the habit of taking counsel, as to the conduct of his plots, while he was composing his novels. It is well known that these tender souls implored him, with tears in their eyes, to reform Lovelace and permit him to marry Clarissa. It is also

understood that Mrs Klopstock, a correspondent and kindred spirit of the womankind of Richardson, interceded powerfully with her gifted spouse, in favor of one of the fallen angels called Abaddona, who showed rather more symptoms of remorse than his fellow reprobates,—entreating that he might, by some means to her unknown, be rescued from the gulf of perdition, and after a reasonable period of purgatory reinstated in Paradise. We do not now recollect how far this intercession proved effectual with the author of the 'Messiah;' but Richardson was deaf to all remonstrance, and manfully persisted in his original intention of killing Lovelace in a duel, and taking off Clarissa by the usual expedient of consumption. And in this he was no doubt highly judicious; the opposite theory, however amiable in itself and natural to the softer and more compassionate sex, being, as we have observed above, not only incorrect, but directly the reverse of the truth.

It is obvious, in fact, that the writer and reader of novels, far from having any community of interest with the personages, thrive on their distresses, derive consolation and entertainment from their perplexities, and are ruined (as such) by their ultimate success, since that finishes the novel, and with it, for the time being, the novel writer and reader. It would no doubt be a mighty pleasant thing to the parties to marry at the opening of the first scene or first chapter, instead of fighting their way through the five acts that make up a regular play, the four volumes that now constitute the just measure of a novel, the eight and twelve that were required by the sturdier appetites of our grandmothers, or the hundred which, as M. Remusat tells us, are not too much for the patient dames and spinsters of the Celestial Empire, where numbers of all kinds are in general upon a larger scale than with us. This, we say, would be mighty pleasant for the parties; but what, in that case, would become of the novel or the play, the very being of which results from its possessing the requisite number of acts and volumes? It would be highly convenient, again, to the parties, after the first obstacles are started, to exchange a few words of explanation, opportunities for which are constantly occurring every ten or twenty pages, and which would generally set things right at once, and remove all further difficulty; but what, in this case, would become of the rest of the work? The marriage

of the lovers must in general terminate the story; for though Richardson has in one case filled up an additional volume, in a very entertaining way, with an account of Lady Grandison's lying in and the young heir's baby-linen, the instance is evidently an exception, and would not bear to be frequently repeated. Far from courting any such premature *eclaircissements*, it is clearly the duty of the lovers, as faithful servants of the author and the public, to keep out of each other's way, and even, if necessary, to take an oath (as there is reason to suppose they often do), that they will not come to an understanding, lest the piece should finish too soon. Why does not Zaïre show her brother's letter at once to the Sultan, and thus satisfy his doubts and remove his jealousy? For the plain reason that, in this case, he would be obliged to marry her in the middle of the third act, instead of stabbing her at the end of the fifth. Why does Romeo arrive at the tomb of the Capulets half an hour too late, and why does not the Missionary in 'Atala' ring his bell five minutes earlier? Clearly, that the ladies may in each case have time to take their poison, without which there could be no proper catastrophe.

Far from having a community of interests with the characters of the tale, it is evident that the author and reader stand in the same relation towards them with that of a physician towards his patients, or of the spectators in ancient Rome towards a band of fighting gladiators. The physician feels a great deal of sympathy with the sufferer whom he is attending, laments his situation, and does all he can to relieve him; but after all, if there were no disease there would be no fee for curing it, and the physician would die instead of the patient. The assembly in a Roman amphitheatre were in the highest degree interested in the desperate struggles and dying agonies of the gladiator; but if he implored compassion, they turned their thumbs upon him at once. The danger to which he was exposed, though death to him, was to them precisely the sport they came to see; and when he sought to escape from it, they looked upon him as a malefactor that was attempting to deprive them of a legitimate source of pleasure, and punished him as such.

In like manner we sympathize deeply with the sorrows of the heroes and heroines of romance, and it is from the exercise of this sympathy that we derive the pleasure. If they were not distressed, how could we sympathize with them?

Remove the cause of their trouble, and they become at once indifferent to us. The case we think is quite clear against our ingenious translator. Had Oswald married Corinna when they first met, they would have returned to Scotland, passed a very comfortable life, had a house full of children, and given very elegant entertainments in the winter at Edinburgh or London; but would they have wandered in company over the ruins of Rome? Would the heart-broken poetess have apostrophized the moon so beautifully from the Cape of Misenum? Who does not feel, that instead of wishing to facilitate their marriage, the author was at her wits' end to prevent it from taking place at the end of every chapter; and that pale little Lucilla, for whom nobody cares a straw, was introduced into the work for no other earthly purpose? If Oswald could with propriety have married both the sisters, Madame de Staël must either have invented some other mode of separating him from Corinna, or we should have lost the work.

It is obvious, therefore, that the accommodation afforded to the personages of a novel by the Chinese system of double marriages, is ruinous (as far as it operates) both to the writer and reader; depriving the former of one of his most useful machines for creating the necessary distress, and the latter of all the pleasure, which the contemplation of the distress thus created would have afforded him. The marriage of the lovers, notwithstanding the false and sophisticated theories of this branch of literature, that obtain from time to time a temporary currency among us, is and must ever remain the only legitimate object of a true novel; and the real difficulty of composing one (as respects the plot) consists in keeping the said lovers apart by natural and probable means, for the space of four volumes. The extent of this difficulty is easily appreciated, when we recollect that the hero and heroine are both *ex officio* endowed with all the virtues and graces that can adorn human nature, at its best estate;—perfect beauty heightened and set off by the most unaffectedly easy and graceful manners, unspotted integrity and honor, ready wit, universal knowledge, skill in all the useful and ornamental arts, every personal quality, in short, which is fitted to engage attention, admiration, and love, with perhaps a few grains of imperfection thrown in, just to show that the being in question is not absolutely an angel in disguise. On the other hand, the subordinate characters, composing the circle in which the hero and

heroine move, are, for the purpose of contrast, degraded as much below the ordinary standard, as the others are elevated above it; and are all either absolute reprobates without a trace of any redeeming virtue, or, if in the main respectable, are encumbered with some defect, physical or moral, that necessarily fixes upon them the dislike, contempt, or pity of the reader. If honest, they are awkward, stupid, and ignorant; if tolerably handsome, polite, and accomplished, they are either arrant knaves, or else too old to be dangerous.

The lovers, in short, are the only persons who enjoy the privilege of combining youth and other accidental advantages, with a high degree of intelligence and moral excellence; and they figure in the troop that surrounds them, like the *stars* from some metropolitan theatre on a provincial stage. 'So stately his form and so lovely her face,' that, from their first introduction, we see they have a mutual attraction as strong as that of the needle to the pole, and that nothing but violent means can prevent them from rushing into each other's arms at the end of the first act or chapter. These violent means must of course be resorted to by the writer, and it is upon the judicious selection and employment of them, through the five acts or the four volumes, that the merit of the plot depends. Of these there is no doubt a considerable variety;—inequality of birth or fortune; family feuds; dissensions on religion and politics among the old people; the intervention of agents either wholly or partly supernatural; finally, mere accidents, as when Oroondates is prevented from marrying Statira, because Statira makes a false step as she is getting out of the carriage at the church door, falls upon the pavement, and breaks her neck. All these resources (except perhaps the last, which however is but too often employed by the ablest hands) have their value, and are used by turns with effect and success; but all of them put together are not perhaps worth the single expedient of a rival passion.

All other difficulties are partly in the nature of accidents, and subject, though in a less degree, to the same objection. That Zaïre, after getting on her wedding dress, should discover, to her great surprise and regret, that she is a Christian, while her intended husband, the Sultan, is a good Mussulman, is not much better, as a piece of poetical machinery, than the untimely slip of the foot, that proved fatal to the happiness of Statira, as mentioned above. Cases of this description are like those

actions at law that go off upon some defect in special pleading; but when a rival passion is brought into play, it is then, and then only, that the question may be said to be fairly argued on its merits. Once secure of the affections of his mistress, the hero, even though prevented by some objection of a positive kind from marrying her immediately, pursues his way with comparative equanimity from volume to volume, in the well-founded conviction that his author will set all right in the end. The difficulty is in reality in a great measure foreign to him, since all disputes about politics, religion, property, birth, and other such matters, must after all be adjusted by the parents and guardians. The lovers sink of course into subordinate characters, and the book becomes a treatise on moral philosophy, or the history of this or that period, anything, in short, but a novel.

But let the hero once entertain a doubt of his mistress' affection, and it is easy to see that the stage must be, as it were, all on fire until he be satisfied. Then first developes itself the terrible element of jealousy with its heart-rending agonies, so intolerable to the sufferer and so diverting to the reader; then are heard the keen encounter of wits, the contemptuous and angry defiance, the fond expostulation, the melting avowal; then, as Prince Metternich says of the course of contemporary political affairs, the action 'plunges furiously forward like a ship in a hurricane.' Bursts of passion, floods of tears, madness, duelling, all the most violent expedients that can be used, are now legitimate, and are brought home to the persons of the main actors, who thus become the real heroes of their own adventures (instead of being, as they are in many very popular modern romances, a couple of insignificant painted waxen puppets), until the triumph of one pretender and the just despair of the other terminate the strange eventful history.

Now, the moment we admit with the Chinese the system of double marriages, this rich stock of materials for romance is irretrievably lost. If Oswald could, consistently with the law of the land and of romance, have married both Corinna and Lucilla, the work, as we said before, could not have been written, at least in its present form. Had it been regular for Grandison to espouse at once Clementina and Miss Byron, can it be supposed for a moment that either of these paragons, who appear to have had the highest respect for each other, would have objected to the arrangement? Where then had

been the volumes of high wrought sentiment and eloquent insanity, over which we now hang with such intense rapture? All exchanged for a paragraph in the newspaper, and a record in the parish register. If Charlotte, again, could with propriety have shared her affections impartially between the youthful Werther and his aged rival (and we see not why the ladies should not have as large privileges in this respect as the gentlemen, although we are not aware whether they are or are not allowed them by the customs of China), would that passionate enthusiast have thought of demanding the loan of the pistols? Would not the fair hand, that conveyed this fatal present, have probably been employed, at no very distant period, in spreading bread and butter for other children as well as those of Albert and his former wife? Where then had been the charming 'Sorrows,' and the 'tears eternal,' that will embalm the memory of poor Jerusalem, who sat for the portrait?

We are satisfied, in short, that the Chinese system (whatever may be its value in practice, a point upon which there can of course among us be but one opinion) would be decidedly injurious in its effects on polite literature, and that the amiable feelings of our ingenious translator have led him into a very grave and obvious error upon this subject. We think that we can even perceive a certain tameness resulting from this very circumstance, in the conduct of the action represented in the novel before us, to which we must now more particularly direct our attention, having already been led by the attractive nature of the inquiry to digress somewhat farther than we originally intended.

It has long been known, by the accounts of the missionaries who visited China in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, that the literature of that empire was extremely rich, especially in the department of poetry and romance; but the nature of the objects, which more immediately occupied the attention of these travellers, prevented them from making very deep researches into this particular subject. Their sudden and violent expulsion, and the subsequent rigorous prohibition of all intercourse with Europe, have made it impossible to prosecute these inquiries on the spot; but the missionaries had fortunately sent home, during their residence, extensive collections of the best works in all branches of learning. Of these, not less than five or six thousand, some of them very voluminous, are

preserved in the Royal Library at Paris, and have furnished M. Remusat, undoubtedly the most distinguished Chinese scholar of the present day, with ample materials for prosecuting this interesting study. To the ardent zeal and indefatigable industry which are essentially necessary to success in all difficult pursuits, this writer fortunately unites a remarkable clearness and sagacity of intellect, by which he is able to turn his materials to the best account, and the talent of communicating his discoveries in a lively and agreeable style. We already owe to him the first intelligible Chinese grammar, that has ever appeared in Europe, of which we submitted to our readers a brief notice in a former number of this journal. Should he be enabled, as we hope he will be, to continue his researches for a series of years, we anticipate results of great importance, not merely to polite literature, but to the history of the human race, of which the Chinese nations constitute so large and hitherto so entirely unexplored a branch.

The novel, of which he has now published a translation, was selected from the great number to be found in the Royal Library, from having been particularly recommended by the most intelligent of the Jesuit missionaries, as one of those that enjoyed the highest reputation in the country. The translator has prefixed to his work a long and very entertaining Preface, in which he gives an account of the general character and composition of the Chinese novels. Our readers, we think, will be gratified with the opportunity of perusing a few extracts from this curious dissertation.

'The Chinese are entitled to the honor of having invented the domestic and historical novel several centuries before they were introduced in Europe. Fables, tales of supernatural events, and epic poems, belong to the infancy of nations; but the real novel is the product of a later period in the progress of society, when men are led to reflect upon the incidents of domestic life, the movement of the passions, the analysis of sentiment, and the conflicts of adverse interests and opinions. Fictions naturally reflect the aspect of real life, and change their character with its successive changes. The muse which inspires them was a native of woods and deserts, and at first dwelt in preference in the forest or on the seashore. It was long before she gained admittance into cities, and the Chinese nations, with some of those of modern Europe, are the only ones who have admitted her into their saloons, and allowed her to take a part in the familiar conversations, the friendly meetings, the domestic discussions, the household

diplomacy, and all the little events, that fill up the circle of private life.

"'The character of the Chinese novels is the same with that of the better parts of *Don Quixote*, *Gil Blas*, *Tom Jones*, and *Cecilia*, Their authors address themselves to the reason rather than the imagination of their readers. They are less desirous of exciting emotions by bold conceptions and singular adventures, than of offering subjects for reflection, and anticipating the lessons of experience. The other Asiatic nations, led away by a passion for the marvellous, have often disfigured the most respectable traditions, and converted history itself into romance. The Chinese, on the other hand, may be said to have given their romances the truth of history. Nor are they the less entertaining, because they are not wholly destitute of common sense; as we find, in like manner, that among ourselves the most extravagant writers are often the most insipid. Man, considered in his social relations, his vices, inclinations, moral habits, and forms of intercourse, is the ordinary subject of the Chinese novels and plays. They are thus kept within the sphere of real life. The imagination of their writers does not overstep the limits of the world around them. We are not therefore to expect from them the sort of amusement, that we derive from the Arabian Tales or the Hindoo poems. They are perhaps less fitted to amuse children, but are certainly more interesting to mature minds. The scene is laid on the earth we inhabit, and not at the bottom of the sea, on the tops of enchanted hills, or in imaginary regions in the air. We meet with no princes fighting with giants, no princesses carried off by genii, no talismans, no metamorphoses. The personages are men and women acting upon the ordinary motives of feeling and interest,—love, ambition, disinterestedness, or selfishness. Good faith contends with intrigue, honest men carry on the war with rogues, as in real life. With a few changes of names these fictions might pass with us for accounts of real events, occurring in our neighborhood; and nothing can be more similar to Nankin and Canton, than Paris and Westminster. The Chinese novels have also the merit, that their authors are not excessively prejudiced in favor of their own country. They manage the weapon of satire with a good deal of address, not so much in the caustic and pointed style of *Gil Blas* and *Gulliver*, as in that of the better English novels, where the lesson results indirectly from a correct delineation of vice and its consequences. They excel in details, and may be compared in this respect to Richardson and Fielding, or at least to Smollet and Miss Burney. By this means they acquire a high degree of truth and interest, and produce a very strong illusion.'

It is impossible not to be satisfied by these remarks (which carry internal proof of their correctnesss, in the talent and discrimination with which they are written), that the true plan of the domestic novel has been brought long ago to the same perfection in China, as it has very recently in modern Europe; and as, in all the departments of art, the power of execution commonly precedes the discovery of correct methods, we may conclude that the Chinese possess, in their vast collections of polite literature (which are represented as infinitely more extensive than ours), many works equal in merit to the best of which we can boast, although their effect upon us can of course never be precisely the same. The high value of these collections, considered merely as illustrations of the state of civilization, is sufficiently obvious, and is dwelt upon at considerable length by our author. Passing over this part of the Preface as less material to our immediate purpose, we come to some further accounts of the subjects generally treated in these compositions.

'Every nation has its particular habits and modes of thinking, which are necessarily described under some varieties of detail in its novels, and give a distinct form to the common fund of incidents which lie at the bottom of all fictitious narrations. In China, the hero of a romance is commonly a young scholar of an excellent disposition, exclusively devoted to the study of the classic authors, and amusing himself in the intervals of leisure with flowers, wine, and poetry. It is not necessary that there should be any thing chivalrous about his habits or character; and provided he excels in writing poetry, it is of little consequence whether he be or be not a fearless and graceful horseman. Nor is it required, as with us, that he should possess a large fortune; for in the favored regions of the Celestial Empire, learning and talent are infallible passports to the loftiest heights of wealth and honor. This is no doubt partly true in fact, since it is received as a principle in all novels, just as it is with us, that a man obtains political advancement by good faith, disinterestedness, and regard for the public good. The incidents habitually employed by writers of different nations, are also extremely various. In the Greek novels, we commonly find a pair of lovers torn asunder, at the moment of their marriage, by a band of pirates, and brought together again by some lucky chance, after suffering a tedious captivity and giving proofs of supernatural courage and virtue. The basis of the French moral tales is gallantry. In Spain, the heroes of romance were long in the habit of rescuing their mistresses from the fury of some mad bull, or the perils of shipwreck. In England, insurrections and conspiracies

were for a time the order of the day; but they have lately given way to elopements and clandestine marriages, convenient though hazardous methods of eluding the obstacles, which avaricious guardians too often oppose to the establishment of rich and beautiful heiresses.

'In China, the two predominant ideas in the world of fiction, as in that of real life, are *promotion* and *marriage*. Every man of any note is constantly occupied, either in distinguishing himself at the literary examinations, or in obtaining a domestic establishment for himself or his children. Marriage is indeed everywhere the most important of all important objects, since it is the basis of all the social relations; and it is particularly interesting to the Chinese, for the additional reason, that they consider it of great consequence, that funeral honors should be rendered to them after their death, at certain stated times in the year, by their male descendants. To marry and to have male issue are therefore matters of the first necessity, with the Chinese of all conditions. *Promotion* is an object which concerns none but the men of letters; but as these are the only persons of distinction in the empire, the subject is frequently alluded to in literary works. All the Chinese, without distinction of birth, are allowed to present themselves, every year, for literary examination, in their native city, and every three years in the capital of their province. Those who distinguish themselves at the annual examination, receive a literary title or degree (like that of *Bachelor of Arts* at our universities); but in order to derive any benefit from it, they must be annually examined anew for the ten following years. In the mean time they may appear at the provincial examinations, where those who distinguish themselves obtain a higher title, like that of *Master of Arts* with us; and finally, at the general examination, held in the capital of the empire, and under the eyes of the sovereign, where the highest literary dignity, or *doctorate*, is conferred upon the successful competitors.

'All political appointments are regularly made from the persons who acquit themselves with honor at these examinations, it being a received and established principle in China, that talents and merit are the only proper qualifications for public offices. Accordingly all the young men who can read, are constantly engaged in preparing for these examinations. The periods when they are to be held are fixed beforehand, and the measures adopted by the government upon the occasion, excite universal attention. Crowds of spectators assemble to witness these combats of talent and learning; as was formerly the case in France, at the public disputations before the Sorbonne and the University. Fame and fortune depend upon the issue, which is proclaimed with pomp, and becomes the universal subject of conversation. Superiority

in wit and learning thus possesses an importance, corresponding with that of political zeal and orthodoxy at our elections. Numerous modes of expression, both in the familiar and elevated style of the language, allude to these examinations; and they are of course very often employed in the machinery of fictitious writing. Thus, in the work before us, the hand of one of the heroines is offered by her father, as a prize, to the competitor who shall produce the best piece of poetry.'

We may remark *en passant*, that this account of the method of obtaining political advancement in China, though familiar to those who are acquainted with the descriptions given of this empire by the Catholic missionaries, may probably appear both new and curious to the general reader. It gives us a much more favorable idea of the Chinese form of government, than would naturally be derived from the the accounts of the persons attached to the recent British embassies of Lords Macartney and Amherst. These writers, with the sagacity and candor which so many British travellers have extended to our country, have been pleased to represent the cudgel as the only element of political or civil power employed among the Chinese; who, on this supposition, would be, what Sir Francis Burdett has so often, in his place in the House of Commons, declared his countrymen to be in reality, a *flogged nation*. One of these narratives contains, in substance, the following sentence, which we quote from memory, and perhaps with some slight inaccuracy of expression. 'Every day through the year, and in every dwelling from the palace to the cottage, the cudgel is constantly going from morning till night, from one end of this vast empire to the other.' Without entering *au fond* into the question of the extent of this supposed cudgel-playing (the British accounts of which would, we shrewdly suspect, be found upon a level in point of correctness with those of the gouging in our Western country, and of Mr Clay's razor-strap made from the skin of Tecumseh), we may remark, that in the four volumes before us, which bring into view in succession the manners of all classes of society, there is not, as far as we recollect, a single allusion to the cudgel.

As respects the political institutions of the empire, it appears from the above extract, and from the more ample information to the same effect contained in the works of the missionaries, that, although entirely different from any of those that are established in the Western world, they will perhaps bear a comparison

with the best of them. The great problem in government is to reconcile the liberty of the people with a tranquil, wise, and vigorous administration of their common concerns; and experience seems to show, that it can only be solved by providing for a large, regular, and frequent intervention of the body of the community in the conduct of the government. The existence of such an intervention forms the substance of what we consider the great modern improvements in political science, as exemplified in the representative constitutions of Europe, and especially of these United States. This intervention is effected in our system, by securing to a certain number of the citizens the right of designating the public functionaries. The same intervention appears to exist in China to an extent at least as great as with us, and far greater than in any other Christian community; but to be managed on the different principle of securing to every citizen the right of exhibiting his qualifications for filling public offices before a competent tribunal, and the possession of any office for which he can prove himself to be qualified. It is evident that both these methods provide for bringing into activity the whole talent, knowledge, and virtue of the community, and prevent the stagnation and exhaustion that regularly take place, when the power is monopolized by one or more privileged families.

To decide which of the two systems is, on the whole, preferable in its operation, and which is least liable to abuse, is of course beyond the scope of the present cursory notice. Each has, doubtless, its peculiar advantages and defects. While we are naturally inclined, by our national prejudices, to assign to our own form of government, the superiority over every other, we may perhaps be permitted, as humble laborers in the field of letters, to look with some degree of complacency upon a constitution, which makes literary distinction the only title to advancement, and thus realizes the latter part of the famous alternative proposed by Plato, as the *sine quâ non* of a wise administration of government, that kings should become philosphers or philosophers be made kings. Had this system been proposed in any abstract treatise on civil polity, we incline to think, that it would have been generally viewed as the most beautiful theory that had ever been invented, but as a wholly impracticable and visionary one. A longer experience, than any other form of government has ever been subjected to, has satisfactorily proved that it *works well*. While we

are among those who profess to entertain the most sanguine expectations as to the prospects of our own country, we should be glad to feel perfectly certain, that our institutions would stand the test of a thousand years' trial, as well as those of China have done already. Both are no doubt susceptible of abuse in various ways; but it must be recollected, that the security against the abuse of any political institution, does not lie so much in the form and character of the institution itself, as in the condition of the society in which it is established; just as, in private life, our security against being deceived and defrauded by our agents, does not depend so much upon the precise form in which their powers of attorney are drafted (although this be a point of some importance), as on our own capacity for choosing them well, and on the substantial means we possess of subsequently rewarding or punishing them, according to their deserts.

We would willingly enlarge somewhat farther upon this interesting subject, but are compelled by want of room to adjourn our remarks to some future occasion; and must now hasten to lay before our readers a more particular account of the adventures of *Red-Jasper* and *Dream-of-a-Peartree*. The concluding part of the translator's Preface contains some observations on the style of the work, and on the principles by which he has been governed in the translation. It has been made a question, whether titles of honor and address should be retained as in the original, or rendered by such terms, as, according to our usages, correspond most nearly with them. M. Remusat has, judiciously we think, adopted the latter plan, and has in general given his style a more easy and natural air, than could have been expected, considering the great difference in the genius of the two languages; while he has, as he assures us, maintained throughout, on all essential matters, a scrupulous fidelity to the text. Omitting any further notice of these particulars, which, however, will be found highly interesting to the philological inquirer, we shall now proceed to lay before our readers a rapid sketch of the fable, interspersed with occasional extracts, as specimens of the manner; and shall add, if our limits admit, a few hasty suggestions respecting the state of morals and manners indicated in the work.

The opening of the first chapter introduces us into the interior of the family of *Pa-Hiuan*, one of the nine principal masters of ceremonies; who has just received a present of twelve

flower-pots, containing China asters in full bloom, and has placed them in his library among a large collection of roses, amaranths, orchises, and other flowers, all in pots of fine porcelain, perfuming the air with their odors, and covering the balustrades and trellises with their foliage. Pa is engaged in admiring his new acquisition, in company with two of his friends, *Gu-Kuay*, a member of the imperial academy of sciences, which is also one of the highest political corporations of the country, and *Sa-Yuan*, one of the inspectors general of the empire. It is easy to see that we are brought at once into the midst of the highest circles of dignity and fashion. The three friends, after sufficiently admiring their flowers, sit down to drink and make poetry; selecting for their subject these same China asters, in which they all take so much interest. It appears singular to us to see three grave magistrates wholly engrossed with a few flowers. Our political dignitaries, as M. Remusat justly remarks, have other things to think of; but such appear to be the habits of this empire. Flowers, wine, and poetry are in a manner the staple of the work before us, which wears throughout a gay and Anacreontic coloring; always kept, however, within the limit of perfect decorum, excepting that the heroes now and then take a cup too much.

While the three friends are dipping their hair pencils in their Indian ink, the servants announce the visit of *Yang-Tingcháo*, another of the inspectors general, and the villain of the plot; but a villain of a very decent and respectable class, and in fact not a whit worse than any common rogue in real high life; although he be, like all doubtful characters in a Chinese novel, a very indifferent poet, and, as it seems, no great amateur of flowers, for instead of joining the rest in admiring Pa's present, he immediately falls to talking politics. He is taken to task for this by the others, and sentenced to drink a large glass of wine of about the size of a small tea-cup, but equal to ten ordinary glasses, which it seems hold about a spoonful each. It is then agreed, that the subject of politics shall not be mentioned, and that whoever breaks this rule shall drink a bumper by way of punishment. The three friends now invite Yang to join them in making poetry, to which he demurs on the score of incapacity. A good deal of conversation ensues between Yang and Pa, not always in a very friendly tone, and intermixed with sundry bumpers on both sides, by the effect of which Pa becomes a little confused, and retires behind a screen to take a

siesta. In the mean time, one of the servants, who had been in attendance, steals out and informs Houngiu, or Red-Jasper, the only daughter and housekeeper of Pa, of what is going on in the library.

This lady, who, as the reader is aware, is the principal heroine of the plot, though a young beauty of sixteen, is equal to the first doctors in the empire for learning and poetical talent. Hearing that her father is *hors de combat*, she immediately seizes her pencil, and writes a piece of poetry, which she gives to the servant, with an order to deliver it to his master when he awakes. Pa, after sleeping half an hour, rouses himself and calls for a cup of tea. When he has drunk this, the servant hands him the verses of his young mistress, which Pa upon reading finds to his taste, and returning to the company, produces in the first instance as his own. This leads to much astonishment on the part of the others; but Gu who is brother-in-law to Pa, and familiar with his niece's handwriting, soon recognises it, and discovers the trick, which Pa good humoredly avows. They all then unite in extolling the extraordinary talent and beauty of the young lady, and dwelling upon the necessity of procuring her an immedate establishment. Pa now calls for the poems of the others, but Sa, declining to enter into competition with this masterpiece, proposes that they should drink three large cups each, by way of fine, and say no more about it. Yang, who is wholly incapable of producing so much as a single couplet, seconds the motion; and Gu, although he has nearly finished his piece, consents, that he may not be singular. They accordingly drink their three bumpers each, and continue to amuse themselves with drinking and conversation, until the lanterns are lighted and the company disperse. It is evident that the hours of assembling and separating, observed by the fashionable world in China, are of what we should consider a very patriarchal kind. Whether they are less convenient than ours, is perhaps a different question. The poetical masterpiece here alluded to, may serve as a specimen of the verses which are frequently introduced in the course of the narrative, and which regularly adorn the opening of every chapter, as in a Waverley novel. It may be thus translated;

'Charming mixture of purple, white, scarlet, and gold!
'What divinity produces you at the return of autumn?
'Through the trellis, where we thought to see only the faces

of venerable sages, you appear in your beauty like a young maiden at her lattice.

'The quiet, the freedom, so dear to me at all times, and which I enjoy in this cool retreat, place me, as it were, in another world; but cares of state leave me very little leisure to taste these pleasures.

'Sweet flowers! oh that I could pass my days in lolling on a couch, and inhaling your delightful odor!'

Red-Jasper's notion of happiness seems to have been much like that of the poet Gray, who, in one of his letters, represents it as the *idéal* of Paradise, to lie all day upon a sofa, and read eternal novels of Marivaux, and we will not say what other author, out of tenderness for the reputation of the divine minstrel of the Churchyard and Eton College.

Such, however, is a brief sketch of the contents of the first chapter, which throws of itself more light upon the manners of the Chinese of rank and fortune, than all the recent books of travels put together. It also serves as the groundwork of the plot. Yang, excited by the flattering accounts given of the merit and beauty of Pa's daughter, forms a plan of bringing about a marriage between her and his son, a youth, as it afterwards appears, of small literary pretensions, and who obtained, at the annual examination in his native city, only the sixty-third place in the third class. Yang, however, contrives by a little manœuvring, to have his son's character represented in a favorable light to Pa, and solicits for him the hand of the fair poetess. By way of putting his merit to the test, Gu gives a dinner, to which they are all invited, and when the cloth is removed, proposes to the company to make extempore verses. By great good luck the youth acquits himself once or twice somewhat better than might have been anticipated; but is finally detected in an unequivocal false quantity, which decides the matter against him. Yang takes offence at the rejection of his son's pretensions; and with a view at once of revenging himself upon Pa, and of endeavoring to get the decision reversed, employs his influence at court, to have the latter appointed on an embassy, which is to be sent off with a message to the emperor, who was, it seems, at this time a prisoner in the Tartar camp, the empire being under the administration of a regent. From the manner in which this appointment is spoken of, it would seem that the diplomatic line is not a favorite department of the public service among the Chinese. All his

friends join in condoling with the unfortunate master of ceremonies upon the occasion; and Yang, as a great mark of favor, offers to get the nomination recalled, if Pa will consent to the marriage. The latter, however, firmly rejects this proposal; and putting a good face upon the matter, expresses his perfect readiness to sacrifice his repose, and, if necessary, his life to the public good, adding that he is not without hope, that he shall be able to procure the emperor's release.

Under these agreeable impressions, he proposes to set off, but finds at the last moment that Yang (who seems to be all-powerful at court) has had him placed in a subaltern rank in the embassy, instead of at the head of it, according to the first arrangement; his case being similar to that of one of our citizens, who, after being appointed Minister Plenipotentiary, should be commissioned as Secretary of Legation. This commutation is of course not very agreeable to Pa, more especially as it deprives him of the power of rendering any considerable service. According to our occidental etiquette, it would have been viewed by most persons as a proper occasion for retiring from public life. Pa, however, sacrifices all scruples to his zeal for the welfare of the empire, proceeds manfully upon his mission, and after a prosperous journey returns without accident, somewhere about the middle of the second volume. In the mean time, in order to secure his daughter against the intrigues of Yang during his absence, he entrusts her to the protection of her uncle Gu, who retires with her from the capital, and after a journey of about a month (steamboats and stage-coaches being probably not in use in the Celestial Empire), arrives at the city of Nankin, where he establishes his residence.

The chief object of Gu, as the young lady's guardian, is to find a suitable match for her; and he makes use of every effort to settle this important affair at once, in order to surprise his friend Pa with a son-in-law upon his return from Tartary. Constantly intent upon his purpose, Gu remarks in one of his promenades in a favorite pleasure garden, near the city, a poem of extraordinary merit, inscribed upon the wall of a summer-house, and signed *Sa-Yupe of Nankin.* This person turns out to be a nephew of the inspector general Sa-Yuan, with whom we made acquaintance in the first chapter, and is the hero of the story. Perceiving that the ink with which the poem is written is still fresh, Gu concludes that the author must

be in the garden or its neighborhood. After some search, he succeeds in getting a sight of him, and is so much pleased with his personal appearance, that he immediately fixes upon him as the future spouse of his niece. Proceeding, however, with due circumspection, he makes inquiries respecting the young man's character and situation, and ascertains that he is an orphan of about twenty years of age, without fortune, and a stranger at Nankin, where he is residing as a student at the college. This union of circumstances would not perhaps be regarded in our more interested western regions, as constituting a remarkably advantageous *parti* for a young, beautiful, and wealthy heiress of the highest rank; but they manage these things more liberally in China. 'The satisfaction of Gu,' says our author, 'was complete, when he heard this report. "Since the youth is poor and unmarried," said he to himself, "there can be no difficulty. He has no parents, I have full powers from Pa, the affair shall be settled at once."' It only remains to obtain a full assurance of the qualifications of the bridegroom, by ascertaining the precise extent of his literary talent. Luckily the annual examination comes on just at this moment. As soon as it is over, Gu sends for the printed catalogue of the names of the successful candidates, and finds that of Sa-Yupe, as may well be supposed, at the head. This decisive fact removes all doubts, and Gu determines at once to offer him the hand of Red-Jasper.

The hero and principal heroine are thus fairly brought into presence (as nearly at least as they can be in China, where a man is not allowed to see his wife before the wedding) at the close of the first volume. Adorned, as they both are, with every grace, talent, virtue, and beauty, or, in the Chinese phrase, *all gold and jasper*, moving like superior beings, and without rivals, in the midst of their respective circles of wondering worshippers, they possess of course an irresistible attraction for each other, and (as we observed above of their *pareils* in general) would infallibly, if permitted, rush into each other's arms at the first interview. The problem with the author, upon the manner of solving which the interest of the plot depends, is to contrive the means of keeping them asunder through the other three volumes. This is effected by a series of difficulties, which resolve themselves too often into mere accidents, and belong of course to the lowest order of poetical machinery, unhappily the one most frequently employed

even by the best hands in all countries. Some springs of a finer material are, however, from time to time put in motion; and the intrigue is on the whole not badly managed, when judged by comparison, not with ideal rules, but with good specimens of the European school of romance. We shall briefly notice the principal occurrences that successively obstruct the happiness of the lovers, some or, indeed, all of which illustrate very curiously the manners of the country.

The first is an unfortunate *qui pro quo*, by the effect of which the hero mistakes another person for the heroine, and is induced to form an unfavorable opinion of her appearance. Gu, having made up his mind in favor of the connexion, employs the services of a lady belonging to the respectable profession of *matchmakers*, to carry the proposition to the fortunate bachelor. The business of conducting the negotiations preliminary to a matrimonial alliance, has, it seems, become in China, as might perhaps have been expected from the established customs in regard to the intercourse between the sexes, a distinct and acknowledged occupation; which, from their superior tact in the management of these matters, naturally falls into the hands of the ladies. Madam *Chang*, an experienced matchmaker of high reputation, is therefore despatched to sound young Sa. The latter is agreeably struck with the proposal, but with more delicacy than is usual among his countrymen, positively insists on seeing the bride before he gives a decisive answer. A formal interview is of course out of the question; but our convenient ambassadress, whose profession it is to remove difficulties, points out to the curious lover a place where he may probably get a sight of his mistress, as she sits at the window of a pavilion in her uncle's garden.

Now it so happens that Gu has a daughter, and that this daughter belongs to the unfortunate category of foils and rivals, a class of characters, who are sometimes, though rarely, honest, but, we may boldly say, never handsome. Gu's daughter is so far from being an exception to the rule, that her very name, *Wouyan*, or *No-Beauty*, indicates but too well the defects in her appearance. As ill luck would have it, no sooner has our hero taken his post of observation, than No-Beauty puts her head out of the pavilion window to look at a flight of swallows. A man of ordinary judgment would have taken care to ascertain that he had seen the right person; but Sa, with the precipitation

and wrong-headedness natural to a hero of romance, however in all other respects perfect, does not once conceive that there can be any mistake, and decides irrevocably against the marriage. In vain does the disappointed matchmaker enlarge upon the merit and beauty of the heroine and the advantages of the alliance. All her efforts prove unavailing, and she is compelled at last to give up the point in despair. Gu, on hearing her report, is so much nettled at the perversity of his *protégé*, that he determines to be revenged upon him, and for this purpose makes interest with the examining officer of the city, an old college companion of his own, to obtain a revocation of the degree that has just been conferred upon the young poet. Being, however, naturally a good-humored old gentleman, he afterwards repents of his severity, and gets the title restored. The tractability here attributed to the examining officer may serve to show, that the Chinese system of political advancement, however beautiful in theory, is, like all other human institutions, susceptible of abuse, and affords opportunity for intrigues and evasions not less barefaced than those, which result from the *borough-mongering* of the mother country, or the *caucussing* of ours.

Such, however, is the nature of the first obstacle to the union of the lovers, which, though it shows no great richness of invention, is treated pleasantly enough in the details, and carries us on smoothly some distance into the second volume. The next difficulty is of a more complicated kind, and the exposition of it occupies a much larger space in the work, since the hero is not fairly clear of it till the middle of the third volume. It forms indeed the main knot of the story, and results from the efforts of a stupid rival to appropriate to himself by a series of devices the merit of Sa's poems, and thus eclipse him in the affections of the heroine (which are of course graduated exactly by the scale of the respective poetical talents of her suitors), and secure her hand. We can only indicate in a general way the leading points of this intrigue, which involves a great variety of details, and gives occasion to a number of Sa's finest productions. The outline is briefly as follows.

After rejecting the abovementioned overture, Sa receives an invitation to reside with his uncle, our old acquaintance the inspector general of the first chapter, who is about to pass through Nankin in one of the canal boats, and fixes a place

where he will take his nephew on board. Sa sets off accordingly to join him, but meets with an accident that interrupts his journey, and obliges him to take up his lodging for the night in a convent. The next morning, as he is walking about the neighborhood, he falls in with a party of young men in a summer-house, who are engaged in the usual occupation of writing poetry. This time, however, they are not doing it for mere amusement, but for the purpose of establishing their respective pretensions to the hand of a young lady in the neighborhood, who turns out to be no other than our fair friend Red-Jasper. Pa had, it seems, in the interim returned from Tartary; and learning the failure of the attempt on Sa, he resorts, for the purpose of marrying his daughter, to the expedient of offering her hand as a prize to the person who shall produce the best piece of poetry upon a subject assigned, which is *The Willow-tree in Spring*. Sa, being informed of these particulars, and not aware that the lady in question is precisely the one, whose hand he had already rejected when she was proposed to him as the daughter of Gu, tries his skill on the spot, and produces of course a poem that excites the admiration of the party. They all send their respective productions, carefully signed and sealed, to Pa's house; but one of the others, yclept *Chang-Fanju*, contrives, by bribing the porter, to suppress Sa's letter, and pass off the piece as his own. The poem gives so much satisfaction to the young lady and her father, that the supposed author is invited to take up his residence at the house on probation for a year, during which time he is to act as tutor to a young son.

In this situation Chang, who is wholly incapable himself of writing a decent stanza, adroitly keeps Sa about him, and repeatedly makes use of his talent to maintain the reputation he had already acquired, always passing off the productions of his rival as his own, in particular a superb ode to a pear-tree, which was considered in the family as quite a masterpiece. We may remark *en passant* that the Chinese poets seem to select their subjects, in preference, from the vegetable kingdom; and that among the various sorts of plants the pear-tree is not the least favorite. In this way, however, Chang, though a coarse and ill-favored, as well as an exclusively prosaic character, acquires much credit in the house, and seems to be in a fair way to carry off the prize. At length Sa, by good luck, and the help of a pretty but knowing chambermaid, in a green

gauze robe, with red crape sleeves, called *Yanson*, succeeds in discovering the trick that has been put upon him, and proving to the satisfaction of the young lady, that he is the author of his own poems. After putting his talent to one more test by imposing upon him a difficult acrostic, as a final trial of his skill in poetry, of which he acquits himself as usual, Jasper, overcome by so many proofs of a real talent for all sorts of versification, finally gives her consent that he should apply to her father for her hand. These communications are managed through the medium of the *soubrette*. Sa pleads hard, not for a personal interview, the possibility of which does not occur to him even in imagination, but for an opportunity of seeing his mistress at a distance in profile. Such however is the strictness of the Chinese manners in this particular, that even for this, according to our usages, somewhat modest request, he is taken severely to task by the very chambermaid.

' "It is growing late," says Sa, at the close of one of his conversations with this person, "and I must take my leave. Could not I, however, under favor of the darkness, and while there is no one here, obtain a glimpse of your young mistress, were it only in profile?"

' "A strange proposal this," replied Yanson. "Let me tell you, sir, that my young lady is a person whose virtue is equal to her wit; and that she is governed in all her actions by the strictest rules of propriety. The affair in which she is now engaged is the most important of her life, and she cannot be blamed for endeavoring to obtain a husband worthy of her. But your request, sir, seems to show that your morals do not correspond with your talent. If I were to make it known to my mistress, she would despise you for it, and reject your suit without hesitation." '

Thus severely reprimanded by our stern moralist in red crape sleeves and a green gauze petticoat, and being now more tractable, it seems, in taking a lady's charms on credit, than on the former occasion, Sa is fain to give the matter up, and begs a thousand pardons for his indiscretion. Even these indirect communications are considered too irregular to be made known to the old gentleman Pa; and it is agreed between the lovers that Sa, without alluding to anything that has passed, shall apply to the father through the intervention of the uncle Gu. A matrimonial negotiation must always be conducted through a third person. For this purpose Sa sets off immediately for Pekin, whither Gu had in the mean time returned. In conse-

quence of his absence, Chang, now left entirely to his own resources, is soon unmasked by the father, brought to a decisive trial, from which it appears that he cannot write a passable couplet, 'were it his neck-verse at Hairibee,' and being thus plucked of the borrowed feathers, in which he has hitherto plumed himself, is dismissed ignominiously from the house.

Such is the solution of the second principal difficulty which obstructs the happiness of the lovers, and which carries us forward, as we have already remarked, to the middle of the third volume. From this point the current of the action proceeds with comparative smoothness, though not wholly free from shoals and rapids, the nature of which we have not room to describe in detail. The leading object of the last volume and a half is not so much to create and remove new obstructions to the marriage of the principal parties, as to bring forward the second heroine, *Dream-of-a-Peartree*, whose introduction is effected in the following manner.

After taking leave of his mistress in the manner above described, our hero sets off for the capital of the empire, where he expects to find uncle Gu. He gets on for some time prosperously enough; but at length falls in with a band of robbers, and is stripped of every ounce of silver that he has about him. In this embarrassing situation he has recourse to his talent for poetry to recruit his finances, or in the more popular phrase, 'to raise the wind.' It is observed by Voltaire, in reference to the great Frederic, that there is always some hope of a king who can write verses; and it appears from the present example, that the rule may be extended to private citizens, at least in China. It so happens that a magistrate named *Li*, residing at the village where the robbery takes place, is preparing a large screen in four parts, as a present for his superior officer; and having already adorned each part with a painting, wants nothing but the appropriate poetical inscriptions to complete his plan. The province of Canton, where the scene is now laid, is, it seems, not so dear to the Muses, as some others, particularly that of Nankin; and Li no sooner hears that there is a Nankin poet in town, than he invites him to his house for the purpose of putting his talent in requisition. Sa writes the four inscriptions at a sitting, for on this as on all other occasions he (and the case is the same with all the other poets that are mentioned) produces poetry of the first order with a facility only paralleled by that of the Scotts, the Southeys,

the Byrons, and the Bowrings of our time. Whenever they take the pencil in hand, the author is careful to mention the expedition with which they work; and seems to be at a loss for words and images sufficiently strong to give a complete notion of it. Thus, in the present instance, his enthusiasm at the rapidity with which his hero wrote the inscriptions, transports him above the regions of plain prose into the following *quatrain;*

'The movement of his hand was not slow like that of a pedestrian,
'But as rapid as the course of the swiftest steed.
'He starts off and checks his flight with the lightness of a winged spirit;
'His thoughts cover the paper as the fleecy clouds spread themselves over the sky.'

In the same way, when he sits down on a previous occasion, by order of his mistress, to write the acrostic which is to decide his fate, notwithstanding the delicacy of the situation, he loses nothing of the freedom of thought and expression.

'Pearls and diamonds,' says the author, 'flew about the paper like drops of rain in an April shower.'

So when the heroine produces the little *chef-d'œuvre*, which we quoted from the first chapter,

'Thoughts drop from her pencil, like rain from a dark summer cloud; and spring up under her rapid hand in seven-fold clusters of flowers, till the whole paper becomes, as it were, a chain of pearls and diamonds.'

It must be owned that the Chinese poets, like the Vicar of Wakefield's painter, are not sparing of their jewelry. A slow manner of composing, on the other hand, is the invariable accompaniment of dulness. Thus Pa, after bringing Chang and another stupid pretender to the *experimentum crucis*, goes back to his daughter, and tells her that they had been wagging their heads over their inkstands the whole afternoon, without being able to shake out a word. These passages seem to imply a false notion of the difficulty of writing good poetry, which, we imagine, does not lie in the metrical arrangement, or mere form, as is here supposed. When the rules of versification are once settled, and good models given, it is rather easier to express ideas in these regular measures, than to write harmonious prose. The difficulty lies in supplying 'the thoughts

that breathe and words that burn.' These are articles which, as *Géronte* in the play says of the five hundred crowns, *ne se trouvent point dans le pas d'un cheval;* and there is great room for choice among the fruits of even the finest intellect. 'Good poetry,' says Gray, 'requires the best talents, and the best of those talents.' It must flow with ease, and at the same time exhibit the vigor of thought or imagination and the finished style, all which supposes labor, meditation, and reflection. This was the opinion of Boileau, when he boasted that he had taught Molière to write easy verses with difficulty; *Je lui ai appris l'art de faire difficilement des vers faciles.* When a person writes with great rapidity, or, in other words, sets down his ideas as fast as they occur to him, without study or selection, it is certain, whatever may be his talent, that his work cannot be of the first order. In general your easy writing, as was well observed by the author of the 'School for Scandal,' is the hardest reading a man can undertake.

To return however from this digression; our hero, while engaged in writing his inscription in the garden, hears a person say aloud, in a pavilion placed in the garden adjoining and overlooking his, that the pomegranate-trees without the wall are in full bloom. This was of course a strong temptation to the flowery fancy of a Chinese; and as soon as he has finished his work, Sa walks out to see the show, in which he is at first rather disappointed, but soon penetrates the real meaning of the remark, when he finds himself accosted by a handsome youth, who issues from a door in the wall of the adjoining garden, and who proves to be no other than Dream-of-a-Pear-tree in disguise. If Red-Jasper hold the post of heroine, this visionary beauty has, we suspect, the whole heart of our author, though he allows her only half of that of his hero. He describes her on this her first appearance in the following terms.

'The gate was seen to open, and there came out a youth of about fifteen or sixteen years of age, dressed in a violet robe with a light cap on his head. His vermilion lips, brilliant white teeth, and arched eyebrows gave him the air of a charming girl. So graceful and airy are his movements, that one might well ask, whether he be mortal or a heavenly spirit. He looks like a sylph formed of the essence of flowers, or a soul descended from the moon. Is it indeed a youth who has come out to divert himself, or is it a sweet perfume from the inner apartment?'

This charming person enters into a long conversation with our hero, which gradually assumes a confidential character. Sa acquaints his new companion with his engagement to Mademoiselle Pa (as Mr Remusat generally styles the young lady), who proves to be a cousin of the supposed youth before him. The latter, on hearing of the engagement, remarks that the empire is vast, and inquires of Sa what he would do, if he should find in the course of his travels another damsel equally remarkable for grace, beauty, and poetical talent with his mistress. To this point-blank question Sa very naturally replies, that he has but one heart; which in English would probably be understood to mean, that his affections were preöccupied, and that he could not do justice to the merit of any other object; but being interpreted *à la Chinoise*, implies, that he cannot be insensible to beauty wherever he meets with it, and that if he should become acquainted with another young lady as lovely as Miss Pa, he should of course love her as much. 'If such be the case,' rejoins the youth, 'I may venture to inform you, that I have a younger sister about sixteen years of age, who was in the pavilion yesterday while you were writing, and was so much struck with your agreeable person and dexterity in handling the pencil, that she fairly lost her heart upon the spot. I easily discovered her inclinations, and as we are orphans, and have no friends to provide for our establishment in the regular way, I took it upon me to sound you on the subject; but since your affections are elsewhere engaged, it were better perhaps to think no more about the matter.' In answer to this, Sa proposes the expedient of a double marriage, which appears to be satisfactory to the other party; and it is then arranged, that he shall proceed to the capital, as he originally intended, and after settling the preliminaries of his alliance with Miss Pa, shall call at Canton on his way back, and conclude the arrangement with Miss *Lo*, who, as the intelligent reader does not require to be informed, has been treating for herself under the name of her sister. She very generously insists upon supplying our hero with funds for his journey; and thus provided, he departs at once without stopping to take leave of the owner of the screens.

In the mean time his new mistress, who seems to have a fund of enterprise and vivacity in her character, without waiting for her lover's return, sets off with her mother for Nankin upon a visit to her cousin. The ladies are very cordially re-

ceived, and immediately domesticated in Pa's family. The merit of the fair Peartree is soon brought to the usual test, and she is found to possess a talent for poetry little if at all inferior to that of her relation. The two cousins gradually contract a great liking for each other, and in order to avoid being separated at any future period, determine that they will, if possible, arrange matters so as to marry the same man. Their dialogue on this occasion may be quoted as a favorable specimen of the style of the work, as well as a curious illustration of the sentiments of the Chinese on this subject. Peartree has just produced a copy of verses in praise of her cousin, who is so much delighted with them, that she exclaims,

'"What a charming piece of poetry! It is worthy of the most celebrated ancient writers. Ah, sweet coz, how happy I should be, if I could hope to keep you near me all my life. I would have you, if I could, as close to me as my head-dress."

'"Why do you say if you could? sister," said Peartree in reply; "do you think of sending me away from you? This is but a poor proof of the affection you profess."

'"You misunderstand me, my sweet Peartree," said Jasper, laughing. "I have the greatest affection for your person, and the highest opinion of your talent. I would gladly, as I have just said, pass my whole life with you; but I fear that it is not possible, and this fear is the only reason of the sentiment I expressed. Why then should you doubt my affection?"

'"Does it not depend exclusively upon us," said Peartree, "to decide whether we shall pass our lives together or not? If we both wish it, who is to prevent it? What can render it impossible?"

'"My fear is," replied Jasper, "that you may not really desire it."

'"Nay, then," said Peartree, resuming her good humor, "I can have no doubt of your affection, and I am sure that mine for you is unutterable. But you know the condition upon which only we can hope to live together for life; is it to your taste?"

'"We are told," replied Jasper, "that Ohoang and Niuying devoted themselves of yore to the single Chun. Were it agreeable to you, my sweet Peartree, I would willingly imitate them."

'"If such had not been my desire," replied the other, greatly delighted, "I should not now be here."

'"If these celebrated ancient heroines, Ying and Hoang, with whom we can of course make no pretensions to be compared for beauty and talent, did not blush at such a union," continued Jasper, "I know not why we should feel any delicacy about it. But

how is it possible to find a person, on whom we can both place our affections?"

'"My dear coz," said Peartree, after a moment's reflection, "you permit me to share your confidence; why should we conceal anything from each other?"

'"Surely," answered Jasper, "I can have no secrets for you."

'"Let me ask you, then, my sweet Jasper, whether the youth who has already won your heart be a person of so little merit, that we need to look farther?"

'"The youth who has already won my heart?" replied Jasper, laughing, "what can you possibly mean, my dear Peartree? How can you be so absurd as to think that I care for one young man more than another? And were there even any foundation for such a story, which I am far from admitting, how could it possibly have come to your knowledge?"

'"My fair coz," said Peartree, with a loud laugh, "if you wish your secret not to be known, believe me, the only way is not to have any. The most trifling actions of a great poet or a pretty woman are matters of public curiosity, and become the subject of general conversation. Far as I live from here, I have long been informed of all this business."

'"Since you are so well informed, then," replied Jasper, who rather doubted the correctness of her cousin's assertion, "let us know what you have heard. Perhaps it is something about the adventure of Chang-Fanju and the verses on the *Willow-tree?*"

'"Nay," said Peartree, still laughing, "that everybody knows. I am not alluding to Chang, who attempted to obtain the credit of having written the poem on the *Willow-tree*, but to a certain young gentleman named Sa, who was the real author of that poem, and also of the *Salutation to the Swallow*."

'At this remark, which evidently showed a knowledge of her most private sentiments, poor Jasper was at first so much confused, that she could not articulate a word; but looked in utter amazement at Yanson, as if to ask whether she had betrayed the secret.

'"Why this embarrassment? my sweet cousin," said Peartree, "are we not sisters? why should we conceal anything from each other?"

'"I know you to be a shrewd girl," said Jasper, perceiving, after a moment's hesitation, that it was useless to dissemble; "but how you have discovered this affair, I am sure I cannot imagine. I have not lisped a syllable of it to any one but Yanson; nor ventured so much as to dream about it for fear of betraying myself. Is it possible that one of my women can have played the spy and tell-tale?"

'"Nay, nay," said Peartree, "make yourself easy on that score,

my fair cousin. Your adventure is a secret, for aught I know, from your very guardian spirit. But there is one person who was of course acquainted with it, and who related it to me with his own mouth; I mean young Sa himself. I dare swear no one else is privy to the matter."

'"Nay, coz," said Jasper, "you are surely jesting. It is nearly a year since Sa left us. My father has sent to inquire after him in all quarters, and can hear nothing about him. Supposing him to be at Canton, how could he possibly communicate with you, a young and pretty girl confined to the female apartment?"

'"Your question is natural enough," replied Peartree, "but certain it is that I saw young Sa, and that we talked of his engagement with you. I have not the most remote intention of deceiving you."

'"And yet," said Jasper, "what you say is neither natural nor probable. How can you expect me to believe it?"

'"Believe it or not, as you please," replied her cousin; "the gentleman himself, when you see him again, will at all events assure you that I speak the truth."

'"Alas!" said Jasper, "there is but little chance of our meeting again. After all the fruitless researches, which my father has made to obtain news of him, I have but too much reason to fear that he has forgotten me."

'"Forgotten you, my dear Jasper?" said Peartree, in reply, "why 'tis for the very purpose of arranging his marriage with you, that he is now travelling about in all directions, without allowing himself a moment's repose or comfort. How can you speak with so much levity of this most excellent and exemplary young man? He distinguished himself very much last autumn at the Northern Examination."

'"It was he, then," said Jasper, a little surprised, "who obtained the second place upon the list. How happens it that he was described as a candidate from Honan?"

'"The reason was," replied Peartree, "that his uncle, the inspector general, is a native of Honan. He has recently adopted his nephew, and the latter of course belongs at present to that province."

'"Since, then, he has obtained the promotion he desired," said Jasper, "why does he not return to fulfil his engagement with me? How happens it that we have not the least intelligence from him?"

'"He is waiting, I imagine," replied Peartree, "until he obtains the highest rank of all. Have a little patience, my sweet coz, and he will make you a doctor's lady."

'"You speak with such an air of sincerity, my dear sister," said Jasper, "that I am bound to believe you; and it is certain

that you could not have obtained from any other person the information you possess. But how a young girl like you, shut up in the female apartment, should have been able to converse with an entire stranger, I am wholly unable to imagine. If you love me, relate the whole affair to me in detail, before I die of curiosity."

'"After all that has passed," said Peartree, "I can do no otherwise; but for Heaven's sake, sweet coz, spare your raillery."

'"Nay," said Jasper, "my communications here in the female apartment were something still more singular than your adventure, and will of course close my mouth upon the subject."

'"Well, then," said Peartree, "since you promise to be merciful, I will e'en tell you all. You must know, then, that after parting from you last year, young Sa was proceeding to the capital in order to arrange with your uncle Gu the preliminaries of his marriage with you. As he was passing through Canton, he was attacked by robbers, and plundered of everything he had with him. In this emergency, he luckily made acquaintance with a certain Counsellor Li, living in the house next to ours, who engaged him to compose the inscriptions for some screens, which he was preparing, and for this purpose gave him for the time a lodging at the bottom of his garden. I happened to be looking out of the summer-house in ours, as he was writing; and was so much struck by his noble air, and the facility with which he managed his pencil, that I knew he must be a poet of great merit. Orphan, as I was, without father or brothers to provide for my establishment, was I obliged to observe to the letter all the ordinary rules, and remain unmarried for life? Do not think too hardly of me, my dear cousin, if I confess to you, that I ventured to deviate from them in this extreme case, and putting on a man's dress, had a personal interview with Sa without the garden gate."

'"Well done, Peartree!" said Jasper, struck with astonishment, and at the same time highly gratified with this account. "So young, and so much wit and resolution! You are really a heroine! But, cousin, how came he to speak of his engagement to me? This young student of ours must be a great babbler."

'"Not at all," replied Peartree; "he is, I assure you, a model of discretion. But you must recollect, that I made proposals to him to marry my sister, that is, myself; and when he repeatedly declined, and I as often insisted upon knowing his objection, he had no resource left, but to inform me of his engagement with you. He concluded, of course, that I could have no concern in an affair that happened a thousand miles off, and was far from dreaming that he was talking to me about my own cousin. Provi-

dence, my dear sister, seems to have interposed specially, in order to manage this matter in the way most favorable to our happiness."

'"And what," inquired Jasper, "did you finally agree upon?"

'"When I found that he was under a prior engagement," replied Peartree, "which nothing would induce him to relinquish, and saw that he was a young man of a firm and steady character, I proposed to him, always speaking as if for my sister, the expedient of a double marriage. As he appeared to be satisfied with this, I next resolved to remove to this place with my mother, in order to ascertain your wishes, and complete the arrangement if it should prove agreeable to you. The warm and tender attachment which I have since formed for you, my sweet sister, makes the connexion appear ten times more delightful to me than I had expected. Heaven has surely interposed in a visible manner in our behalf."

'"You are a charming creature, my sweet Peartree, and have quite cleared up the mystery that covered the proceedings of Sa, and explained them in the most satisfactory manner. If we do but complete the arrangement, I will acknowledge you for a greater heroine than any one on record."'

It will be observed, that although the form of the marriage here treated of be different from that in use with us, and the tone of the conversation sportive and lively, the parties observe the same perfect decorum which is usual in reference to the same subject, in the polished societies of the western world. Indeed, the work before us is so far from approaching in any part to undue freedom of thought or expression, that it supposes and exemplifies throughout, a degree of reserve in the ordinary intercourse of the sexes, which appears, when judged by our notions, excessive and ridiculous. The reader will agree with us, we think, in considering the above passage as a favorable specimen of the author's talent for easy and spirited dialogue, which is, after all, the principal attraction in the domestic novel. The characters of the young ladies are also discriminated with some degree of delicacy, and correspond pretty nearly with those of *Caroline* and *Rosamond* in Miss Edgeworth's 'Patronage';—Jasper, all perfection; Peartree, perfection alloyed and made more interesting by a few grains of *étourderie*. The above dialogue resembles in tone those of *Celia* and *Rosalind* in Shakspeare's 'As you like it,' and partly coincides in the turn of thought, with that which passes between *Portia* and *Nerissa* and their husbands in the 'Merchant of Ven-

ice,' at the close of the fifth act. We have taken the liberty of employing an abridged translation of the names of the ladies, as a method of escaping from the stiffness of the Chinese nomenclature, and giving the conversation a natural air, in preference to the plan adopted by M. Remusat, of affixing to the original family name the terms of address in use with us. *Miss Pa* and *Miss Lo* would appear in English like decided burlesque; while the names, as translated, being of a slightly comic cast, are, in this respect, in keeping with the tone of the dialogue, and tend to heighten rather than diminish its effect. We perceive, however, that we are approaching the extent of our limits, and must hurry rapidly over the rest of the narrative.

The reader will have gathered from the contents of the above dialogue, that the hero of the novel, after parting from the second heroine, meets with his uncle, the inspector general, is adopted by him, and then proceeds to the capital to pursue his studies. He there distinguishes himself as usual, obtains at the general examination the thirteenth place on the list of the doctors, and, at the final one before the emperor, comes out at the head of one of the two classes of these dignitaries. This rank gives him the right of entering the *Jasper Hall*, and mounting the *Golden Horse*, or, in plain language of being admitted into the Imperial Academy of Sciences; a distinction which also regularly carries with it an appointment to one of the great offices at court. But by the intrigues of some power ful friends of the disappointed candidates, he does not receive the promotion properly due to his success, and only obtains an appointment of judge in a remote province. Without, however, making any difficulty on the subject, he sets off pretty soon to take possession of his place, calling on his way first at Honan to offer sacrifice at the burial-place of his ancestors, and afterwards successively at Canton and Nankin to arrange his marriage with his two wives. Unluckily he is disappointed in meeting with both. Dream-of-a-Peartree, as the reader is aware, had left Canton, and no one there could give the least account where she had gone. She had herself sent a messenger to Sa, to inform him, whom he had missed by crossing him on the road. Proceeding thence to Nankin, he finds that Pa has gone upon an excursion of pleasure to the Western Lake. During his absence, no access can of course be had to the family. Having no leisure time upon his hands to make farther inquiries at the moment, he reluctantly continues his journey to his

place of destination, where he finds himself acting immediately under our old acquaintance, the inspector general Yang, who now reäppears in his former capacity as the villain of the plot.

As soon as Yang perceives the extraordinary merit of our hero, he pitches upon him for his son-in-law; and when the latter declines the proposal on the score of his previous engagement to Red-Jasper, Yang circulates a false report of her death. Sa, however, is too much distressed at this event, to think of another marriage; and Yang thus failing entirely in his purpose, begins to persecute the young judge in such a way, that he resigns his place in disgust, and sets off to refresh himself upon an excursion to the Western Lake. Here he falls in with Pa, and makes acquaintance with him; but as both had assumed feigned names and characters in order to travel with more freedom, they meet as perfect strangers. After talking literature and making poetry together for a few days over their cups, they gradually get upon a confidential footing, and let each other into the secret of their respective family affairs. It soon appears that Mademoiselle Pa is not dead, that Dream-of-a-Peartree is residing with her at the old gentleman's, that the latter is as anxious for the marriage as any of the parties, and that there is now nothing to prevent it. In the mean time, the intrigue at the capital by which Sa lost his regular promotion is discovered, and he is permitted to mount the Golden Horse without any further delay. Everything being thus arranged to the general satisfaction, the marriage takes place, and as usual, closes the novel.

Such is the outline of the fable of this very curious work. We have omitted, of course, all the secondary and episodical parts, in particular, the whole machinery of divination, which is used with a good deal of freedom, and exercises considerable influence in the knitting up and unravelling of the plot. From this abstract, however imperfect, of the contents of the novel, the intelligent reader will see at once how much light it must necessarily throw upon the domestic and political economy of the vast empire in which the scene is laid, and may conjecture what stores of information will probably result from future researches into the same mine that has furnished this specimen. We are prevented, by want of room, from entering at much length into a commentary upon the state of civilization in China, as indicated by the work before us; and must reserve

most of the remarks which occur to us upon the subject, for some other occasion.

We may observe, in general, that the condition of society in this remote quarter of the globe seems to resemble that, which exists among ourselves, more nearly than has hitherto been supposed; and that the points of difference (which are nevertheless considerable) are not, in all respects, (though they certainly are in some very important ones) to our advantage. As regards the leading principles of domestic economy and the intercourse between the sexes, the Chinese are doubly unfortunate in the allowance of polygamy on the one hand, and the unnecessary restrictions imposed upon ordinary and harmless conversation on the other. The system that prevails on this subject in all the Christian countries, though strictly conformable to nature, and apparently the one that would suggest itself most readily to every correct mind, has never been adopted in any other part of the world, and is doubtless one of the circumstances that have contributed most powerfully to the progress of civilization in Europe; as it was itself, on the other hand, the effect of the general influence, upon all classes of the community, of our pure and sublime religion. In some other principal features in the aspect of domestic life, the deep veneration of children for their parents, the warmth and tenderness of all the family relations, and the universal polish and softness of manners, we might perhaps with advantage take some lessons from the natives of the Celestial Empire.

Their political institutions, which have been hitherto but little examined, are, as we hinted above, well worth the attention and study of philosophers; and might perhaps furnish useful suggestions for the improvement of governments founded in the main on other principles. The constitution of the Chinese empire, instead of being, as is commonly supposed, an absolute and unmitigated despotism, in which the only element of power is the cudgel, is evidently one of the most popular forms of government that has ever existed; and although the mode of bringing the will of the people into action be different from the one in use with us, we are not compelled to conclude without examination, that it is therefore necessarily bad. The difference of form renders each system, on the contrary, a more interesting and useful object of study, to those who are familiar with the other.

As intellectual accomplishments are apparently much more

important and valuable to their possessor, and as civilization is also of much older date, in China than in Europe, it appears singular that the Chinese should not have carried the sciences to a higher degree of perfection, and should be in this respect decidedly inferior, as there is reason to suppose they are, especially in the mathematical and physical departments, to the western world. With our present scanty information respecting their institutions, situation, and manners, it would be idle to attempt to assign any precise reason for this inferiority. We may venture perhaps to conjecture, that the vast political importance attached to learning, may have turned the current of zeal and industry almost wholly into the channel of moral and political studies, which are those immediately required as preparatory for the public service, and have led to the comparative neglect of all other branches of learning. Civil polity, we know, is habitually spoken of by the Chinese as the *great science*, or, in their own phrase, *the highway;* and as it seems, at any rate, to be the one which leads to the possession of wealth, rank, and beauty, it is not very surprising that the majority should regularly follow it. But on this, as on all other points connected with the subject, we must wait for the fruits of further researches before we can speculate with much satisfaction, or draw conclusions with any great degree of probability.

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ERRATA.

Page 466, line 17, for *Katrivelos* read *Katzivelos.*
" 476, " 32, " *Gregory* " *George.*

UNIVERSITY OF ABO IN FINLAND.

The following letter from Mr Bowring claims the attention of the friends of literature and science in the United States, not less than in England and other countries. Assurance is given that books from all will be thankfully received, and usefully employed, in the University of Abo, which has suffered so great a calamity in the destruction of its valuable library. It is hoped, that our authors and publishers will not be backward in imitating an example, which has already been so generously set in Europe. The fellowship of letters is not confined to place, or nation, but affords a bond of union for the sympathies and interests of the whole human family. An opportunity is here presented, also, of diffusing a knowledge of the history, institutions, and progress of our country, an object which it should be the pride and joy of every American to promote.

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'*London, June* 2, 1828.
2, *Queen's Square Place.*

'The dreadful conflagration by which the town of Abo was lately totally destroyed, and its inhabitants reduced to inconceivable distress, has been already made known to the British public, who with

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'When I visited Finland a few years ago, the University of Abo was in a most prosperous and improving condition. It had many distinguished Professors, and was the seat and the source of the civilization of the whole country. A literary journal was established there, and almost all the works published in Finland issued from the press of Abo. Attached to the University were a valuable Museum of natural history, extensive philosophical apparatus, and a library consisting of more than thirty thousand volumes, rich in records and unpublished manuscripts relating to the history of Finland and Sweden. With the exception of about eight hundred volumes, of which not more than two hundred form perfect works, the whole of this interesting collection perished in the flames; and the circumstances were so much the more distressing, as the library funds had been wholly exhausted, and even anticipated for years, in order to gain possession of works which were then obtainable, and which were deemed of great importance to the establishment. In a country like Finland, so little visited, so far removed from the attention and sympathy of the civilized world, the destruction of the only large public library is a calamity, the greatness and extent of which can hardly be estimated here.

'I have been addressed by some valuable Finnish friends on the subject, and have been requested to ascertain whether many of the literary and scientific individuals of our own country would not probably contribute their own writings, or those of others, to repair the dreadful loss with which Finland has been visited. And I have ventured to say, that I feel persuaded numbers would be found cheerfully to assist in the re-formation of their library. The inhabitants of Finland are almost universally poor, but as universally desirous of instruction; and of late many men have appeared among them, who have done no inconsiderable services to science, philosophy, and the belles lettres. So much have even the Finnish peasants been touched by the destruction of the Abo library, that in some places where money is little known, they have subscribed

the produce of their farms towards its restoration; and among them the villagers of Wichtis sent fifty barrels of rye. The University of Dorpat has contributed 394 scientific works, besides many philosophical instruments, and collections in natural history. One liberal Russian Bookseller (Mr Hartmann of Riga) has presented books to the value of 5357 silver rubles, or near £800 sterling. His townsman, Mr German, sent 193 volumes; Dr Hassar of Petersburg, 995; and Professor Storch (whose works on political economy are so well known), 269. Many other useful and generous donations have been received; and I confidently trust, that examples so honorable will find many imitators here. Messrs George Cowie & Co. of No. 31 Poultry, have kindly undertaken to receive and forward any works, instruments, &c. which may be liberally given to the Abo University Library. I shall be most happy to communicate any particulars I possess; and if information be desired from the spot, the venerable archbishop of Finland, Dr Tengstrom, or M. John Julin, will, I am sure, be most happy to furnish it.

'JOHN BOWRING.

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JUN 7 1939